THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by

M. RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH, with Additional Notes, by

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ILLUSTRATED WITH

MAPS, GENEALOGICAL TABLES, and the HEADS and MONUMENTS of the KINGS.

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MDCCLVII.

TO HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

FREDERIC

Prince of WALES.

SIR,

MY preſuming to offer to Your Royal Highneſs this tranſlation, is in ſome meaſure juſtified by the nature of the ſubject, and reaſon of the thing. For hiſtory, however uſeful to others, is infinitely more ſo to a Prince, and particularly the hiſtory of that crown He is born to wear. How inſtructive, as well as agreeable, muſt a fair and impartial narration of the lives and actions of a long ſeries of predeceſſors be to Him? And that ſuch is the following hiſtory, originally penned by a foreigner, who had no party to ſerve, or intereſt to pro-

mote, may be undoubtedly concluded from the univerſal approbation it every where meets with.

Here then, as from a faithful monitor, uninfluenced by hopes or fears, Your Royal Highneſs will learn, in general, That to a Prince nothing is ſo pernicious as flattery; nothing ſo valuable as truth: That proportionable to his people's liberty and happineſs will be his glory and ſtrength: That true valour conſiſts not in deſtroying, but protecting mankind; not in conquering kingdoms, but defending them from violence: That a Prince's moſt ſecret counſels, motives and purſuits, will probably one day be publiſhed and rigorouſly judged; and, however flattered whilſt living, yet when dead, he will be treated as his actions have deſerved, with honour or reproach, with veneration or contempt.

More particularly, Your Royal Highneſs will here perceive, that foreign acquiſitions and conqueſts were generally fatal to England; all increaſe of empire burdenſome to her, except that of the ocean, which can never be too extenſive,

as

as it enlarges and protects her trade, the principal fountain of her riches and grandeur.

But above all, you will here ſee the origin and nature of our excellent conſtitution, where the prerogatives of the crown, and privileges of the ſubject are ſo happily proportioned, that the king and the people are inſeparably united in the ſame intereſts and views. You will obſerve, that this union, though talked of by even the moſt arbitrary princes with reſpect to their ſubjects, is peculiar to the Engliſh Monarchy, and the moſt ſolid foundation of the Sovereign's glory, and the people's happineſs.

Accordingly, you will here conſtantly find, that in the reigns where this union was cultivated, the kingdom flouriſhed and the Prince was glorious, powerful, truſted, beloved. On the contrary, when by an arbitrary diſpoſition, or evil counſels, it was interrupted, the conſtitution languiſhed, mutual confidence vaniſhed, diſtruſt, jealouſy, diſcord aroſe; and when entirely broken, as was unfortu-

nately ſometimes the caſe, confuſion and civil wars enſued.

As this union, ſo eſſential to our government, was by your Royal Grandfather, and is by his preſent Majeſty, your Royal Father, ſteadily adhered to, ſo it is with extreme ſatisfaction preſumed, that the ſame adherence will diſtinguiſh Your Royal Highneſs's future reign, a preſumption grounded upon your many noble endowments, but chiefly on that foundation of all other, as well as royal, virtues, a generous mind, which naturally abhors oppreſſion and tyranny.

Preſuming on this known generoſity, I moſt humbly intreat Your Royal Highneſs's gracious acceptance of this addreſs and tranſlation, and beg leave to have the honour of ſubſcribing myſelf, with profound reſpect and ſubmiſſion,

SIR,

Your Royal Highness's

Moſt humble, moſt dutiful,

And moſt obedient Servant,

N. TINDAL.

THE

PREFACE.

WHEN Mr. Rapin firſt begun this work, he little thought of writing a complete hiſtory of England. His long ſtay in our iſland, gave him an opportunity of learning our language; and his poſt in the army, during the war in Ireland, even obliging him to it, he diligently applied himſelf to the reading of Engliſh books, and particularly of ſuch as treated of the government and hiſtory of England, after the Norman conqueſt. As the deſire of knowledge continually increaſes, he was not ſatisfied with underſtanding the nature, but wiſhed alſo to know the original, of the Engliſh conſtitution. To this end, he thought it neceſſary to peruſe carefully the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons, who introduced this form of government into Great-Britain. He found this ſtudy to be very diſcouraging, the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons being like a vaſt foreſt, where the traveller, with great difficulty, finds a few narrow paths to guide his wandering ſteps. It was this however that inſpired him with the deſign of clearing this part of the Engliſh hiſtory, by removing the rubbiſh, and carrying on the thread ſo as to give at leaſt a general knowledge. In order to this, he was indiſpenſably obliged to ſhow, how the Saxons came to ſend troops into Great Britain, and why a conqueſt, which had coſt them ſo much, was abandoned by the Romans. In a word, he fixed the beginning of his hiſtory to the time of Julius Cæſar, who firſt attempted to conquer our iſland, intending to conclude with the Norman conqueſt. But not knowing how to employ his time better, and beſides, finding that after the conqueſt, the ſcene was changed, and from a wild foreſt he was entered into a cultivated country, where the way was eaſy, he reſolved to proceed. However, when he came to the reign of Henry II. he was going to relinquiſh his work, of which the beginning gave him no encouragement, when an unexpected aſſiſtance not only induced him to continue it, but alſo to form the project of a much larger

hiſtory than what he at firſt intended. This aſſiſtance was Rymer's Fœdera, communicated to our author by the famous Le Clerc, to whom the volumes, as they came out, were ſent by the lord Halifax, a great promoter of that noble work.

This collection, publiſhed at the government's charge, was of infinite ſervice to our author in compiling his hiſtory, and helping him to clear numberleſs things which remained in obſcurity. It afforded him means, 1. To rectify the dates in many places. 2. To diſcover a great number of errors in the beſt Engliſh, Scotch, French, Italian, and Spaniſh hiſtorians. 3. To decide, on many occaſions, concerning the contrarieties between the hiſtorians. 4. To inſert in his hiſtory many events, wholly omitted, or but ſlightly mentioned by others. In a word, it is this that chiefly diſtinguiſhes his hiſtory from all that have appeared before this collection was publiſhed. For it is eaſy to ſee what an advantage it was to him, ſince it contains treaties of peace, truce, league, marriages, commerce, made by the kings of England with other princes; ambaſſadors inſtructions; their letters and informations, as well concerning their own negotiations, as the affairs of the courts to which they were ſent; very inſtructive memoirs upon affairs confuſedly ſpoken of by the hiſtorians; letters-patents; orders; ſafe-conducts, with numberleſs other papers, which cannot be ranged under general heads, and which are of great uſe to a hiſtorian. All theſe Mr. Rapin was ſo well acquainted with, that he hath publiſhed abſtracts of ſeventeen volumes, to ſhow the relation of theſe acts to the hiſtory of England. This work to a man leſs verſed in the Engliſh hiſtory than Mr. Rapin, would require his whole life; but to him, who knew the intent and motive of every act, it was only a diverſion. By the way, it may be added, that Mr. Rapin had a thorough knowledge of our parties and factions, as appears in his Diſſertation on the Whigs and Tories, publiſhed in 1717, and tranſlated into Engliſh, Dutch, Daniſh, and twice into High Dutch.

The advantage which the uſe of Rymer's collection, gave Mr. Rapin over all our hiſtorians, ſerves to remove the objection of his being a foreigner. But if it is farther conſidered, that, beſides this advantage, he not only carefully peruſed all the Engliſh hiſtorians, but alſo confronted them with thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates, whether they wrote in Latin, French, Italian, or Spaniſh; it muſt be owned this objection entirely vaniſhes, and that ſuppoſing his judgment and capacity equal to the work (which the public by an uncommon appro-

approbation ſeems to allow) he was in all other reſpects as well qualified as any Engliſhman can be.

As his aſſiſtances were extraordinary, ſo there is reaſon to believe his impartiality is uncommon. For beſides his privilege, as a foreigner, of freely ſpeaking the truth, without fear of offending any party, he had no motive or intereſt to induce him to be partial to England, or any of the neighbouring ſtates. His life was equally ſpent in France, England, Holland, and Germany. During the ſeventeen years he was employed in this work, he had no poſt or penſion, nor exerciſed any profeſſion, which might bias him to one nation more than another; and as he had no particular obligations to any of the forementioned ſtates, ſo he had no reaſon to complain of ever receiving the leaſt injuſtice.

But notwithſtanding his impartiality, he plainly foreſaw people's prejudices in favour of their own nation, would prevent them from doing him juſtice upon ſeveral occaſions. But this was a rock he could not avoid. How is it poſſible, for inſtance, to relate the conteſts between the Engliſh and Scots, to the ſatisfaction of both? The war between them in the XIVth century, concerning the ſovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland, cannot be deſcribed with its cauſes and circumſtances, without exaſperating the one or the other. The Scots are perſuaded, Edward I. acted very unjuſtly with their anceſtors, and that his grandſon Edward III. was not more ſcrupulous. The Engliſh, on the contrary, believe, their kings had then, and long before, an unconteſtable right of ſovereignty over all Scotland, and that Edward the Firſt's war upon that account was very lawful. Our author has declared for the Scots, as believing the truth on their ſide. For which reaſon he has endeavoured to ſet that whole affair in the cleareſt light poſſible, thinking it the duty of a hiſtorian, to correct ſuch errors as have gathered ſtrength from time, or from the negligence and prejudices of former writers.

The quarrel between Edward III. and Philip de Valois, in which ſo much blood was ſpilt, is another inſtance wherein it is almoſt impoſſible to pleaſe both the Engliſh and French. Among the French, the Salic law is a Noli me tangere. To ſatisfy them, not only the antiquity of the law muſt be acknowledged, but the ſenſe and extent muſt alſo be left unexamined. The Engliſh, on their ſide, are no leſs prejudiced: without conſidering that Edward could have no right to the crown of France, but on ſuppoſition of the authority of the Salic law, they alledge againſt it ſuch reaſons, as are not only unſerviceable, but even prejudicial to that prince's rights. Our author,

author, without being reſtrained by the fear of diſpleaſing either, has explained, in a diſſertation at the end of Edward the Third's reign, what is meant by the Salic law; wherein conſiſted the difference between the two kings, and ſhown, that their rights were ſo litigious, as to be very difficultly decided by that law.

If it is hard to ſatisfy two nations in the recital of their conteſts and quarrels, it is no leſs ſo to content the Engliſh themſelves, in things wherein their opinions are divided; as for inſtance, the prerogatives of the king, the privileges of parliament, the ſucceſſion of the crown, and the like. Mr. Rapin obſerves, that diſputes on theſe points were firſt broached among us in the laſt century, by two oppoſite parties, one whereof was for an abſolute power in the king, whilſt the other endeavoured not only to diveſt him of his juſt prerogatives, but even to render him dependent on the parliament. Theſe two extremes he equally condemned; and as he had no motive or intereſt to incline him to either party, he has done his utmoſt to diſcover the truth, through the paſſions and prejudices of the writers on both ſides. He has fairly confronted the facts laid down by the ſeveral hiſtorians; received for true, ſuch as they all agree in; and of ſuch as are variouſly related, he has admitted only thoſe that are ſupported by ſtrong evidence. The barons wars are alſo a ſubject that can hardly be treated to the ſatisfaction of all readers; ſome conſidering as rebellion, what others deem a juſt defence of liberty and property. Mr. Rapin has declared for neither of theſe opinions, farther than induced by ſolid reaſons, and, by means of the Fœdera, has clearly accounted for the riſe and progreſs of theſe wars, which, for want of that aſſiſtance, are very confuſedly explained by others.

What moſt embarraſſed our author, is the national partiality of the hiſtorians, chiefly upon two articles, The Violation of the Treaties, and, The Succeſs of the Battles. For the firſt, where the truth was no other way to be diſcovered, he has frequently made uſe of a very natural maxim; namely, that it is not likely the party, to whom a treaty is advantagious, ſhould be the firſt to break it. As for the ſecond article, nothing is more common than to ſee hiſtorians loth to own their nation vanquiſhed, and think it incumbent on them to diminiſh its loſſes, or magnify its victories. On theſe occaſions, when our author could not fix the ſucceſs of a battle by the conſequences, he has taken care to inform the reader of the diſagreement between the hiſtorians.

Mr.

Mr. Rapin, profeſſing to write for the information of foreigners, was obliged to give a particular account of the Engliſh conſtitution: the following eſſay therefore was ſolely deſigned for the inſtruction of ſuch as are ſtrangers to our government, which, being different, as he obſerved, from all others, the reader, as well as hiſtorian, muſt always have it in ſight, leſt wrong ideas lead them into great errors.

ORIGIN and NATURE of the ENGLISH Conſtitution.

THE government of England is a mixed and limited monarchy, as it is certain, all the governments in Europe eſtabliſhed by the northern nations formerly were. They were monarchies, inveſted, not with abſolute and arbitrary, but with a power bounded by the national laws. Such is ſtill the Engliſh conſtitution, whatever changes have happened in the other European kingdoms. The king and people make but one body, of which the king is head. He directs and gives motion to all the other members, takes care of their welfare, and ought always to have an eye to the public, to procure their good, and guard them againſt all impending evils. By watching thus for the public, he conſults his own intereſt, ſince, being ſtrictly united with his ſubjects, he is ſure to be a gainer by all the advantages he procures them.

But to enable the king to labour effectually for the good of the kingdom, it was neceſſary to cloath him with a great power, and to aſſign him a revenue ſufficient to live in ſplendor, in order to attract the veneration of the people. It was neceſſary to grant him privileges approaching abſolute power; as the command of the armies and fortified places; the execution of the laws, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in his own name; the pardoning of condemned criminals; the diſpoſal of all the high offices; the calling and diſſolving of the parliament; the rejecting of bills he thinks contrary to the public good; the proclaiming peace and war. Theſe are called the prerogatives of the king, or of the crown. I do not pretend to give an exact liſt of them. I am ſenſible ſome extend them much farther: but all I mean here is, that the king has great prerogatives, which were the effect or conſequence of the mutual agreement of the firſt Anglo-Saxon kings with their people. The king wants nothing to render him happy and powerful. His revenues are more than ſufficient for his ordinary expences, and to reward thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves by their merit, beſides the preferments in the church, ſtate,

ſtate, and army, which he may beſtow as he pleaſes. Has he a juſt war to maintain? he is not obliged to burden his people with taxes. It is the people themſelves that voluntarily furniſh him with every thing neceſſary. Thus, without being under a neceſſity of heaping up riches for the future, he is ſure of finding in the purſes of his ſubjects wherewithal to ſupply his preſent occaſions.

There are but two things the Saxons did not think proper to truſt their kings with; for being of like paſſions with other men, they might very poſſibly abuſe them; namely, the power of changing the laws enacted by conſent of king and people; and the power of raiſing taxes at pleaſure. From theſe two articles ſprung numberleſs branches concerning the liberty and property of the ſubject, which the king cannot touch, without breaking the conſtitution, and they are the diſtinguiſhing character of the Engliſh monarchy. The prerogatives of the crown, and the rights and privileges of the people, flowing from the two fore-mentioned articles, are the ground of all the laws that from time to time have been made by the unanimous conſent of king and people. The Engliſh government conſiſts in the ſtrict union of the king's prerogatives with the people's liberties. So far are theſe two things from deſtroying one another, that they are rather the ſtrongeſt cement of that ſtrict union, ſo neceſſary between the prince and people. The king, by means of his prerogatives, is able to protect his ſubjects; to ſee the laws duly executed, and juſtice impartially adminiſtred; to defend the weak againſt their powerful oppreſſors; to aſſiſt the unfortunate, and puniſh the diſturbers of the ſociety. On the other hand, the people, whilſt in poſſeſſion of their liberties, confiding in the laws and the king's care to execute them, live ſecurely without any fears for their lives or properties. They enjoy the fruits of their induſtry, which turns to the king's advantage, ſince from the people it is, that the king's occaſions are ſupplied. If they make their court to the nobles, it is only when their intereſt or aſſiſtance may be neceſſary, and not out of fear of being oppreſſed, ſince the greateſt are equally ſubject to the laws, with the meaneſt.

It cannot be denied, ſuch a government is extremely proper to render both prince and people happy. But when kings aroſe, as ſome there were, that aimed at abſolute power, by changing the old, and making new laws at pleaſure; by impoſing illegal taxes on the people; this excellent government being, in a manner, diſſolved by theſe deſtructive meaſures, confuſion and civil wars enſued, which ſome very wrongfully

aſcribe

aſcribe to the fickle and reſtleſs temper of the Engliſh. On the other hand, the people have not always been contented with maintaining their privileges, when once infringed by the king; but, for fear of the like attempts for the future, have proceeded to meaſures very deſtructive of the juſt rights of the crown. And this is the reaſon why the prerogative, abuſed by ſome former kings, runs not at preſent ſo high as formerly.

Since then the Engliſh conſtitution conſiſts in an intimate union between the prince and the people, as between the head and the body, it is conſequently in its utmoſt perfection and ſtrength whilſt this union ſubſiſts, and both, without mutual ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and fears, ſecurely enjoy their reſpective rights. On the contrary, it decays and degenerates, when one invades the privileges of the other.

To preſerve a perfect union between the king and the people, it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a way of communication between them. This was done by means of a Wittena-gemot, or aſſembly of wiſe men, who repreſented the whole nation. This method the Saxons brought with them from Germany, where all public affairs were decided in ſuch an aſſembly, of which their generals, choſen in time of war, were preſidents. However, they were obliged to make ſome alterations, becauſe in Germany they had no kings, the ſupreme power being lodged in the Wittena-gemet; whereas in England, their chiefs or leaders aſſumed the title of kings. Hengiſt, who firſt led Saxon troops into Britain as auxiliaries, was the firſt that aſſumed this title, probably with the approbation of the Saxons under his command. For ſince he was not naturally their king, how could he become ſo without their conſent? But it muſt be obſerved, Hengiſt may be conſidered in a double capacity. At his arrival in Great Britain, he was certainly only general of the Saxons: but after receiving the grant of Kent from Vortigern king of the Britons, he became as much ſovereign of that country as Vortigern was before him, and therefore he aſſumed the title of king of Kent; but this new title did not make him king of the Saxons, of whom he was only intruſted with the command. Wherefore, it is likely, the Saxons, in conſenting their general ſhould become their ſovereign, did not give him an abſolute power over their lives and properties, ſuppoſing, what would be very difficult to prove, he was inveſted with ſuch power over his Britiſh ſubjects. There is a remarkable paſſage in the hiſtory of France to this purpoſe: Clovis was king of the Francs, before he led his army into Gaul, and his

his large conqueſts there, gave him no more power over his own countrymen than he enjoyed before. This is evident from his being prevented by a common ſoldier from preſenting the archbiſhop of Rheims with a piece of plate taken among the ſpoil. The ſoldier could not bear the king ſhould appropriate to himſelf what belonged to all in common, ſo hewed it in pieces with his battle-ax [and took his ſhare.] The king, who knew he exceeded his power, did not dare to puniſh him; and though he afterwards took an occaſion to put him to death, it was upon ſome other account, wherein he might lawfully do it. It may then with good reaſon be affirmed, that the Saxon generals, in aſſuming the title of king, acquired not a deſpotic power over their own followers, by whoſe aſſiſtance they conquered Britain. Since therefore the firſt kings had not ſuch a power, it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſome way to prevent their uſurping it; and that could not be done better, than by general aſſemblies, which, conſiſting of the king, and the chiefs of the people, kept the balance even betwixt both. It muſt be farther obſerved, there is one material difference between the ſetlement of the Franes in Gaul, and of the Saxons in Britain. In Gaul, the number of the conquered was always ſuperior to that of the conquerors. Whereas in Britain, if any Britons remained in the conquered provinces, they were but few, and in a ſtate of ſlavery. So, the country was properly inhabited only with Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, over whom the conqueſts made by their own arms, gave to their firſt kings no power but what they conſented to. We are ignorant indeed of the particulars of the agreement between the kings and their reſpective people, but the proofs that afterwards appear, of the people's liberty, leave no room to doubt, there was at firſt ſome regulation thereon.

It is not eaſy to know, who the Witan or wiſemen were that compoſed their Wittena-gemots. At firſt, theſe aſſemblies might only conſiſt of the Saxon officers, among whom the conquered lands were divided, and who from thence became the principal perſons in the ſeveral ſtates. In proceſs of time, the Britons having entirely abandoned their country, the conquerors, finding themſelves too few to cultivate the whole, ſent for a great number of families from Germany, to whom the reſt of the lands were given. Theſe diſtributions were thus made: the new king gave to thoſe of his followers, who were diſtinguiſhed by their birth, ſervices, or perſonal merit, ſuch a portion of land, on condition they ſerved the crown on certain occaſions; which theſe parcelled out again

again to others, with a reſervation of ſuch and ſuch ſervices to themſelves. Theſe two ſorts of poſſeſſors were called Thanes, that is, Servants: but the firſt were diſtinguiſhed by the title of King's Thanes, which anſwers to that of the immediate vaſſals of the crown. Theſe, after the Norman conqueſt, were called barons, and afterwards peers of the realm: for earl and duke were only honorary titles or names of officers. It is not denied, the king's thanes were members of the Wittena-gemots: but that the other thanes, were ſo, is greatly diſputed, as will be ſeen in the Diſſertation on the Government, Laws, and Cuſtoms of the Saxons. It ſuffices at preſent, that there was in each kingdom an aſſembly of Witan or wiſemen, who, jointly with the king, regulated all important affairs, made laws and ordinances, and impoſed taxes. As nothing was decided but by the mutual conſent of the king and the aſſembly, their intereſts not being ſeparate, and their aims the ſame, namely, the good of the public, this is a clear evidence, that the eſſence of the government conſiſted in the ſtrict union between king and people. If we look into the hiſtories of the other European kingdoms founded by the northern nations, we ſhall find the like aſſemblies under different names, as Diets in Germany and Poland, and Cortez, in Spain. It is not therefore ſtrange, the Saxons ſhould eſtabliſh in England the only form of government known to them.

After the Norman conqueſt theſe aſſemblies were called parliaments. If William the Conqueror continued them, which perhaps is not eaſy to prove, it was not with the ſame rights and privileges they enjoyed under the Saxon kings. It is true, in the following reigns, ſome traces of them appear, which make it thought, they were not entirely aboliſhed. However, parliaments were not frequent till king John, and Henry III. in whoſe reign, ſeveral affirm, and perhaps not without reaſon, that the commons, for the firſt time, ſent repreſentatives to parliament. Probably, the lords and commons, after their ſeparation, the time whereof is unknown, met in two different houſes, ſince the Engliſh ſtill call houſes the two rooms, where they aſſemble, though under the ſame roof. They ſay, the upper houſe, or houſe of lords, and the lower houſe, or houſe of commons, to denote what is expreſſed in French by the word Chamber. It is but ſince the reign of Edward I. ſucceſſor to Henry III. that there has been an uninterrupted ſeries of parliaments.

After the commons became a diſtinct houſe from the lords, they pretended to be the ſole repreſentatives of the people, by

by whom they were choſen. The lords could pretend only to act for themſelves, or for the body of the nobility, as making a conſiderable part of the nation. However this be, the barons, of whom very likely the parliament at firſt conſiſted, loſt by degrees many of their antient rights, and the houſe of commons came to be conſidered as the guardians of the people's intereſts. However, the lords ſtill retain very great privileges; they are, for inſtance, the higheſt court of juſtice in the kingdom; they have a power to bring in, approve, and throw out bills; in a word, they always make an eſſential part of the parliament. The biſhops and abbots, who had all along a right to ſit in parliament, had it continued to them after the conqueſt. It cannot well be doubted that they ſat in the Wittena-gemots, as king's thanes, or barons, ſince they were the immediate tenants of the crown, as repreſentatives of the clergy.

The commons, as a conſequence of their being the repreſentatives of the people, claim an undiſputed right of laying taxes, and granting money to the king. So that the houſe of lords in this caſe have no other power than to paſs, or throw out, the bill, without offering to make any alterations or amendments.

Thus, the two houſes of parliament compoſe the body of the nation, jointly with the king, who is the head. The cloſe and neceſſary union between the king and the parliament, appears in nothing ſo much as in the manner of making an act of parliament, or law. When either of the two houſes deſigns to bring in a bill (for ſo is an act called before it is paſſed) after examining and debating every clauſe, it is ſent to the other houſe for their approbation. If it paſſes there, it is brought to the king for the royal aſſent; after which, and not before, it has the form and force of a law. But if either of the houſes reject it, or the king refuſes his aſſent, it comes to nothing, as if it had never been mentioned. Nothing more plainly demonſtrates, that the eſſence of the Engliſh government conſiſts in the union between the king and his people: take away this union, and it becomes confuſion and anarchy.

Whether the commons originally ſate in parliament, or only ſince the reign of Henry III. it is certain, their power by degrees is very much encreaſed, to which the maxim, that their houſe ſolely repreſents the people, has greatly contributed. This maxim was not yet eſtabliſhed in the reign of Henry VIII. ſince we find he applied to the barons for a ſupply of money. But this is not the only new privilege they have acquired,

quired. Upon their ſeparation from the lords, the intereſts of the two houſes were not the ſame upon all occaſions. They have had frequent conteſts concerning their reſpective rights. But generally the commons had the advantage of the lords; and no wonder, ſince they alone diſpoſe of the nation's money.

On the other hand, great alterations have happened with regard to the lords or peers. Formerly all the immediate vaſſals of the crown were barons, and, as ſuch, had a ſeat in parliament. But now, as there are none of thoſe lands that were called fees of the crown, the right of ſitting in the houſe of lords is annexed to the bare honorary titles of duke, marquiſs, earl, viſcount, and baron, which give thoſe that are inveſted therewith, no power over the ſhires, cities, or lands, whoſe names they bear, and which the king may beſtow on whom he pleaſes. However, when once theſe titles are conferred on a family, the head cannot be deprived of his right to ſit in parliament, unleſs he has been judicially condemned by his peers for ſome crime that renders him unworthy. But it muſt be obſerved, it is in the king's power to extend or limit, many ways, the right of ſucceeding to theſe honours; ſo that ſometimes, though rarely, he extends it to the female, in default of the male line. Though a peer only has a right to ſit in the houſe of lords, the king may, if he pleaſes, call the ſon of a nobleman to the houſe of peers in his father's life-time. The inferior titles are always included in the ſuperior, ſo that every duke is at the ſame time marquiſs, earl, viſcount, and baron [a]. Thus all the lords are barons, and properly as ſuch, are members of the parliament, according to antient uſage. For before and long after the conqueſt, the lords of parliament were conſidered only as the king's thanes or barons. For this reaſon, the civil wars in the reigns of king John and Henry III. are called the barons wars. The title of duke was firſt conferred in England, after the conqueſt, by Edward III. on his eldeſt ſon, whom he made duke of Cornwal. The title of marquiſs is much later. In the time of the Saxons, earls or counts were properly governors or chiefs of ſhires or counties, ſo called from them. William the Conqueror having diſtributed the lands of the Engliſh among his followers, they on whom he conferred the title of earl or count, became really lords of thoſe lands whoſe titles they bore, ſo that they were hereditary in their families.

a This is not ſo, unleſs they have had each title diſtinctly conferred on them. There are few dukes that are marquiſſes, and many earls not viſcounts.

Afterwards, but at what time is not known, they loſt this privilege, and the title of earl, as was before obſerved, is become only honorary. The viſcounts, under the Saxon kings, were lieutenants to the earls in their counties. They diſcharged the office of high-ſheriff, which is now left to inferior officers, whilſt the viſcounts are ranked among the peers, and have even the precedence of the barons. This laſt title was formerly general, and included the whole body of the nobility or peers of the realm, of whom the upper houſe of parliament conſiſts. Next to theſe are what they call in England, the gentry, who, though diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral titles, as knight, eſquire, &c. are all included in the body of the commons, who in France are called, the third eſtate. From among theſe are choſen the knights of the ſhires, citizens and burgeſſes, who compoſe the lower houſe, to the number of five hundred and thirteen: but it ſeldom happens that all are preſent, and forty are ſufficient to make a houſe.

What has been ſaid ſhows, how the two houſes of parliament are part of the legiſlature, ſince by them the laws are made, with the royal aſſent. Accordingly, the parliament has ever been very tenacious of its privileges, for fear of loſing them by degrees, as it has happened in other kingdoms. On the other hand, moſt of the laws tend to maintain the liberty and property of the ſubjects, ſo that they can be deprived of them only by law. There are abſolutely but two ways to deprive the Engliſh of their liberties: either by laying aſide parliaments entirely, or by bribing the members to ſacrifice their country to their ambition or avarice. Both theſe methods have been tried more than once, and for ſome time with ſeeming ſucceſs, but in the end have turned to the confuſion and ruin of the projectors. The Engliſh have ever been extremely jealous of their liberties, and this jealouſy has frequently cauſed violent motions in the kingdom, when they have ſeen or ſuſpected a tendency to undermine their privileges, and they have thereby preſerved the conſtitution of their government in much the ſame ſtate as in the beginning of the monarchy.

After this ſhort eſſay on our conſtitution, the reader is referred for a fuller account to the reign of Alfred the Great; and to the author's Diſſertation on the Government, Laws, etc. of the Anglo-Saxons.

This preface to the former editions, ſhall here be cloſed with the following obſervations.

Mr. Rapin's Hiſtory has now ſtood a thirty-years teſt without any material objection. His impartiality and candor has gained

gain'd him an univerſal applauſe, as well among foreigners as among the Engliſh themſelves. It would perhaps be very difficult to find a greater inſtance of the force of truth on the minds of men, than the general approbation given to a hiſtory penned in ſo naked and unadorn'd a manner. For, though he was a judicious, he was not an elegant writer.

The tranſlation of this hiſtory has alſo met with uncommon ſucceſs, which, though founded chiefly on the merit of the original, is in ſome meaſure to be aſcribed to the following cauſes:

The tranſlation of a hiſtory compiled by a foreigner in a foreign tongue, has a peculiar advantage over all others. Tranſlators generally fall very ſhort of their originals; but here the caſe is quite the reverſe. When a foreigner writes in his own tongue the hiſtory of a nation, he muſt neceſſarily tranſlate his materials out of the language of the country, and ſo far becomes a tranſlator. Thus Rapin was obliged to turn into French all the paſſages he collected from our hiſtorians, and particularly charters, letters, ſpeeches, petitions, addreſſes, debates, conferences, votes, and the like. All theſe are inſerted by the tranſlator in the very words of the authors from whom they are taken, and conſequently his tranſlation is ſo far an original. Upon this account it is that from Henry VII. to the revolution, that is, during the moſt material and intereſting tranſactions, the Engliſh is in effect the original, and the French may be deemed the tranſlation.

It is alſo to be obſerved, that Rapin has omitted many particulars, which though of little moment to a foreigner, (for whom he profeſſedly wrote) are yet of uſe to an Engliſhman. Theſe are in a great meaſure ſupplied in the tranſlation by additional notes.

Beſides, as a foreigner, Rapin could hardly avoid falling into little miſtakes relating to our cuſtoms, laws, names, families, etc. which are all rectified by the tranſlator.

This being the caſe, it ought not to appear ſtrange that this tranſlation has been ſo univerſally received, and even preferred to the original, not only by thoſe who do not, but by thoſe who do underſtand the French tongue.

To conclude, in this fourth edition the tranſlation has again been reviſed: ſuperfluous notes are omitted and more uſeful ones added: the errors and miſtakes, that had eſcaped in the former editions, are corrected: in a word, the tranſlator has endeavoured to render the whole as complete as he could.

SOME PARTICULARS of the LIFE OF Mr. RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

In a Letter to ——

SIR,

I Imagined you would be ſurprized at my backwardneſs to ſecond your deſign of writing the life of Mr. de Rapin. This has given me ſome concern, for I wiſh to be of your mind, but muſt confeſs, I have hitherto been unreſolved. I know not how the public ſtands affected; and though I ſuppoſed, with you, that the world would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. de Rapin, I ſhould think nothing can better ſatisfy their curioſity, than his new Hiſtory of England; it not being poſſible, in my opinion, but in ſo voluminous a work, an author (undeſignedly) draws his own picture himſelf, more to the life than any other can do. If you ſay, this is not ſufficient, becauſe his family and actions are not ſeen there; I anſwer, the two panegyrics on Mr. de Rapin (in the tenth volume of the Bibliotheque Germanique, and in the Hiſtorie Literaire of February 1726) ſeem to contain all that is proper to be ſaid on theſe two heads. By this, you ſee, I have not the ſame ſcruple concerning your preſent propoſal, that theſe panegyrics may at leaſt be re-publiſhed and prefixed to his Hiſtory of England. Indeed I think it very requiſite, and what is more, am reſolved to publiſh them myſelf, with ſome alteration, that is, of the two I deſign to make one diſcourſe, borrowing from each what ſhall occur to my mind, without affecting either to ſwerve from, or copy them, that there may be room to inſert ſome par-

particulars that are paſſed over in ſilence. It may be, I ſhall go too far, contrary to my firſt intention; but however, you may be aſſured, I ſhall ſay nothing but what I have been fully informed of, and what Mr. de Rapin's family are ready to juſtify. Nevertheleſs, as in all this my ſole aim is to oblige you, uſe this letter as you pleaſe; ſuppreſs what you do not like; nay, if you think fit, be ſatisfied with the panegyrics alone as firſt publiſhed, which perhaps would be beſt. But to begin:

Mr. de Rapin counted among his anceſtors and relations many eminent perſons as well of the ſword as the gown. His family is originally from Savoy, where it flouriſhed time out of mind [a], and enjoyed ſeveral honourable poſts [b]. As I am ignorant of their perſonal qualities, I cannot ſay whether it was through a wiſe precaution, or to perpetuate an ill-grounded enmity, that a biſhop of Maurienne cauſed to be engraved, in the epiſcopal palace, the following inſcription ſtill to be ſeen, "Caveant ſucceſſores noſtri a familiâ Ra-"pinorum, i. e. Let our ſucceſſors beware of the Rapins." On the other hand, this family pretends, that their external luſtre was impaired ſolely by their ſteady adherence to the laws of honour and juſtice. This is inſinuated by the author of the following verſes, which are not quoted for their elegance:

"Pour n'avoir ſans beſoin ſu prendre,
"On voit tomber cette maiſon:
"Si l'effet eut ſuivi ſon nom,
"Elle auroit de quoi ſe defendre.

i. e. "This family, for being too honeſt to invade the "property of others, is gone to decay. Had they been given "to what their name implies, they would have wherewithal "to ſupport themſelves."

But to draw nearear to Mr. de Rapin, I ſhall proceed to four brothers of that name, who ſettled in France in the reign of Francis I.[c].

One, a clergyman, was almoner to queen Catherine de Medici, who deſired him of the duke of Savoy. Beſides the

a By the titles of this family it appears that the Rapins were noble in the year 1250. The branches that are in Savoy pretend to a greater antiquity: but of that nothing can be ſaid.

b It is known in general, that ſome of the Rapins at ſeveral times were ſyndics of the nobles of their country; others were deputed by the nobility to go in their name and do homage to the duke of Savoy their ſovereign.

c Between the years 1525 and 1547.

preferments he enjoyed in his own country, he was called the king's orator, but what that means I cannot tell.

His brothers (of whom but one has left iſſue) were all three ſoldiers, and embraced the reformed religion; for the ſake of which, very probably, they abandoned their country.

The eldeſt was a colonel of foot, and governor of Montauban, with authority over the neighbouring governors. His name is among the neighbouring viſcounts, who commanded the troops of the reformed in the ſouthern provinces of France. Letters, ſtill extant, ſhow how well known he was to king Henry IV. to Lewis and Henry princes of Condé, to admiral Chaſtillon, and many other perſons of the firſt quality.

All we know of one of his brothers, called Peter, is, that a commiſſion of captain of horſe muſt, by all circumſtances, belong to him; but of this we cannot be ſure, becauſe the name is not expreſſed.

Philibert, another brother, was gentleman to the prince of Condé, and afterwards his ſteward [d]. He had no leſs reputation in military [e], than capacity in civil affairs [f], but both prove fatal to him, as they drew upon him the enmity of the catholics, and particularly of the parliament of Toulouſe [g], who cauſed his head to be ſtruck off at the very time he was come, by the king's order, to regiſter the edict of peace of 1568.

The French hiſtorians frequently ſpeak of theſe two brothers. Father Daniel alone does not mention them, and paſſes over in ſilence, this cruel execution [h]. The reaſon does

d Maitre d'hôtel de ſa maiſon, that is, he had the management of the prince's houſe in the higheſt ſenſe of the word, and not as we underſtand the term ſteward at preſent.

e Bello ſtrenuus, ſays Thuanus, lib. xxxii.

f "In fine, Rapin was in great repute amongſt his own party. The conſpirators of Toulouſe made choice of him to treat in their name with Fourquevaux, which is a clear evidence that he had a head to manage, as well as a hand to act." Annals of Toulouſe, Ann. 1568. The conference ſpoken of in this paſſage, was held to ſee whether there was any way of accommodation between the two parties; but it proved fruitleſs, and only ſerved to exaſperate them more than ever. Shortly after a battle was fought in the city, which laſted ſome days, wherein the proteſtants, who were numerous there, but however inferior to the catholics, loſt three thouſand men, and were in the end chaſed out of the city. A ſolemn proceſſion was inſtituted in commemoration of this event. When peace was reſtored, the reformed complained of this proceſſion, as a thing which revived the memory of the troubles, whereupon it was prohibited for the future; nevertheleſs it has been all along continued; only it was removed from the 12th of May, to the 17th, on ſome pretence or other.

g "Homo bellis ſuperioribus—clarus ob idque Toloſanis inviſus. Thuan. lib. xxxii."

h It might be alledged there are no proofs of it. But ſince Thuanus and Mezerai, with whom few writers can

be

does not appear at firſt, for he cannot ſay, this ſentence, how unjuſt ſoever it may be ſuppoſed, is only a private affair, which therefore he might omit if he pleaſed, ſince it is viſible, on the contrary, that ſuch an event, rendered memorable [i] by its circumſtances and conſequences, ought neceſſarily to have place in hiſtory. But when we conſider, we find this able hiſtorian has very artfully managed this omiſſion for two purpoſes; firſt, to extinguiſh, as far as in him lay, all remembrance of a rage which caſts a blemiſh on the papiſts; ſecondly, to render the reformed odious, when he comes to ſpeak of the ravages committed by the admiral's army, ſome time after, about Toulouſe. Mean while, with regard to theſe ravages, he was not ſo free as he deſired, but was obliged to ſpeak of them in general terms, for he could not deſcend to particulars, without diſcovering the connexion between theſe ravages and Rapin's death, by which they were both occaſioned and juſtified. But what he ſlightly mentions, Thuanus [k] and Mezerai relate more at large, and ſet in a true light. Mezerai, (who is more circumſtantial, and informs us, there were then in Toulouſe eight thouſand regular troops, which added to the great number of inhabitants, deprived the reformed of all hopes of becoming maſters of the city) ſays expreſsly, that the Hugonots — "ſet fire to all the lands and houſes of the counſellors, on "the ruins whereof the ſoldiers writ with ſmoaking coals, "RAPIN'S REVENGE."

Peter de Rapin, baron of Mauvers, ſon of Philibert, was governor of Mas-Granier, one of the cautionary-towns granted to the reformed in Guienne. He was a ſoldier from his

be compared for faithfulneſs, ſpeak of it, it muſt be inferred either there were proofs in their days, or they were warranted by the notoriouſneſs of the fact. And what puts it out of all queſtion is, that M. de la Faille, who writ laſt at Toulouſe, the Annals of that city, of which he was ſyndic, though he takes notice that the arret againſt Rapin is not to be found (having been doubtleſs razed out of the regiſters for the parliament's honour) yet ſays more of the matter than all thoſe that went before him.

i "This execution of Rapin made "a great noiſe, and the prince very "juſtly complained of it to the king "and queen. Their majeſties alſo ex- "preſſed great reſentment againſt the "parliament of Toulouſe, in their letters to them on that occaſion." Annals of Toulouſe, Ann. 1568." It is left to the reader to judge whether any thing like this would have happened for a private concern.

k "Incenſis oppidanorum et ſena- "torum, præcipuè circa urbem, prædiis, "quòd eos à publicâ quiete maximè "omnium abhorrere dicerent Proteſ- "tantes, recenti adhuc ob oculos ob- "verſante Rapini, ante biennium à "Rege et Condæo ut edicti pacifica- "torii promulgationem urgeret, in "urbem miſſi, & immani perfidiâ ig- "nominioſo ſupplicio affecti, memoriâ; "cujus indignam necem illi, inauditis "et jure belli inconceſſis vaſtat onibus, "ultum iri teſtabantur." Thuanus, lib. lxii."

youth, and attended king Henry IV. in all his expeditions. Moſt part of that time, he received not a farthing from his eſtate, which threw him into great ſtraits, as well as many others for the ſame reaſon. The king himſelf was in no better circumſtances, as may be inferred from his anſwer to Mr. de Rapin, who having loſt his horſe, beſought his majeſty to give him wherewithal to buy another: "I would," ſays he, "with all my heart, but ſee, I have ſcarce a ſhirt "to my back." But Mr. de Rapin's ſufferings in the religious wars were not confined to what paſſed in the army. He thrice ſaw his houſe burnt and battered down during his life, and every thing plundered. It is true, he had amends made him the laſt time, as far as was poſſible, and in a manner which muſt have been very agreeable to him: for the catholic gentlemen of the neighbourhood, by whom he was eſteemed and beloved, meeting together, reſolved to ſupply him with neceſſaries to plough and ſow his lands; and as thoſe troubles laſted but eight months, when they were appeaſed, he found a crop ready, and all his eſtate, except his houſe, in as good condition as the moſt diligent owner could have kept it. On another occaſion, he had a pleaſure without any allay: upon a rumour of his death, he read himſelf a letter from queen Mary de Medici, expreſſing her great ſorrow to his family. He married a daughter of Mr. de Lupé, lord of Maravat, captain of fifty men at arms, governor of Mauvezin, a cautionary town, and a major-general.

He left a numerous iſſue, of whom his ſecond ſon James, ſieur de Thoyras [l], was the darling of his parents. His father left him more than any of the other younger children, and his mother gave him moreover that portion of the eſtate of John de la Ferriere, vidame [m] of Chartres, and one of the heads of the French proteſtants, which fell to her in right of her mother. He was deſigned for a ſoldier, like his brothers; but his mother willing to have him near her, was for breeding him a ſcholar, to which the father conſented. After he had finiſhed his ſtudies, he was admitted advocate in the court of the Edict [n] of Caſtres, and contrary to the cuſtom of the country, where perſons nobly deſcended are never of that profeſſion, he practiſed it both at Caſtres and at Caſtelnaudary, and Toulouſe, above fifty years, to the

l The name of a village belonging to his family.

m That is, judge of a biſhop's temporal juriſdiction.

n Les Chambres de l'Edit were courts of judicature erected in ſeveral towns in behalf of the Hugonots, the judges being half reformed, and half catholics.

day

day of his death. It is true, I include the four years he ſpent at Paris, where he went, upon news of Mr. Pelliſſon, his brother-in-law, being arreſted with Mr. Fouquet. Nothing paſſed in that famous affair, but what he was privy to, and he was very ſerviceable in many reſpects. He was one of the three concerned in the factum, and ſupplied all we find there relating to the Roman law. I ſaw in France a letter ſent to him by Mr. Fouquet from the Baſtile, thanking him for it in the moſt affectionate manner. All that knew him, of whom ſeveral are now living, have always deſcribed him as one of the prime advocates of his time, and very eminent for his impartiality and integrity. His wife, who died at Geneva, where ſhe was ſent by the king's order, for refuſing to turn papiſt, was ſiſter of George and Paul Pelliſſon, whoſe memory is ſtill recent. Her father and grandfather were judges in the parliament of Toulouſe, and in the court of the edict of Caſtres. Raymond Pelliſſon her great-grandfather, after having been maſter of the requeſts, and ambaſſador to Portugal, was at laſt firſt preſident of the ſenate of Chamberi, and commandant in Savoy, whilſt in poſſeſſion of the French. I ſay nothing of a very extraordinary affair that befel him, and on which ſeveral authors [o] have enlarged, nor of his deſcendents above-named, becauſe I ſhould only copy what is to be found in the ſupplement to Moreri's Dictionary printed at Amſterdam in 1716. This family, from whence have ſprung ſeveral illuſtrious perſons [p], is originally Engliſh [q], and comes from an attorney-general to the prince of Wales when in Guienne.

I proceed now to Mr. de Rapin, who is properly the ſubject of my letter. Paul de Rapin, ſieur de Thoyras, younger ſon of James, was born at Caſtres, March 25, 1661. He began to ſtudy Latin under a tutor his father kept in the houſe, after which he was ſent to Puylaurens, and from thence to Saumur. At this laſt place, when about ſeventeen, he had a quarrel with a friend, upon a ſlight occaſion, and they immediately challenged each other. But whether they loſt time in fetching their ſwords, for being ſtudents they ſeldom wore any, or the duel held long, night came whilſt they were engaged, and then Mr. de Rapin's ſword broke near the hilt without his perceiving it. His adverſary immediately ſeeing it, generouſly told him. Whereupon the combat ceaſed,

o Recueil d' Arrêts de Papon, liv. xix. art. 9. Hiſtoires Admirables de Simon Goulart, tom. i. p. 6.

p See Recherche des Antiquitez de la langue Françoiſe, ou Dictionaire Gaulois. By Borel.

q Borel in the ſame place, p. 377.

and

and embracing each other, they returned together to town. Some time after he had another quarrel with a perſon much older than himſelf, who rudely joſtled him as he was walking through a narrow and difficult paſſage. Mr. de Rapin fell upon him, but they were quickly parted by the people there preſent. He ran for his ſword, and ſpeedily returning, found the perſon gone, neither could he meet with him, though he carefully ſought him ſeveral days. Some time after, he heard the man was gone to Paris, where Mr. de Rapin followed him. He was no ſooner arrived, but he was ſeized by a guard of the marſhals of France. This accident, which he did not expect, believing his deſign very ſecret, becauſe he had not imparted it, was occaſioned by the advice his uncle Pelliſſon received from Saumur, from whence he was informed of the ſuppoſed cauſe of his nephew's journey, which might be of ill conſequence, and withal, of the place where his antagoniſt might be heard of. Mr. Pelliſſon fearing a duel would enſue, which, however it ended, would ruin his nephew, acquainted the marſhals of France with the matter, Mr. de Rapin, who was yet very young, afford them opportunity to ſecure him, by going directly to his uncle's. The marſhals having heard both parties, condemned the aggreſſor to lie in priſon at Port-l'Eveque, till Mr. de Rapin ſhould conſent to his diſcharge, which he did about a month after, at the deſire of the prince of Furſtemberg biſhop of Straſburgh, who was then at Paris. Mean while, the next day after the ſentence, the priſoner's brother, who was reckoned a good ſword's-man, meeting Mr. de Rapin in the ſtreet, accoſted him, and, talking to him ſo as to renew the quarrel, Mr. de Rapin anſwered him by drawing his ſword, and wounded him before they were parted. But this rencounter was kept ſecret by the advice of the friends of both parties, for fear of incenſing the marſhals.

The beginning of the year 1679, Mr. de Rapin returned to his father's, in order to apply himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of the law. But before he had made any progreſs, he was obliged, with many other young gentlemen, to commence advocate, upon notice of an edict which was publiſhed ſoon after, that a doctor's degree ſhould not be given to any perſon, who had not ſtudied five years in ſome univerſity.

This ſame year, the courts of the edict were ſuppreſſed, by which Mr de Rapin's family were forced to remove to Toulouſe. Not long after, Mr. de Rapin perceiving the ill ſtate of the reformed,

reformed, and that probably it would daily grow worſe, deſired his father's conſent to quit the profeſſion of advocate for that of arms. His father, without abſolutely denying his requeſt, returned ſuch an anſwer as only tended to gain time: not that the requeſt ſeemed to him unreaſonable and ill grounded, but he was apprehenſive this new way of life, where ambition is more fired than in any other, would expoſe his ſon to great temptation, when he ſhould find by daily experience, that it would not be poſſible to riſe to any tolerable poſt, ſo long as he adhered to his religion; whereas that obſtacle being removed, he might hope to be advanced like the reſt. This ſtate of uncertainty made him very remiſs in the ſtudy of the law: he pleaded however one cauſe as advocate, but ſtopped there, and applied himſelf more cloſely than ever to the reading of good authors, to the mathematics and muſic, in which he acquired great ſkill.

In the year 1685, his father died; and two months after, the Edict of Nantz was revoked, whereupon Mr. de Rapin retired into the country with his mother and brothers. But as the perſecution, ſhortly after, was at the higheſt, he departed with his youngeſt brother, and arrived in England, in March, 1686.

Not long after, there came to London a French abbé of quality, and friend of Mr. Pelliſſon, who made Mr. de Rapin frequent viſits, and introduced him to Mr. de Barillon the French ambaſſador, from whom Mr. de Rapin received great civilities. Theſe gentlemen would have perſuaded him to wait upon the king, aſſuring him of a gracious reception: Mr. de Rapin, who could not ſee what pretenſions he had to ſuch an honour, and beſides was apprehenſive that a propoſal ſeemingly ſo advantageous, might tend to his prejudice, excuſed himſelf in the handſomeſt manner he could. This affair put him upon ſeriouſly reflecting on his preſent ſituation, continually teazed about his religion, by the marqais of Seiſſac and other French catholics then at London, but eſpecially by the abbé, who, though extremely courteous and civil, always turned their converſation to controverſy. Perceiving therefore it was not poſſible for him to defend himſelf unprepared, againſt a man who was maſter of theſe ſubjects, and managed them with great art, he returned into the country, from whence he was come to viſit the abbé, without taking leave. He knew himſelf guilty of ill manners, but choſe to be ſo, rather than remain any longer expoſed.

As he had then no expectations in England, he made but a ſhort ſtay; and going over to Holland, where he had relations,

lations, he liſted himſelf in a company of French voluntiers at Utrecht, commanded by Mr. de Rapin, his couſin-german.

The ſame year, Mr. Pelliſſon publiſhed his Reflections on Religious Differences, and ſent them to Mr. de Rapin, charging him to tell him his opinion; which he did very largely, as he ſaid himſelf, retorting, in ſeveral places, Mr. Pelliſſon's expreſſions. But nothing of this appears among his papers. Not that I think it either loſt or miſlaid, but rather believe, that out of modeſty he never took a copy, imagining that what he could ſay on ſuch a ſubject was not worth preſerving.

He was ſtill in the company of voluntiers when they went into England with the prince of Orange. But in 1689, the lord Kingſton made him enſign in his own regiment, with which he paſſed into Ireland. At the ſiege of Carrickfergus, juſt after his arrival, he had the good fortune to gain the eſteem of the officers of the regiment, and eſpecially of lieutenant colonel Fielding, who, in leſs than a year, procured him a lieutenancy.

In the beginning of 1690, the regiment to which Mr. de Rapin belonged, was given to lieutenant-general Douglas, who, upon the recommendation of three French colonels of the army, took more notice of him than of the reſt of the ſubalterns, and afterwards put a very great confidence in him.

After the battle of the Boyne, in which Mr. de Rapin was preſent, general Douglas was detached with his own and twelve other regiments of horſe and foot, to make a diverſion about Athlone, and, if poſſible, ſurprize the town. He appointed Mr. de Rapin and Mr. Carles, now lieutenant-general in Portugal, to act as quarter-maſter-general of his little army. This ſiege not proving ſucceſsful, the town being ſtrongly garriſoned, general Douglas was recalled. Mr. de Rapin, who was ſent before to receive orders, found the king at the head of a line, who ſtopping him, aſked ſeveral queſtions, to which Mr. de Rapin made ſuch anſwers, as ſerved to remove ſome ill impreſſions infuſed into his majeſty concerning Douglas's conduct.

At the aſſault of Limerick he was ſhot in the ſhoulder, and next day, the ſiege being raiſed, was forced to ride four miles on horſeback in great anguiſh. He was left with the reſt of the wounded, (among whom was his brother, who was ſhot through the body) and ſo loſt his regiment, which was ordered to the north. But ſhortly after he heard general Douglas had procured him a company, and cauſed him to be admitted,

mitted, though abſent. It was the ſame company where he had been enſign, and where was ſtill the ſame lieutenant, which made Mr. de Rapin extremely uneaſy.

The next year, general Douglas had orders to go to Flanders. Mr. de Rapin, whom he deſigned for his aid de camp, not being in a condition to attend him, by reaſon of his wound, adviſed him to take another, to whom the general ſoon gave a company in the Scotch guards, of which he was now colonel. The campaign opened in Ireland with the taking of Baltimore, where Mr. de Rapin had the ſatisfaction to be ſerviceable to a poor, diſtreſſed, captive family, with whom he was acquainted the foregoing year. He was afterwards at the ſiege of Athlone, and in the aſſault that was made through the river, under the ſtrongeſt rampart of the town, a very bold and brave action, and which ſucceeded, as it is thought, contrary to the expectations of the generals. In this town were left two regiments of different nations, commanded by the lieutenant-colonels, who underſtood not each other's language, and were both very jealous of their power, which might have occaſioned diſputes. Happily Mr. de Rapin belonged to one, and his intimate friend, a captain of good ſenſe, to the other, who were both equally eſteemed by their reſpective commanders; ſo whenever any accident happened that was like to breed a quarrel, theſe two officers, who were unprejudiced, agreed between them upon what was to be done, and adviſed it each with conſtant ſucceſs.

After that, Mr. de Rapin was ſent ſucceſſively to ſeveral garriſons, and among the reſt to Kilkenny, where he frequently waited on the biſhop, who ſeemed pleaſed with his converſation. This commerce would have been very agreeable, could he have peaceably enjoyed it; but the warm and daily conteſts between the mayor and the officers, ſcarce allowed him a moment's repoſe. He often uſed his endeavours to ſtifle them, and prevented their proceeding to extremities. Mean while, his fear that things would be brought to a deſperate paſs, made him gladly embrace the opportunity of commanding two companies in another place. Some time after, he rejoined his regiment at Kingſale, where he contracted an intimate friendſhip with Sir James Waller, who commanded there.

About the end of the year 1693, he received an order to repair to England, without any reaſon aſſigned; but at the ſame time a letter from Mr. Belcaſtel informed him, he was to be governor to the earl of Portland's ſon. He could not conceive

conceive whence this proceeded, having never had any ſuch thoughts; and it was ſome time before he knew he was recommended by the lord Galloway. He came therefore to London, and entered upon his office. Here was an end of all his hopes of riſing in the army to ſuch poſts as ſeveral younger officers of his acquaintance have obtained. All the amends he received, was leave to reſign his company to his brother, who died in 1719, lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of Engliſh dragoons. It is true, ſome time after, the king granted him a penſion of one hundred pounds a year, till he ſhould better provide for him, which never happened. So he enjoyed his penſion ſeveral years; but upon that prince's death it ceaſed, and a place was given him, which brought him in but a moderate income.

His new employment obliged him to be ſometimes in Holland, often in England, and alſo in France whilſt the earl of Portland was ambaſſador, till the young lord was fixed at the Hague, where he learned his exerciſes. Whilſt he was there in the year 1699, Mr. de Rapin married Mariamne Toſtart, an advantageous match, of whom I ſhall ſay nothing, as ſhe is living. This did not hinder him however from minding his pupil, and attending him in his travels. He began then with Germany, where they made ſome ſtay at ſeveral courts, and particularly at Vienna: from thence they paſſed into Italy, by way of Tyrol, where they ſaw marſhal Villeroy a priſoner, who gave Mr. de Rapin a letter for cardinal d'Etrés, then at Venice.

At his return, his employment ceaſing, he repaired to his family, who in his abſence lived at the Hague, where he ſpent ſome years. During that time he improved his leiſure hours, as far as the common duties of life would allow, in reſuming the ſtudy of fortification, and eſpecially of hiſtory, which led him to draw many general and particular genealogical and chronological tables. But what was moſt agreeable to him, and, as he thought, moſt inſtructive, was his being member of a ſociety or club, ſtill in being, to the erecting of which he was proud of contributing, where ſeveral perſons of learning and merit reaſoned upon ſuch ſubjects as occurred, and ſpoke their opinion on ſuch queſtions as were uſually propoſed. Mean while, as he found his family encreaſe, he reſolved to ſacrifice to the good of his children the pleaſures of the Hague, by retiring to a cheaper country. Accordingly he removed, in 1707, to Wezel, in the duchy of Cleves. He found there a good number of French refugees, among whom were ſeveral officers, men of quality, with whom

whom he lived very friendly; and he was alſo received as kindly as could be expected, by perſons of the higheſt rank, who were chiefly concerned in the government of the country, and who, on all occaſions, gave him marks of their favour.

The way of living at Wezel, different in many reſpects from that of the Hague, rendered him more than ever maſter of his time, and allowed him almoſt as much leiſure as he could deſire, to ſtudy the hiſtory of England, and the nature of the government. This was a more extenſive deſign than perhaps it ſeems at firſt, for it obliged him not only to peruſe all the Engliſh hiſtorians, but alſo thoſe of other nations, who had any affairs with the Engliſh, in order to procure light, and be aſſured of the truth of the facts, by confronting the ſeveral authors. He would have found it very difficult to ſucceed, or rather would probably have miſcarried, had he not before qualified himſelf for reading in their original tongue, all the books he was obliged to conſult. Beſides Greek and Latin, which he learned at the college, and had ſince improved, he underſtood Italian and Spaniſh, not to mention High and Low Dutch, of which indeed he was not ſo much maſter. As for Engliſh, which was the moſt neceſſary of all, he had made that his particular ſtudy.

Though he was of a very ſtrong conſtitution, yet a ſeventeen years conſtant application to compoſe his Hiſtory, entirely ruined his health. About three years before his death, he found himſelf quite ſpent, and frequently ſeized with violent pains in his ſtomach. He might have recovered, if he would have relinquiſhed his work, and unbent his mind for a time. Of this he was ſenſible, but could not reſolve it as he ought. All he indulged himſelf in, was not to riſe before ſix o'clock, after which it was impoſſible for him to ſleep or lie in his bed. As to his diverſions, of which walking was the moſt uſual, he was quickly tired of them, and, if his indiſpoſition permitted, returned to his work, which was the cauſe of his illneſs, and properly his ſole delight. At laſt, a violent fever, attended with an oppreſſion upon his lungs, carried him off the ſeventh day, being the 16th of May, 1725.

He left one ſon and ſix daughters.

From what has been ſaid, it appears that Mr. de Rapin was naturally grave. This led him, whilſt he was in the ſervice, to ſeek the converſation of the ſerious, which prejudiced not only ſeveral of his comrades, but even ſome of his ſuperiors, againſt him, who would have had him partake of all their diverſions. But, on the other hand, it gained him the eſteem

and

and friendſhip of many perſons of merit, who were in conſiderable poſts. We are not however to imagine he was an enemy to mirth: he could be merry on occaſion, though not ſo frequently, nor ſo immoderately as many are. Nay, he writ ſeveral little things in proſe and verſe, with humour and gaiety: but as they were on light and ludicrous ſubjects, and deſigned only as a preſent amuſement with his friends, he never thought them worth reviſing, and I queſtion whether there is one to be found among his papers. What has been ſaid of his application to his ſtudy, and works, is alſo to be underſtood with this limitation, that it never hindred him from embracing all opportunities to ſerve his friends, and reconcile their differences.

Thus have I done what lies in my power, to make known Mr. de Rapin's character. I am ſenſible, that to have a complete idea of him, we muſt, beſides what I have ſaid, conſider him in his writings; but this is what I ſhall not undertake. It belongs to the public to declare what opinion he there gives of himſelf, and to determine whether he ſhows good ſenſe and judgment in his manner of diſcovering the motives of actions; and above all, whether he has juſtly obſerved an entire impartiality, ſo eſſential to a good hiſtory.

This is all I have to ſay to you concerning Mr. de Rapin. I wiſh it may be ſatisfactory, and am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

to the Plate before the Introduction.

BRITANNIA ROMANA

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

58 57 56 55 54 53 52

Ebudes

Insula

Caledonij

Agricolas fort
Lollius Urbicus's Rampart

Gulf of Edinburg

Edingburg

Picti

Gulf of Dumbritton

Scotti

VALENTIA

Ottadini

Adrian's Rampart
Severus's Wall

Tyna Flu.

FLAVIA

Brigantes

CÆSARIENSIS

Mongedi I.

York
or Eboracum

IRELAND

Mona I.
nov
Angleſey

Humber Flu.

Bangor

Ordovices

BRITANNIA SECUNDA

Cornavij

MAXIMA

Coritani

Iceni

Catieuch
launi

CÆSARIENSIS

Dimetæ

Silures

Caledonij

Agricolas fort
Lollius Urbicus's Rampart

Gulf of Edinburg

Edinburg

Gulf of Dumbritan

Picti

VALENTIA

Ottadini

Adrian's Rampart
Severus's Wall

Ihgna Flu.

FLAVIA

Brigantes

CÆSARIENSIS

Monedaj

IRELAND

York
or Eboracum

Mona I.
now
Anglesey

Humber Flu.

Bangor

Chester or
Laer-leon or
Urbs Legionis

Ordovices

BRITANNIA

Cornavij

MAXIMA

Coritani

Silures SECUNDA

Catieuch
CÆSARIENSIS

Iceni

Dobuni

Trinobantes

Camelodnum
now Maldon

London

Attrebatij

Cantij

Sabrina Flu.

Belgæ

PRIMA

Regni

Sarum

Michromia now
Winchester

BRITANNIA

Durotrigæ

I. of Wight
or Vecta

Gallia

56 55 54 53 52 51 50

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Hiſtory of ENGLAND.

CONTAINING

The extent of GREAT BRITAIN, *or* ALBION. *Whence ſo called. The firſt inhabitants, cuſtoms, and manners of the* BRITONS. *Their way of fighting, and commerce. Their religion. The Druids. Their government. Original of the* IRISH, SCOTS, *and* PICTS.

GREAT BRITAIN is, without contradiction, the largeſt, fineſt, and moſt conſiderable iſland in Europe: nay, one might venture to affirm, ſhe holds the firſt rank among all the iſles of the known world; and it would be, perhaps, no difficult taſk to prove, ſhe juſtly deſerves this preference. But not to enter into ſo needleſs a diſcuſſion, it ſuffices to ſay, very few can be compared to her for temperateneſs of air, number of inhabitants, and all the neceſſaries as well as comforts of life. If ſhe wants any thing of foreign growth, her wants are eaſily and plentifully ſupplied by her commerce, which brings home to her whatever is rare and excellent in all parts of the world.

I ſhall not undertake to diſplay here all that may be ſaid to the advantage of this iſland, or repeat all the encomiums beſtowed on her, as well by the ancients as moderns. The preſent flouriſhing ſtate of Great Britain ſufficiently ſpeaks for her. Her fleets, by which ſhe reigns ſovereign of the Britiſh

ſeas; her troops, whoſe valour makes them every where dreaded; her illuſtrious generals, who have carried the terror of her arms to the utmoſt bounds of Europe, exalt her much higher than all I can ſay in her praiſe. Beſides, every one knows, this truly Fortunate Iſle, by her riches, and the excellent conſtitution of her government, long ſince eſtabliſhed, enjoys a happineſs unknown to the reſt of the world.

I do not queſtion but the figure England has made for ſome time, inſpires many perſons with a curioſity to learn by what ſteps ſhe is arrived to that height of grandeur and power, which renders her ſo formidable to her neighbours. It was this imagination that led me to publiſh the preſent Hiſtory in French, for the benefit of thoſe who not underſtanding the Engliſh tongue, cannot ſatisfy their curioſity by reading the hiſtories writ in the language of the country. I am apt to believe this work muſt needs meet with a favourable reception, if the Hiſtory itſelf does not ſuffer by the hiſtorian's defects. But,

As Great Britain has all along been divided into two parts, namely, England and Scotland, I muſt warn the reader, that my deſign is only to write the Hiſtory of England in particular. Though the neighbourhood of theſe two ſtates has been productive of ſeveral events common to both, their hiſtories are nevertheleſs diſtinct from each other. And therefore, I ſee no ſufficient reaſon to induce me to imitate ſundry hiſtorians, who have joined them together, on pretence that the two kingdoms in the laſt century were united under one and the ſame ſovereign. As for the particular Hiſtory of England, to which I intend to confine myſelf, I will venture to ſay, it contains as great variety, with as many entertaining and remarkable events, as moſt hiſtories hitherto extant. It is true indeed, it has its dry and barren places, eſpecially in the beginning; but this is an imperfection common to it with the hiſtories of France, Spain, and all the reſt of the kingdoms founded by the northern nations. As there were but few men of letters, among the nations, that, like a deluge, over-ran the Roman empire, there were conſequently but few writers who took care to tranſmit to poſterity, memorials of their hiſtories. This Hiſtory, like moſt others, may be compared to a river, which ſwells in proportion to its diſtance from the fountain-head, and grows immenſely great where it falls into the ocean. But as England is a part, and that the moſt conſiderable of Great Britain, it will not be improper to prefix to the Hiſtory of that kingdom, a general account of the iſland, of the firſt inhabitants, their cuſtoms, manners, government, and religion.

The

The ISLAND of ALBION, or BRITAIN, was ſcarce known to the Romans till the time of their emperors. Julius Cæſar was properly the firſt that diſcovered it to them, by carrying thither the Roman eagles, and by the account of his two Britiſh expeditions, the particulars whereof he has given in his Commentaries. He ſays, it is an iſland in the ſhape of a triangle: he ſets down the length of each ſide, and ſays, the whole circuit of the iſle meaſures about fifteen hundred miles, or five hundred French leagues. After ſuch a deſcription, one cannot but wonder at what Tacitus ſeems to aſſert, and Dion Caſſius poſitively affirms, that Britain was not diſcovered to be an iſland till the government of Julius Agricola, that is, in the reign of Veſpaſian, Titus, or Domitian. Was it poſſible for Cæſar's Commentaries to be unknown to theſe hiſtorians[a]?

Tacit. Life of Agricola. Dion Caſ. lib. 39.

Great Britain, as Cæſar obſerved, being almoſt triangular, if it be conſidered as bounded by three right-lines, forming a perfect triangle, the three ſides together may be reckoned about fifteen hundred miles: but allowing for the windings of the coaſt, they are found to make about eighteen hundred miles, or ſix hundred French leagues in compaſs. The ſhorteſt ſide, which looks towards France, and reaches from the North Foreland in Kent[b], to the Land's End[c], in Cornwall, contains about three hundred miles; the weſtern ſide, over againſt Ireland, from the Land's End to the northermoſt point of Scotland, may be about eight hundred miles in length; and the third or eaſtern ſide about ſeven hundred.

Extent of Great Britain.

Camd. Brit.

The names of Albion and Britain, by which this iſle has been known, are both of ſo ancient a date, that their origin is not to be traced. To conjecture only, recourſe has been had in this caſe. The firſt of theſe names, ſay ſome, was received from a certain giant, ſon of Neptune. Others derive the name Albion from the Greek word Alphon, ſignifying White, becauſe the coaſts, when viewed at a diſtance, look of that colour. Some again imagine Albion comes from the Celtic word Alp, or High, the land appearing ſo as you approach it from the continent[d].

Etymology of the word Albion. Camden.

As

a Tacitus ſays, "Hanc oram noviſſimi maris, *tunc primum* Romana claſſis circumvecta, inſulam eſſe Britanniam affirmavit." "Theſe words *tunc primum*, as appears by the context, muſt refer to the government of Agricola." This is Rapin's obſervation. But, after all, Tacitus might ſay this, and yet have ſeen Cæſar's Commentaries. For in Cæſar's time Britain was only ſuppoſed to be an iſland, but not known to be ſo by the Romans, till Agricola's fleet ſailed round it. Dion Caſſius lived about an hundred years after Tacitus, in the latter end of the ſecond, and the beginning of the third Century.

b Called by the Romans Cantium.

c Belerium.

d Alpin, in the Phœnician tongue ſignifies

Etymology of the word Br.tain.

As for the origin of the name Britain, we find, among the antiquaries, variety of opinions or conjectures, the principal of which are theſe four. The firſt, that the name of Britain was given to the iſland by Brutus, a Trojan prince.

Somner.

The ſecond is Somner's, a learned Engliſhman, who ſuppoſes that becauſe of the violent motion of the ſea which waſhes the coaſts of Great Britain, this name may come from the Britiſh word Brydio, or Rage. The third, eſpouſed by Camden, ſir William Temple, and others, is founded upon the word Brith, ſignifying in the Britiſh tongue Woad, becauſe the ancient Britons uſed to dye their Skins blue with that plant.

Bochart in Canaan.

The fourth is Bochart's: that famous antiquary believed, the Phœnicians coming to buy tin in the iſland of Albion, gave it the name of Barat-Anac, that is, the Land or Country of Tin, which being by the Greeks mollified into Britannia[e], was adopted by the Romans. This etymology ſeems to be confirmed by the Grecians calling the iſles of Scilly, Caſſiterides, which ſignifies in Greek the ſame as Barat-Anac in Phœnician.

Strabo.lib.2.

Examination of the four etymologies.

If I may be allowed to ſpeak my opinion of theſe four etymologies, the firſt ſeems to be founded altogether upon a fable. The ſecond, deriving the name Britain from a Britiſh word, ſignifying Rage, is, I think, unwarrantable; becauſe the iſland receiving this name from foreigners, as will be ſhown preſently, it is not likely they ſhould take it from the Britiſh language, of which probably they were ignorant: beſides, it is not fact that the ſea rages more on the coaſt of Great Britain than in other places; conſequently, its motion not being uncommon, could not give occaſion to derive this name from a word ſignifying Rage. The third, deriving the name from the word Brith, or Woad, is the moſt generally received. But, however, it is liable to one objection, which thoſe that embrace it ought to remove, and that is, the name of Britain was certainly given to the iſland by foreigners. This is evident from the natives never ſtyling their country Britain, or themſelves Britons: their true name is Cumri, or Cumbri; from whence Cambria, the name of Wales to this day among the Welſh. Now it is by no means

ſignifies a High Mountain; and Alben, in the ſame language, ſignifies White. The derivation from Alben ſeems to be countenanced by the Britiſh poets, who call Britain, Iniſ-wen, i.e. the White Iſland. See Selden's notes on Polyolbion, p. 20.

e The termination — tania, ſignifying in Greek, Region, ſhews, according to Camden, that this word was formed by the Greeks, juſt as Mauritania, Luſitania, Aquitania, etc. Rapin. It is a queſtion whether there is any ſuch Greek word as Tania, ſignifying a Country. Tan in Celtic, as well as in Aſia, ſignifies Country, as the names of numberleſs places witneſs, Kurdiſtan, Dagiſtan, etc. etc.

probable,

probable, that foreigners ſhould make uſe of a Britiſh word to form the name of this iſland. So the fourth opinion, viz. Bochart's, ſeems to me the moſt natural. It cannot be ſaid to be unlikely that the Phœnicians, the firſt traders to this iſland, ſhould give it the name of Barat-Anac, or the Land of Tin. Suppoſing this, it is probable the name paſſing from the Phœnicians to the Grecians, and from theſe laſt to the Romans, was changed into that of Britannia[f]. However this be, we have nothing to truſt to in this matter but very doubtful conjectures. The late inſtances of the names given to new-found lands are ſo many demonſtrations, that caprice has as great a ſhare as reaſon in coining theſe new names. A ſaint's day, the name of a leader or pilot, the firſt object that chanced to preſent itſelf to view, an accident happening at the time of the diſcovery of theſe new lands, have uſually ſerved for foundation to the names aſſigned them. So that perhaps the conjectures of Camden and Bochart are as little to the purpoſe with reſpect to Britain, as ours would be, if ignorant of the occaſion of the names given to the ſeveral parts of America, we ſhould endeavour to trace them from the language, cuſtoms, or commerce of the natives.

Origin of the Britons.

We are as much in the dark concerning the origin of the firſt inhabitants of the iſland of Albion, for in all likelihood it was peopled by colonies from different places, and at different times. Endeavours therefore have been uſed to give us ſome light into this matter from their cuſtoms, manners, religion, and form of government. But before I proceed to what has been conjectured on this head, it will be neceſſary juſt to touch upon the fabulous ſtory of Brutus, publiſhed by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a writer of the twelfth century. Not that it deſerves notice; but being mentioned by almoſt all the Engliſh hiſtorians, it ſeems hardly pardonable to paſs it over in ſilence. Beſides, it is the part of a good hiſtorian not only to relate matters of fact, but alſo to guard his readers againſt the fictions obtruded upon the world for truths.

Cæſar. Tacitus.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Benedictin monk, penned in Latin a Hiſtory of Britain, and dedicated it to Robert earl of Gloceſter, natural ſon of Henry I. king of England. In this pretended Hiſtory, Britain is ſaid to receive her name from Brutus, the firſt of her kings. What the hiſtorian relates is as follows:

f A modern author gives the following derivation. The Phœnicians having paſſed the Streights, met with no iſland in the ocean comparable to theſe now called the Britiſh iſles. Theſe therefore, by way of eminence, they called Brithan, that is Outer, or Iſlands in the Outer Sea, in oppoſition to thoſe in the Mediterranean, which they called the Inner Sea. From Brithan, Britannia naturally flows. Le Clerc.

The ſtory of Brutus,

Brutus, ſon of Sylvius, grandſon of Æneas, had the misfortune to kill his father as he was ſhooting at a deer. As he could not, or would not, after this fatal accident, ſtay any longer in Italy, he retires into Greece, where gathering together the deſcendants of the Trojans that were brought thither after the deſtruction of their city, he puts to ſea with them, and after long wandering on the Mediterranean, enters the Atlantic ocean, and performs wonders in ſeveral places, particularly in Gaul againſt Goffarius king of Aquitain. At length, guided by an oracle, he comes and lands in the iſland of Albion, at a place where Totneſs now ſtands, in the county of Devon. The iſland was at that time inhabited by giants of the race of Cham, whoſe chief or king was Gog-Magog. Brutus and his Companions, though few in number, not only keep their ground, but root out the giants and get poſſeſſion of the iſland, which Brutus from his own name called Britain. Before his death, he divided his dominions among his three ſons. Locrin, or Leogrin, had for his ſhare Loegria, ſo called from him, the ſame with England now, excluſive of Wales, which was the ſhare of Camber, Brutus's ſecond ſon, and from him named Cambria; Albanact, the youngeſt, had the country ſince called Scotland, to which he gave the name of Albania[g].

Having laid theſe foundations, the author continues his Hiſtory, giving an account of the various revolutions that happened in the iſland, under the kings ſucceſſors of Brutus, whoſe names he relates with ſome of their actions. But as to the time of their reigns he is not ſo exact, ſetting down neither when they began, nor how long they laſted. He is contented with ſaying, Brutus's arrival in Albion was twelve hundred years after the flood, and ſixty-ſix after the deſtruction of Troy. This Hiſtory, publiſhed in ſo dark an age, was greedily received, particularly by the Welſh, the poſterity of the ancient Britons. But it brings with it ſo many marks of forgery, that it is looked upon by all that have examined it with any attention, as a fiction of Geoffrey himſelf, or ſome other author whom he has too implicitly followed.

After rejecting this fable, I wiſh it were in my power to give a ſatisfactory account of the origin of the Britons: but that is impoſſible. We muſt be ſatisfied with the conjectures of Cæſar, Tacitus, and ſome more modern authors. The moſt probable account ſeems to be this:

g The name of Loegria is loſt; Cambria is retained by the Welſh, as Albany is by the Scots. But this is no proof of the origin of theſe names being ſuch as Geoffrey of Monmouth related. Rapin.

That

That Great Britain was peopled by the Celtæ or Gauls, deſcended from Gomer, ſon of Japhet, is univerſally acknowledged. Of this the name Cumri[h], by which the Welſh call themſelves ſtill in their language, and ſeveral other reaſons, will not ſuffer us to doubt. Beſides, the numerous ſwarms of Gauls that over-ran ſo great a part of Europe and Aſia, make it credible, they neglected not to ſend colonies into Great Britain, which lay ſo near them. The affinity, taken notice of by antiquaries, between the Gauls and Britons with reſpect to religion, is a farther confirmation of this opinion. It is true indeed, the Belgæ are ſaid by ſome writers to ſettle in the eaſtern, the Spaniards in the weſtern, and the Hibernians or Iriſh in the northern parts of Great Britain. But this is not inconſiſtent with the common opinion. The Belgæ were no other than Gauls; and the Spaniards, as well as the Iriſh or Scots, were, according to ſome writers, colonies of the Celtiberian Gauls that inhabited along the weſtern coaſts of Spain. But ſuppoſing it were not very certain, that theſe Spaniards were Celtiberians, it cannot be denied that the ſouthern part, now called England, was peopled by the Gauls. This is the moſt probable account of the origin of the Britons.

Camden. Brit. p. xiv. etc.

As for their manners, cuſtoms, religion, and government, though mentioned by Cæſar in his Commentaries, ſhould we confine ourſelves to what he has ſaid, our knowledge would be but very imperfect. A fuller diſcovery of theſe things muſt be drawn chiefly from the authors who writ after the Romans were become maſters of Britain. As the Britons did not at once, but by degrees, alter their cuſtoms and manners, what theſe authors ſay of the Britons of thoſe days, may be preſumed to agree in many reſpects with the ancient inhabitants of the iſland.

Manners and Cuſtoms of the Britons. Cæſar. Com. lib. v. Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

The Britons were generally tall and well-made, and, like moſt of the Iriſh at this day, yellow-haired. Their conſtitution was ſo good, that, according to Plutarch, they frequently lived a hundred and twenty years. This length of days was probably owing to their ſobriety and temperance, as much or more than to the wholſomneſs of the air. The uſe of cloaths was ſcarce known in the iſland. None but the inhabitants of the ſouthern coaſts covered their nakedneſs with the ſkins of wild beaſts careleſsly thrown over them, not ſo much to defend themſelves againſt the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the ſtrangers that came to traffic with them.

h That is Indigenæ, or the firſt and moſt antient inhabitants of Britain, in oppoſition to thoſe that came over from Belgium. Mag. Brit. p. 8.

Solinus. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxii. cap. 1.

They were wont by way of ornament to make inciſions in their bodies in the ſhape of flowers, trees, and animals, which with the juice of woad they painted of a ſky-colour that never wore out. Theſe ſcars are by Tertullian termed Britanorum Stigmata.

They lived in woods, in hutts covered over with ſkins, boughs, or turf. There are people now in the north of Scotland that are ſaid to have no other houſes. I remember alſo to have ſeen in Ireland poor people living in a hutt covered only with green turf, and not above three or four times bigger than their body. I was told, they lived quietly in theſe habitations, without ſtirring abroad, unleſs to provide for their ſubſiſtence, and, contented with milk and potatoes, gave themſelves no farther trouble. This may ſerve to give us an idea of the way of living as well among the ancient Britons, as, perhaps, among many other nations. Their uſual food was milk, and fleſh got by hunting, their woods and plains being well ſtocked with game. As for domeſtic fowls, hens, and geeſe, if they bred any, it was for their pleaſure, being ſtrictly forbid by their religion to eat them, as Cæſar expreſly obſerves. Neither did they eat any fiſh, though the rivers and the ſea that ſurrounded them were plentifully ſtored with them. Their towns, or rather villages, were only a confuſed parcel of hutts placed at a little diſtance from each other, without any order or diſtinction of ſtreets. They generally ſtood in the middle of a wood, the avenues whereof were defended with ſlight ramparts of earth, or with the trees that were felled to clear the ground. Notwithſtanding this their plain and ſimple manner of living, ſo remote from the luxury of other nations, they were as quick of apprehenſion as their neighbours the Gauls, and, if Tacitus may be credited, of greater penetration. Diodorus Siculus does not ſcruple to prefer their honeſty and integrity before that of the Romans. One cuſtom however they had, that ſeemed deteſtable to other nations, though for their part they thought it very innocent; and that was, for ten or a dozen brothers or friends to live all together and have their wives in common. This cuſtom continued a long time among them, though in other reſpects they were grown very civilized by their commerce with the Romans, when maſters of this iſland. A Britiſh lady being upbraided one day by Julia, Severus's empreſs, with a cuſtom ſo contrary to the practice of other nations, is ſaid, by an hiſtorian, to return this bold anſwer: "The Roman ladies have little "reaſon to reproach us upon this account, ſince we do pub-"licly with the beſt of our men no more than what they do "privately

Cæſar. Com. lib. v.

Dio, l. lxxvi.

"privately with the worſt of theirs, freedmen and ſlaves." The Britons, without doubt, differed from more civilized nations in many other cuſtoms[i]. But their country being little frequented by foreigners, we know but few particulars about them, eſpecially with regard to the time before the arrival of the Romans. We muſt therefore be ſatisfied with what we find ſcattered here and there in authors, who it may be, for the moſt part, knew but little of the matter.

The Britons manner of fighting. Cæſar. Com. lib. iv.

Cæſar gives a great character of the valour of the Britons, and their going to battle with undaunted bravery. But it is hard to underſtand his deſcription of their way of fighting. He ſays, they fought for the moſt part in chariots, from whence, furioſly driving among their enemies, they flung their darts: but when they had to deal with the horſe, they left their chariots to fight on foot with advantage. Now this ſeems very ſtrange. For my part, I own I cannot conceive what advantage they could have to engage the horſe rather on foot than in their chariots.

Their trade.

As well ſituated for trade as the Britons were, we do not find they had any large veſſels, or ventured to ſea beyond the coaſts of Gaul. Their chief commerce was with the Phœnician merchants[k], who, after the diſcovery of the iſland, exported every year great quantities of tin, with which they drove a very gainful trade with diſtant nations. But notwithſtanding all their care to conceal the fountain-head, the Greeks[l] diſcovered it at length, and came and traded alſo to the ſame place.

Their religion.

The commerce being carried on in the furtheſt parts of Cornwal only, foreign merchants had no opportunity to know exactly the ſtate of the iſland. For which reaſon we are ignorant at this day, of many particulars concerning the religion and government of the Britons, that probably would have been tranſmitted down to us, if other nations had met with information. A full account therefore muſt not be expected of theſe matters, ſince here, as well as in many other caſes, conjectures only are all we have to go upon. Thus much however is known, that the Britons had in a manner the ſame gods with the Gauls. For inſtance, Dis and Samothes were deities equally worſhipped by both nations. But the Britons had a very particular veneration for Andate, goddeſs of victory, to whom they ſacrificed their priſoners of war.

i Another cuſtom they had, viz. If a wife was found acceſſary to her huſband's death, ſhe was proceeded againſt with fire. Hence, ſays Coke, our preſent law of burning women that have killed their huſbands.

k The Phœnicians firſt came to Britain before the Trojan war. Sam. Brit. p. 47.

l The Greeks came hither one hundred and ſixty years before Julius Cæſar. Sam. Brit. p. 74.

We

The druids. Cæſar, lib. vi. Pliny, l. xvi. cap. 44.

We know moreover the druids, as well among the Britons as Gauls, had the care and direction of all religious matters[m]. The name Druid comes from the word Deru, ſignifying in the Britiſh or Celtic language, an Oak, like Drus in the Greek[n]. For the miſletoe that grows on the oak was looked upon by them as a moſt ſacred thing, and the greateſt bleſſing from heaven[o]. The druids were held in ſuch veneration by the people, that their authority was almoſt abſolute: no public affairs were tranſacted without their approbation; not ſo much as a malefactor could be put to death without their conſent. Religion not only afforded them a pretence to concern themſelves in the government, but authoriſed them, as they pretended, to intermeddle in private affairs. Under colour, that there is hardly any caſe but where religion may be concerned, they claimed a power to exclude from the ſa-

m Et vos Barbaricos ritus moremque ſiniſtrum
Sacrorum, Druidæ, poſitis repetiſtis ab armis.
Solis noſſe deos, etc. Lucan.

The Druids, now, while arms are heard no more,
Old myſteries and barb'rous rites reſtore:
A tribe who ſingular religion love,
And haunt the lonely coverts of the grove.
To theſe, and theſe of all mankind alone,
The gods are ſure reveal'd, or ſure unknown.
If dying mortals doom they ſing aright,
No ghoſts deſcend to dwell in dreadful night:
No parting ſouls to griſly Pluto go,
Nor ſeek the dreary ſilent ſhades below:
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find.
Thus life for ever runs its endleſs race,
And like a line, death but divides the ſpace;
A ſtop which can but for a moment laſt,
A point between the future and the paſt.
Thrice happy they beneath their northern ſkies,
Who that worſt fear, the fear of death deſpiſe:
Hence they no cares for this frail being feel;
But ruſh undaunted on the pointed ſteel;
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely ſcorn,
To ſpare that life which muſt ſo ſoon return.

n Father Pezron, in his book of the Original of the Celtic Language, will have both Greek and Latin to come from Celtic. If ſo, the Greek word Drus muſt come from the Celtic Deru. Rapin.

o Ad viſcum druidæ, druidæ cantare ſolebant. Ovid.

They called the miſletoe, as they ſtill call it in ſome part of Wales, the Pren-Awyr. Theſe groves were they worſhipped were called Llwyn, thence probably the word Llan, ſignifying now in Welſh a Church. Theſe groves were incloſements of ſpreading oaks, ever ſurrounding their ſacred places; in which were, 1. Gorſeddaû, or hillocks, where they ſat and pronounced their decrees, and ſpoke orations to the people. 2. Carnedde, or heaps of ſtones, on which they had a peculiar mode of worſhip. 3. Cromleche, or altars, on which they performed the ſolemnities of ſacrifices. Rowland, p. 69.

crifices

crifices all ſuch as refuſed to ſubmit to their determinations. By that means they became very formidable, this ſort of excommunication being deemed ſo infamous, that the perſon on whom it was pronounced, was avoided by all. The Chriſtian clergy in this point have but too cloſely imitated the ancient druids. The chief of the druids was a ſort of pontiff, or high-prieſt, who had authority over all the reſt. This dignity was elective: and ſometimes, when the candidates were of equal merit, ſuch heats and broils have raged among them, that they have fallen to blows before the election was over.

The Bards. Cæſar. Com. lib. ix.

The Bards, among both Britons and Gauls, were prieſts of an inferior order to the druids. Their buſineſs was to celebrate the praiſes of their heroes in verſes and ſongs, which they compoſed and ſung to their harps[p]. They continued in being a long time: there were ſome even after the Romans had entirely abandoned the iſland.

The Eubates

A third ſort of prieſts, as well in Britain as Gaul, were the Eubates[q], who applied themſelves chiefly to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and the contemplation of the wonderful works of nature, as Marcellinus informs us.

Religion of the Gauls and Britons.

In ſhort, as the Britons and Gauls had properly but one and the ſame religion, it is very probable one of theſe nations received it from the other. Cæſar was of opinion, that the Gauls had it from Britain, becauſe, as he obſerves, thoſe that were deſirous to have a thorough knowledge of this religion, went thither to ſtudy it. But this argument at moſt ſerves only to prove, that their religious myſteries were celebrated with greater exactneſs in Britain, it may be by reaſon of the revolutions that happened in Gaul, by the wars raiſed there by the Romans. Buchanan, not ſo poſitive as Cæſar, ſays, it cannot certainly be known which of the two nations received it from the other. It is very likely, however, the Gauls, when they peopled Britain, brought their religion with them. Be this as it will, ſince the Britiſh and Gauliſh druids had the ſame notions, and there is nothing certain concerning the firſt, we can form no idea of their religion, but by that of the Gauls, which is a little better known to us. This knowledge, however, is of no great extent, the druids having left nothing

p You too, you bards! whom ſacred raptures fire,
To chaunt your heroes on your country's lyre,
Who conſecrate, in your immortal ſtrain,
Brave patriot-ſouls in righteous battle ſlain. Lucan.

q Οὐάτεις, Strabo. In Welſh or Britiſh, Offwyr or Offyddion. Mon. Antiq. p. 65.

in

in writing, it being their cuſtom to teach their diſciples every thing by heart. A Burgundian author has been at the pains to collect ſome of the druidical maxims or rules, of which the moſt remarkable are theſe:

Gollut. Mem. de. Franch. Comt.

Maxims of the druids.

" None muſt be inſtructed but in the ſacred groves.

" Miſletoe muſt be gathered with reverence, and if poſ-
" ſible in the ſixth moon. It muſt be cut with a golden
" bill.

" Every thing derives its origin from heaven.

" The arcana of the ſciences muſt not be committed to
" writing, but to the memory.

" Great care is to be taken of the education of children.

" The powder of miſletoe makes women fruitful.

" The diſobedient are to be ſhut out from the ſacrifices.

" Souls are immortal.

" The ſoul after death goes into other bodies.

" If the world is deſtroyed, it will be by fire or water.

" Upon extraordinary emergencies, a man muſt be ſacri-
" ficed.

" According as the body falls, or moves after it is fallen;
" according as the blood flows, or the wound opens, future
" events are foretold.

" Priſoners of war are to be ſlain upon the altars, or burnt
" alive incloſed in wicker, in honour of the gods.

" All commerce with ſtrangers muſt be prohibited.

" He that comes laſt to the aſſembly of the ſtates, ought
" to be puniſhed with death.

" Children are to be brought up apart from their parents,
" till they are fourteen years of age.

" Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next.

" There is another world, and they who kill themſelves
" to accompany their friends thither, will live with them
" there.

" Letters given to dying perſons, or thrown on the fune-
" ral piles of the dead, will faithfully be delivered in the
" other world.

" The moon is a ſovereign remedy for all things, [as its
" name in Celtic implies.]

" Let the diſobedient be excommunicated; let him be de-
" prived of the benefit of the law; let him be avoided by all,
" and rendered incapable of any employ.

" All maſters of families are kings in their own houſes,
" they have a power of life and death over their wives, chil-
" dren and ſlaves."

Theſe

Theſe articles may ſerve to give us a ſpecimen of the principles and religion of the druids, which flouriſhed a long while in Great Britain as well as in Gaul. It ſpread as far as Italy, as appears by Auguſtus's injunction to the Romans not to celebrate its myſteries. There were women as well as men druids. It was a female druid of Tungria [r], that, according to Vopiſcus, foretold to Diocleſian (when a private ſoldier in Gallia) that he would be emperor of Rome [s].

The government of the Britons.

If the religion of the Britons may be learned by that of the Gauls, an idea of their government may likewiſe be formed the ſame way. As both nations were of Celtic extraction, they had, very probably, the ſame form of government. In order, therefore, to know the nature of the Britiſh government, recourſe may be had to what was in uſe among the Gauls. From the time of the founding of Rome, the Gauls were divided into ſeveral petty ſtates, with a head or king over each. Some of theſe being more powerful than the reſt, kept their neighbours in a ſort of dependance, and one of them, upon great and imminent dangers, was by common conſent choſen chief commander, whoſe power was limited, as well as the time of his adminiſtration. During his office, he was conſidered as a ſovereign magiſtrate, having power to put the laws in execution, and act as captain-general of all their forces. Livy (according to the cuſtom of the Romans) calls this magiſtrate King. But a modern author, who believed he underſtood better the nature of that dignity, affirms the title of King not to be at all proper for the perſon inveſted with it, and therefore calls him only Paramount, or, "one ſuperior "to the reſt." However this be, the Britons may be ſuppoſed to have had much the ſame form of government, ſince we find the whole country between the Tine and the Chan-

S. Julian Orig. of the Burgund.

Pomp. Mel. lib. iii.

r The preſent biſhopric of Liege.

s Rowlands, in his Mona Antiqua, imagines the Second Sight (which he ſeems to believe) called Taiſh in Scotland, to be a relique of druidiſm, and builds his conjecture upon this noted ſtory related by Vopiſcus, who ſays, Diocleſian, when a private ſoldier in Gallia, on his removing thence, reckoning with his hoſteſs, a druid woman, ſhe told him he was too penurious, but that he needed not to be ſparing of his money, for after he ſhould kill a Boar, ſhe aſſured him (looking ſtedfaſtly in his face) he would be emperor of Rome. Theſe words made great impreſſion upon him, and he was afterwards much delighted in hunting and killing boars, often ſaying when he ſaw many made emperors, and his own fortune not much mending, "I "kill the boars, but 'tis others that "eat the fleſh." However, many years after, one Arrius Aper, father-in-law of the emperor Numerianus, graſping for the empire, treacherouſly ſlew him, for which fact being brought by the ſoldiers before Diocleſian (then become a prime commander in the army) he aſked his name, and being told he was called Aper, (i. e. Boar) without further pauſe ſheathed his ſword in his bowels, ſaying, "Et hunc Aprum cum "cæteris," which done, the ſoldiers ſaluted him emperor.

nel

nel was divided into ſeventeen petty ſtates, with each its head, dignified by authors with the name of King. When Julius Cæſar invaded Britain, the command of their army was conferred by the Britons on Caſſibelanus, king or chief of the Trinobantes; and in the time of Claudius, Caractacus, king of the Silures, was choſen general. In the map annexed, the names and ſituation of theſe ſtates are laid down. Theſe nations, without doubt, depending on each other no farther than neceſſity compelled them, had frequent quarrels and conteſts. But we have no certain knowledge of their affairs; and therefore the beginning of their hiſtory can be dated no farther back than Cæſar's invaſion. From thence, to the time of their being freed from the dominion of the conquering Romans, the thread may in ſome meaſure be carried on, though ſeveral large gaps occur, which it is not poſſible to fill up, by reaſon of the fewneſs of the authors that have treated of this ſubject. But before I begin, it will be neceſſary to premiſe a brief account of the Picts and Scots, inhabitants of North Britain.

If the Britons aſpire to a very ancient original, by calling themſelves deſcendants of Brutus, great-grandſon of Æneas; the Scots, ever jealous of the glory of their neighbours, reſolve not to yield to them, even in this imaginary honour: nay, they go beyond them, and lay claim to a much greater, but withal a no leſs fabulous antiquity. Their hiſtories are full of their nation being founded by Gathelus, ſon of Cecrops king of Athens; or, as ſome ſay, ſon of Argus, fourth king of Argos, jointly with Scota, daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt. This fable is dreſſed up in the following manner:

The fabulous orig. of the Scots. Hector Boethius. Buchanan.

Gathelus, being forced to quit his native country, to avoid the perſecution of his enemies, puts to ſea in company with ſome friends, who would not forſake him. After ſeveral adventures too long to relate, he comes into Egypt, and ſerves under Moſes in Pharaoh's war with the Ethiopians. At length, upon Moſes leaving Egypt, Gathelus having ſignalized himſelf by many brave actions, ſucceeds him in the command of Pharaoh's army, who gives him his daughter Scota in marriage. Thirty-nine years after, Gathelus, terrified by an oracle foretelling the deſtruction of Egypt, ſails from thence with a great number of Greeks and Egyptians who adhere to his fortune. He makes ſeveral attempts to ſettle in Africa; but not ſucceeding, roves about uncertain of his fate, and at laſt lands at a port on the weſtern coaſt of Spain, calling the place Portus Gatheli, from whence came the name of Portugal.

gal. [Here the author of this fable forgot that Gathelus ſpoke Greek and not Latin.] After ſome ſtay, Gathelus, leaving a colony here, ſteers his courſe farther northward, and ſettles in a country from his own name called Gathelicia, or Galicia. Some time after, his ſon Hiberus embarking with ſome of his father's followers, ſails towards the north, and leads a colony to an iſland by him named Hibernia, and afterwards Ireland. As this iſland was not then very populous the natives gladly received the new-comers, and mixing with them, ſoon became one nation under the general name of Scots, from Scota mother of Hiberus.

It would be loſt time to refute a fable that brings its own confutation along with it. Neither ſhould I have mentioned it, had not Buchanan inſerted it in his Hiſtory of Scotland, and ſhewn the abſurdities of it, to remove the prejudices of thoſe of his countrymen who ſtood up in its defence. This may be called the fabulous origin of the Scots. The account given for truth by the writers that are leſs prepoſſeſſed in favour of the antiquity of their nation, is as follows:

A probable account of the origin of the Scots.

The iſland of Iren, called by the Romans Hibernia, and by the Engliſh and Scots Iren-landit or Ireland, had been long poſſeſſed by the Scots from Scythia in Europe, when a colony of Spaniards came with a deſign to ſettle there, much about the time that the Carthaginians became maſters of Spain. The number of theſe foreigners not being very conſiderable, the natives, far from being alarmed, willingly admitted them, and aſſigned them lands to cultivate. Buchanan ſuppoſes theſe Spaniards to be deſcended from a colony of the Celtiberians that were ſettled in Spain. The good reception theſe met with in Ireland, drew others thither; inſomuch that in the end the iſland grew very populous, and the two nations mixing together, became one people under the name of Scots. In proceſs of time, the land being over-ſtockt, abundance of families threw themſelves into the Ebudes or Hebrides, iſlands ſituated north of Ireland, which being ſmall, were likewiſe in time as well peopled as Ireland itſelf. The Scyths or Scots are ſaid to land in Ireland not long after the flood, and the Spaniards to arrive there in the year of the world 3380.

Arrival of the Picts in Britain. Bede lib. i. cap. 1.

The Hebrides being thus peopled by the Scots, certain ſtrange ſhips came and offered to land. Theſe ſhips were filled with Picts, a German nation inhabiting the countries now called Mecklenburg and Pomerania. They were roving about, according to the cuſtom of the northern nations, in queſt of new habitations, their country being too populous to

to find them a ſubſiſtence[t]. They demanded of the Scots ſome part of their iſles to ſettle in. The Scots replied, the ſoil was ſo barren, that it was incapable of ſupplying them all with neceſſaries. But withal informed them, that a large iſland, called Albion, lay not far diſtant, where the northern parts being thinly inhabited, they would infallibly find room enough, offering them aſſiſtance in caſe of oppoſition. The Picts ſatisfied with this diſcovery, ſteered directly to Albion, and finding but few inhabitants where they landed, ſettled without much trouble in the northern parts.

The Scots, having been long deſirous to extend their habitations into Albion, where they hoped to find greater plenty than in their iſlands, laid hold of this opportunity to ſhare in the new ſettlement[u]; the Picts were not diſpleaſed to ſee ſuch numbers flock over, for beſides the need they ſtood in of their aſſiſtance againſt the attacks of the natives of Albion, they could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted long in that country, if the Scots had not ſupplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony. But this was done upon condition the heirs of the women ſhould have the preference before thoſe of the men in the ſucceſſion to the kingdom they were going to eſtabliſh. This law, Bede ſays, was in force in his time. The two nations, being thus united together in one common intereſt, compelled by degrees the ancient inhabitants of Albion to retire to the ſouthward, and leave them in poſſeſſion of all the country lying north of the Tine. At length, their numbers being greatly increaſed, they agreed to ſeparate; whether the difference of their laws and cuſtoms occaſioned frequent quarrels, or for ſome other unknown reaſons. The Scots choſe the weſtern part, as neareſt Ireland, with the Hebrides; and the Picts took the eaſtern part, as oppoſite to Germany[x]. After the ſeparation, the two nations began to be diſtinguiſhed from one another, and governed each by their own laws. The Scots that inhabited Albion began to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that remained in Ireland and the adjacent iſles: the former were called Albins and the latter Iriſh. Hence comes likewiſe the diſtinction between Great Scotland or Ireland, and Little Scotland or North Britain. The Albin Scots,

Buchan.

Picts and Scots unite.

They ſeparate.

Diſtinction between the Scots and Great and Little Scotland. Camd. Deſc. of Scotland.

t In St. Kilda, the moſt weſtern iſle of the Hebrides, the inhabitants now live upon eggs, which the wild geeſe come and lay conſtantly at a certain ſeaſon. Martin's Voyage to St. Kilda, printed at London, 1698. Rapin.

u This is ſtrongly conteſted, for it is pretended by many, that the Scots did not ſettle in the northern parts of Britain till the beginning of the ſixth century. Buchanan's account is followed here. Rapin.

x They were parted by Grantſbain hills, called by Tacitus, in the Life of Agricola, cap. xxv. Mons Grampius.

ſtrengthened

ſtrengthened by continual ſupplies from their brethren the Iriſh, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in the end growing much more powerful than the Picts, they utterly deſtroyed them. But this happened not till many ages after their ſeparation.

Conteſt between the Scots and Picts.

It is difficult for amity and a good underſtanding to remain long between two bordering nations. Jealouſy and oppoſite intereſts furniſh them with too frequent occaſions of quarrel. The Picts and Scots were no ſooner parted, but they began to fall at variance about ſome trifling affair. The conteſt being inflamed, they were upon the point of coming to an open rupture by the inſtigations of the ancient inhabitants, who fomented the diviſion to the utmoſt of their power. Theſe laſt, whom I ſhall for the future call Britons, though I know not when that name was firſt given them, began to repent of ſuffering theſe foreigners to ſettle in the iſland: wherefore, at this ſo ſeemingly favourable an opportunity, they thought it their intereſt to kindle a war which could not fail to be fatal to both parties, and might even prove equally deſtructive of both. As the Britons were in moſt danger from the Scots, by reaſon of their neighbourhood to Ireland, they offered their aſſiſtance to the Picts to drive the Scots out of the country, in expectation afterwards to find an opportunity to do the ſame by thoſe they were now ſo deſirous to ſide with.

The Picts make an alliance with the Britons.

The Scots being informed of this alliance, turned their thoughts to Ireland, and applied for aid to king Ferchard, who ſent over his ſon Fergus. This young prince, finding the Albin Scots in a ſort of anarchy, without a chief or head but what they choſe upon extraordinary occaſions, and repreſenting to them the inconveniences attending ſuch a ſtate, they reſolved to inveſt him with ſovereign authority. Fergus therefore was the firſt king of Scotland properly ſo called, for Great Scotland or Ireland not only had been governed by kings many ages before, but, if the Iriſh are to be credited, was the moſt ancient monarchy in the world. Fergus is ſaid to arrive in Scotland in the year of the world 3627, about the time Alexander the Great made his entrance into Babylon. But this pretenſion is ſo ſtrongly conteſted, it muſt not be too eaſily admitted.

Fergus ſent from Ireland to aid the Scots.

Is made king of Scotland. Buchan.

Buchan.

Fergus, as ſoon as he was ſeated in his throne, made great preparations for the war againſt the Picts, without neglecting however the means to avoid it. He repreſented to them by his ambaſſadors, that the conteſt between the two nations being of little moment, might eaſily be decided without coming to blows, would both ſides but agree to hearken to reaſon: that it was to be feared their weakening one another, would

Fergus joins with the Picts againſt the Britons.

afford their neighbours and common enemies the Britons an opportunity to deſtroy both nations, which it was eaſy to perceive was their intention. This remonſtrance made ſuch impreſſion on the Picts, that ſuddenly altering their firſt deſign, they entered into a ſtrict alliance with the Scots againſt the Britons. Fergus thus ſtrengthened by the aſſiſtance of the Picts, marched againſt the Britons, and gave them battle, in which their king Coilus was ſlain. After this defeat, the Britons finding themſelves too weak to reſiſt the two northern nations, ſue for peace. Fergus ſhortly after, returning to Ireland, was caſt away, and drowned near the place where Carickfergus now ſtands [y].

This is the account of the Scotiſh hiſtorians concerning the ſettlement of the two nations that inhabited North Britain. From the arrival of Fergus to the Roman invaſion, they pretend things remained in much the ſame ſtate, without any conſiderable alteration in the iſland, or of the inhabitants. From the Channel to the Tine the country was poſſeſſed by the Britons, and divided into ſeventeen petty ſtates or kingdoms. From the Tine to the utmoſt bounds of the north, the Picts [z] inhabited the eaſtern, over againſt Germany, and the Scots the weſtern parts oppoſite to Ireland, from which they were parted by a very narrow channel. The Scots count fifteen kings from Fergus to Ederus, who reigned in Scotland when Cæſar invaded Britain.

Diſpute about the ſettlement of the Scots in Great Britain.

Though one ſhould think the Scots beſt know the origin of their own monarchy, yet this antiquity of theirs is greatly conteſted by ſeveral famous and learned Engliſh writers. Inſtead of admitting what the Scots advance, they pretend to démonſtrate that the nation was not ſettled in Great Britain till the beginning of the ſixth century. This diſpute appears at firſt ſight to be of little conſequence, the Scots being able to plead too long a preſcription to apprehend their right of poſſeſſion may be called in queſtion. On the other hand, it does not ſeem to be of much benefit to the Engliſh to conteſt with them the honour of this antiquity, ſuppoſing it to be imaginary. Notwithſtanding, as religion was concerned in the caſe, the diſpute was carried on with great warmth. The Preſbyterians, among their objections againſt epiſcopacy, advance, that the church of Scotland was governed by Preſbyters only, called Culdees [a], before there were any biſhops in

y This was the firſt place beſieged by duke of Schomberg at his arrival in Ireland in 1689. Rapin.

z The name of Picts is firſt mentioned by Eumenius in his Panegyric to Maximian, about the year 286. Tyrrel, p. 92.

a Biſhop Lloyd ſays they were called

in the country; whence they would infer that epiſcopacy is not of divine inſtitution. The Engliſh biſhops anſwered this objection by denying the fact, affirming the church of Scotland was ſo far from being governed by preſbyters, that it was not yet in being, the Scots not ſettling in the iſland before the year of our Lord 503. According to the Engliſh then, eight hundred years after the time the Scots aſcribe to their ſettlement in Great Britain muſt be taken away. This difference is ſo conſiderable, that one can hardly think the Scots ſhould be ſo much miſtaken. Is it poſſible the forty kings that are pretended to ſit on the throne of Scotland, from Fergus I. to Coran, who reigned in the year of Chriſt 501, were imaginary kings only? On the other ſide, it is no leſs difficult to believe that their learned adverſaries would lay ſo great an error to their charge, were they not perſuaded they had good proofs to ſupport their opinion. As the generality of my readers are but little concerned in this diſpute, it is not, I ſuppoſe, expected that I ſhould fully relate the arguments urged on both ſides, they being the ſubject of many volumes. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with briefly ſhewing how this diſpute was managed.

Had the Scots been obliged to prove directly their ſettlement in Great Britain from the time of Alexander the Great, I am afraid their arguments would not have been altogether ſatisfactory to unprejudiced judges. But they wiſely gave the diſpute another turn. When a nation, ſay they, aſcribes any thing to itſelf, in an hiſtorical way, it ought not to be denied without ſufficient evidence to the contrary. By this means they put their adverſaries upon proving a negative, which every one knows to be a very difficult taſk. However, this is what they have undertaken to do. Their main argument is drawn from no writers mentioning the Scots as inhabitants of Great Britain till the ſixth century. They alledge on the contrary ſeveral paſſages from Latin authors, wherein you have a liſt of the nations that inhabited the northern parts of the iſland, without the leaſt mention of the Scots. But the Scots maintain, that this negative proof deſtroys not their

ed Kelledei, or, in old Scotch, Kyldees, from Cylle, a Cell, and Tee, or Dee, a Houſe, that is, a Houſe of Cells. But afterwards, when it was uſual to find out Latin derivations for thoſe words of which men did not know the original, Kyldees or Kylledei came to be called Culdei or Colidei, that is, Worſhippers of God. Either way it appears they were monks. Now the firſt monks among the Scots were St. Martin's diſciples, who died in 401. Conſequently the Culdees were not of ſo ancient a date as pretended by Selden and the Scotiſh hiſtorians. They are not mentioned by Bede or Nennius.

pretenſions, for their nation not being ſubdued by the Romans till the Reign of Severus, and remaining but a very ſhort ſpace under their dominion, it is no wonder they knew ſo little of it, and conſequently gave ſo imperfect an account. They add moreover, though the Deucalidonians, Meatæ, Attacotti, are mentioned by Tacitus and other hiſtorians, as inhabiting the northern parts of Great Britain, it does not follow that theſe nations were not Picts or Scots, juſt as the Iceni, Trinobantes, Silures, were truly Britons, though diſtinguiſhed by particular names. Among the adverſaries of the Scots in this diſpute, the moſt conſiderable are Uſher, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, authors of great note. In their defence the principal writers are Hector Boethius, Buchanan, Mackenzie, all three very eminent in Scotland.

Like diſpute concerning the Picts.

If the Picts were ſtill in being, they would have the like charge to maintain. For the ſame Engliſh authors affirm, the Picts were no other than Britons, who, to avoid the tyranny of the Romans, retired into the northern parts of the iſland; where, continuing to paint their bodies with woad, the Romans gave them the name of Picts, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that, after their ſubmiſſion to the Roman power, had left off that cuſtom. This opinion is not groundleſs, ſince it is certain many Britons, unwilling to ſubmit to the Roman yoke, retired northward as the conquerors advanced in the iſland. But as the Romans ſubdued the ſeventeen Britiſh nations, not all at once but by degrees, it may be aſked why they gave the name of Picts to thoſe only that fled beyond the Tine, and not to the other nations before they were conquered, to diſtinguiſh them alſo from ſuch as had ſubmitted. The Scots further reply, that the argument alledged by the Engliſh is more ſpecious than ſolid, being entirely built upon the conformity of the name Picts with the Latin word Picti: that many Britons, it is true, retired among the inhabitants of the north; but to prove theſe to be the ſame with them that were afterwards called Picts, it muſt be ſhown how they came to be a ſeparate body, and a diſtinct people from the other northern nations, as it is certain the Picts were for ſeveral ages, with laws and cuſtoms different from thoſe of the Britons and Scots: that ſeeing nothing like this can be ſhewn, it is more natural to think theſe fugitive Britons retiring among the Picts were incorporated with them. This opinion, to which I confeſs I am inclined, may be farther confirmed, by conſidering that the Scots, not being conquered till the reign of Severus, and remaining but a very little time under the dominion of the Romans,

Romans, called their neighbours Pehiti. Now if this name be the ſame with that of the Picts from the Latin word Picti, how can it be conceived that the northern people, whether Scots or others, ſhould give their neighbours a Roman name? but if it be a different name, it muſt then be owned the Picts were not Britons, nor received their name from the cuſtom of painting their bodies. Buchanan, who takes the name of the Picts to be Roman, confeſſes however his ignorance of the name they gave themſelves. But on the other hand, he pretends they came from certain Gauliſh colonies ſettled in Thrace, where they painted their bodies as well as in Britain. The Picts, continues he, ſpoke the ſame language as the Britons and Scots, ſince we do not find in hiſtory that theſe three nations had occaſion for interpreters to trade together. I own this does not ſeem to me to be a ſatisfactory reaſon, it being very poſſible theſe nations might ſpeak different languages, and yet hiſtorians make no mention of interpreters [b]. Buchanan however concludes from hence they were originally Celtæ. Verſtegan, an Engliſh author, ſays the name of the Picts comes from a word in their own language, ſignifying Warrior. I do not think it neceſſary to examine any farther the origin of a nation that has now been entirely extinct without the leaſt remains, almoſt nine hundred years.

This is all I could find worth notice concerning the Picts and Scots, who are to make ſo conſiderable a figure in the following hiſtory. It is now time to return to the Britons, and ſhow in what manner they were ſubdued by the Romans.

b Bede ſays, in his time God was ſerved in five ſeveral languages in Britain, namely, Anglorum, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, lib. 1. cap. 1. Huntingd. p. 299.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

From the first invasion of BRITAIN *by the* ROMANS *under* JULIUS CÆSAR, *to the calling in of the* SAXONS. *Containing the space of about five hundred years.*

THE Romans were become masters of almost all Europe, of the best part of Africa, and of the richest countries of Asia, before they undertook the conquest of Great Britain. While so many kingdoms were by these conquerors continually added to their empire, Great Britain preserved her liberty: but it was owing rather to her situation than strength. She was considered as a separate world by herself, to which the inhabitants of the continent seemed to have no pretensions, or at least knew nothing there capable of exciting their desires. Besides, the wars with the Gauls kept the Romans so long employed, that they had not leisure or opportunity to think of the Britons. Julius Cæsar was the first that formed the project of that conquest, during his government of Gaul, where he caused the Roman arms to triumph. His frequent victories over tbe Gauls had

extremely increaſed his fame, and procured great advantages to the commonwealth. But he was not himſelf ſatisfied with the reputation he had lately acquired in Gaul. His thirſt of glory, and deſire of enlarging the bounds of the empire, inſpired him with the deſign to extend his conqueſts, and bring the Britons under the dominion of the Romans. Some accuſe him of being influenced by a more ignoble motive, and of aiming in this enterprize at the enriching himſelf with the ſpoils he hoped to find in the iſland [a]. But this imputation cannot be ſaid to be well grounded. However this be, Great Britain, though little known in thoſe days, had charms ſufficient to raiſe the ambition of that renowned warrior. His pretence for invading the Britons, was their aſſiſting the enemies of the commonwealth: a pretence frequently uſed by the Romans to carry their conqueſts into the moſt remote countries. Upon this ground he made two expeditions into the iſland, the particulars whereof are thus related in his Commentaries.

Cæſar forms the deſign to conquer Britain. Sueton. Mela.

Cæſar, though he had ſpent part of the ſummer in making an irruption into Germany, reſolved to employ the reſt in the execution of his deſign upon Britain. He was very ſenſible, however, the ſeaſon was too far advanced to expect to make any great progreſs. Nevertheleſs, he conſidered it would be no ſmall advantage if he could take a view of the iſland, almoſt wholly unknown to all but the merchants that traded on the coaſts. And theſe merchants themſelves were ſo little acquainted with what Cæſar wanted to know, that, ſending for ſome of them, he could learn neither the extent of the iſland, nor whether it was well peopled or not: much leſs could they give him any information concerning the ports and havens, and whether there were any fit to receive ſhips of burthen. This uncertainty made him reſolve to ſend Voluſenus to view the coaſts as far as was poſſible without danger, whilſt his troops were marching to the place of imbarkation [b].

Account of his firſt expedition into Britain. Ant. Chr. 55. Cæſar Com. lib. iv.

The Britons, receiving intelligence by the merchants of Cæſar's deſign, endeavour to divert him from his purpoſe, by ſending ambaſſadors with offers of ſubmiſſion and hoſtages. Cæſar gives the ambaſſadors a very civil reception; but, ex-

The Britons ſend ambaſſadors.

a Britanniam petiſſe ſpe margaritarum, quarem amplitudinem conferentem, interdum ſua manu exegiſſe pondus. Sueton. in J. Cæſ. c. 47. Rapin.

b Sueronius ſays nothing of C. Voluſenus being ſent o make diſcoveries, but rather intimates that Cæſar undertook to do this in perſon: "Neque "in Britanniam tranſvenit, n ſi ante "per ſe portus et navigationem et ac- "ceſſum ad inſulam exploraſſet." Vit. Jul. Cæſ. cap. 58. But according to Cæſar's own account Suetonius was miſtaken.

horting

horting them to perſiſt in their reſolution, diſmiſſes them without anſwer, or at leaſt without telling them poſitively what he intended to do. With them however he ſends Comius (whom he had a few days before made king of the Atrebates [c]) with inſtructions to perſuade the Britons to make an alliance with the Romans, and acquaint them with his deſign to come over into their iſland. They were by no means pleaſed with the news; for they expected, what they had done would have induced the Roman general to alter his reſolution. So whether Comius ſpoke to them too haughtily, or they had a mind to let the Romans ſee they did not fear them, they committed the ambaſſador to priſon, loading him with irons.

Mean while Voluſenus having coaſted along the ſouthern parts of the iſland without landing, returns and gives an account of the diſcoveries he had made. Whereupon, every thing being ready for the expedition, Cæſar embarked two legions on board eighty tranſports, leaving orders for the horſe to follow with all ſpeed in eighteen more, that had not yet been able to join the fleet, and were expected every moment: but his orders were not timely enough executed. At his arrival on the coaſts of Britain, he ſees the hills and cliffs that ran out into the ſea, covered with troops that could eaſily with their darts prevent his landing [d]. Upon which he determines to look out for ſome other place, where he may land his army with leſs danger. However he lies by till three in the afternoon [e], expecting ſome ſhips that were not yet come up. Upon their joining the fleet, he makes a ſignal for the principal officers, and giving them his laſt inſtructions concerning their landing, makes ſail and comes to an anchor about two leagues farther, near a plain and open ſhore [f]. The Britons perceiving his intent, ſend their chariots and horſe that way, whilſt the reſt of their army advance to ſupport them. The main difficulty in landing proceeded from the largeneſs of the veſſels which hindered them from coming near enough to the ſhore; ſo that the Roman ſoldiers ſaw

B. C. 55. Cæſar embarks with two legions.

He lands with great difficulty.

c Inhabitants of the country about Arras.

d This agrees ſo exactly with the Cliffs of Dover towards the South-foreland, that all men of judgment believe this to be the place.

e Rapin, by miſtake, ſays Four. See Cæſar's Comment.

f Such is the ſhore at the mouth of the river that goes up to Richborough, called in Latin Rhutupiæ, Rutupæ, or Portus Rutupenſis. Dr. Gale calls it Ritupæ, which ſuits beſt with the modern name.

- - - - Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.
Lucan. lib. vi.

Richborough, or Portus Ritupenſis, is placed in the ſecond iter of Antonine's Itinerary at twelve miles diſtance from Durovernum or Canterbury. Twelve Roman are about nine computed miles.

themſelves

themſelves under a neceſſity of leaping into the ſea, armed as they were, in order to attack their enemies, who ſtood ready to receive them on dry ground. Cæſar perceiving his ſoldiers did not exert their uſual bravery, on this occaſion, orders ſome gallies to get as near the ſhore as poſſible, and attack the enemy in flank. This precaution had the deſired effect; for the ſlings, engines, and arrows were ſo well employed from theſe gallies, that the courage of the Britons began to abate. But the Romans ſtill demurred upon throwing themſelves into the water, and it may be would hardly have done it all, had not the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion ſhown them the way, by leaping in firſt with his colours in his hand, crying out aloud, "Follow me, fellow-"ſoldiers, unleſs you will betray the Roman Eagle into the "hands of the enemy: for my part, I am reſolved to diſ-"charge my duty to Cæſar and the commonwealth." Upon theſe words, he leaps into the ſea, and advances with his Eagle towards the Barbarians. Emulation and ſhame cauſing the ſoldiers to forget the danger, they courageouſly follow him, and begin the fight. But their reſolution could not compel the Britons to give ground: nay, it was to be feared that the Romans, conſtrained thus to fight in the water without keeping their ranks, would in the end have been repulſed, had not Cæſar cauſed ſome armed boats to ply about with recruits, which made the enemy fall back a little. The Romans improving this advantage, advance with all poſſible expedition, and getting firm footing, preſs the Britons ſo vigorouſly, that at length they put them to rout. They durſt not however purſue them, becauſe the horſe were not yet come: which, Cæſar ſays, was the only thing that hindered the victory from being complete [g].

The Britons are routed.

g The time of Cæſar's landing in Britain is thus known. His firſt expedition was, as he ſays himſelf, in the conſulate of Pompey and Craſſus, that is, according to Dr. Halley, in the year of Rome 699. But Auguſtus died in the year 767, that is ſixty-eight years after Cæſar's deſcent. Upon news of Auguſtus's death, there was a mutiny in the Pannonian army, which was quieted by Druſus, by help of an eclipſe of the moon. Now from this eclipſe it is certain that Auguſtas died in the 14th year of Chriſt, conſequently Cæſar's firſt deſcent, which was ſixty-eight years before, muſt be in the 55th year current before the Chriſtian æra. And as the year, ſo may the very day and hour when he landed, very probably, be fixed. For Cæſar having mentioned the fourth day after his landing, ſays, "the night after it was "full moon." Now the ſummer being far ſpent, this full moon muſt have been in July or Auguſt. But the full moon of July was in the beginning of the month, and of the two full moons that year in Auguſt, that on the 1ſt day was at noon, wherefore it muſt be the other, a little after midnight of the 30th. Hence it is plain, Cæſar landed four days before, on the 26th of Auguſt, about five in the afternoon. See Lowthorp's Abridgm. Philoſ. Tranſ. vol. iii. p. 412.

The

The Britons, aſtoniſhed at the Roman valour, and fearing a more obſtinate reſiſtance would but expoſe them to greater miſchiefs, ſet Comius at liberty, and ſent him back to Cæſar, throwing the blame of his ill treatment to the fury of the populace. At the ſame time ambaſſadors are diſpatched to ſue for peace and offer hoſtages. Cæſar very readily pardons them, on condition they ſend him a certain number of hoſtages. Part of them are immediately delivered, with a promiſe of ſending the reſt.

They ſue for peade.

Cæſar grants their requeſt.

Peace being thus concluded four days after landing, the Britiſh troops were diſmiſſed, and ſome of their chief men came to Cæſar to manage the concerns of their nation. Mean while, the ſhips that were tranſporting the Roman horſe, putting to ſea, met with a violent ſtorm, which forces them back into the ports of Gaul. The ſame ſtorm falls likewiſe upon Cæſar's fleet lying in the road, ſome whereof are daſhed in pieces, others loſe their anchors, cables, and rigging. And what added to the misfortune, the ſame night the tide of flood roſe ſo high (as is uſual at the full of the moon, a thing then unknown to the Romans) that the gallies, having been drawn aſhore, were filled with water. This accident threw the Romans into great conſternation, for they had not bronght with them wherewithal to repair their ſhattered veſſels, nor any quantity of proviſions, Cæſar having all along intended to winter in Gaul.

The Romans ſuſtain a great loſs by a ſtorm.

The Britons that were with Cæſar ſoon perceived his want of proviſions, ſhips, and Cavalry. Beſides, it was eaſy to gueſs, by the ſmall extent of their camp, that the number of the Romans was not conſiderable. Having made theſe obſervations, they ſteal away by degrees, and repreſent to their countrymen, "what a favourable opportunity offered to free "themſelves from ſervitude: how the Romans were few in "number, without proviſions and horſe; how they had juſt "loſt their ſhips, and with them all hopes of retiring." Upon this the Britons reſolve to uſe all poſſible means to cut off the Romans proviſions, and amuſe them till winter came on. Cæſar gueſſing their intentions by what had happened to him, took all imaginable care to lay in as great a ſtock of proviſions as he could, and put them under a ſtrong guard within the camp. Then ſending to Gaul for part of what he had occaſion for to refit his fleet, he made uſe of the timber and iron of the broken veſſels to repair the reſt. The ſoldiers laboured with ſo uncommon a diligence (as their ſafety was at ſtake) that in a few days the fleet was in condition to ſail, twelve ſhips only having been loſt.

The Britons break the treaty.

Cæſar repairs his fleet.

Mean

The ſeventh legion attacked by the Britons,

Mean while, the ſeventh legion being ſent out to forage, news was brought to Cæſar, that a cloud of duſt was ſeen to riſe from that quarter. He ſuſpected immediately what was the matter; and taking with him two cohorts [h] that guarded the camp, ordered the reſt of the forces to follow with all expedition. When he came to the place, he found the legion ſurrounded by the enemy, and over-powered with numbers. As the harveſt was brought in every where elſe, the Britons did not queſtion but the Romans would come and forage there, ſo lay in a readineſs to fall upon them. It was very eaſy to put ſoldiers in diſorder that had quitted their arms, and were diſperſed up and down to gather the corn. They killed ſome at the firſt onſet; and to prevent the reſt from eſcaping, began to ſurround them with their chariots. Cæſar came very ſeaſonably to the relief of the legion, and ſaved them from being all taken or ſlain. Having brought them off, he ſtood ſome time in order of battle in ſight of the enemy, but at length retreated to his camp, not deeming it proper to engage, unleſs compelled to it.

who obtain ſome advantage.

The Britons attack the Roman camp.

The Britons, fluſhed with this ſucceſs, drew together a greater body of troops, with a reſolution to attack the Roman camp. Though Cæſar had but thirty [i] horſe in all, he drew up his men, that the enemy might not think he feared them. They attacked him as he foreſaw. But inſtead of forcing the camp, they were vigorouſly repulſed and purſued for ſeveral miles. The Britons were ſo diſheartened at their loſs, that they ſent the ſame day ambaſſadors to Cæſar to ſue for peace. The poſture of Cæſar's affairs would not ſuffer him to improve his victory, becauſe he had no horſe to oppoſe to thoſe of the enemy. This conſideration induced him to conclude a treaty with them, whereby they were bound to deliver a greater number of hoſtages, and ſend them to Gaul, where he intended to go as ſoon as poſſible. Though the paſſage was not long, the fear of expoſing his fleet to another ſtorm, if he ſtayed till the equinox, made him haſten his departure [k]. The Britons neglecting to ſend their hoſtages, he puts

They ſue for and obtain peace,

Cæſar returns to Gaul.

h It was the cuſtom of the Romans to place whole cohorts before the gates of their camp. Hence our Engliſh phraſe, Court or Cohort of Guard. A cohort was the tenth part of a legion, about ſix hundred men. The firſt or chief cohorts are ſaid to contain ſometimes above a thouſand men. Brady, p. 8.

i Brady conjectures, after Hottoman, that 30 is put by miſtake for 300. p. 5.

k The equinox, which now falls upon the 22d of September, muſt in Cæſar's time have been on the 25th of that month. (This difference is occaſioned by our reckoning the year to be about eleven minutes more than it really is.) So that probably Cæſar left the iſland about the 20th of September, about

puts his troops into winter-quarters, and forms the deſign of a more important expedition in the following ſpring. Mean while, the ſenate being informed of Cæſar's exploits in Britain, a proceſſion of twenty days is decreed to him, though the advantages he had gained were of little conſequence to the commonwealth [l].

B. C. 54. Cæſar's ſecond expedition. Com. lib. v.

Cæſar, according to his cuſtom, went and paſſed part of the winter in Italy, leaving orders with his officers to repair the old, and build ſome more new ſhips. When he had received advice that his orders were executed, he came to Portus Itius [m], where he found ſix hundred ſhips [n], and twenty-eight gallies, on board of which he put five legions and two thouſand horſe. He conducts this numerous fleet to a place on the Britiſh coaſt, marked by him the ſummer before, and lands his forces without oppoſition. For the Britons, as he was told afterwards, at the ſight of ſo mighty an armament, thought fit to retire into the country, behind ſome hills. Cæſar, according to the Roman cuſtom, fortifies his camp, and leaving a guard, ſets out in the night in queſt of the enemy. Having marched about twelve miles, he ſees them poſted on the other ſide of a river [o], to oppoſe his paſſage. As reſolute

He lands without oppoſition.

about twenty-five days after his landing, and, as he ſays, a little before the equinox.

l Cæſar had no great cauſe to boaſt of this his firſt expedition, ſince, according to Bede, he loſt the greateſt part of his ſhips, with many of his men, and all his horſe, lib. i. c. 2. Oroſius ſays, the ſhips that were to bring the horſe were caſt away in the ſtorm, Tyr. p. 30, 35. About three hundred ſoldiers that were in two of the tranſports not being able to reach the ſame port with the reſt, were upon their landing ſet upon by the Morini, but reſcued by a party of horſe ſent to their relief. This paſſage of Cæſar gives ſome light into the number of men in a legion. Theſe two ſhips are expreſly called Onerariæ, or Ships of Burthen. Now if theſe two held three hundred, the whole eighty deſigned for the tranſportation of the foot of two legions, would carry twelve thouſand, and conſequently there were about ſix thouſand foot in a legion. And to compute the number of horſe belonging to a legion, we may conſider that a tranſport, ſufficient for a hundred and fifty foot, will carry between forty and fifty horſe; conſequently, the eighteen tranſports deſigned for the horſe, had about eight hundred on board, and ſo four hundred will belong to each legion. The foot then in a legion ſeems generally to have been about fifteen times as many as the horſe.

m Boulogne, ſays Tyrrel and Brady; about Calais, ſays Horſley. Rowlands, in his Mona Antiqua, p. 24. derives it from Porth-eitha, i. e. the Utmoſt, or Furtheſt Paſſage, obſerving that Cæſar only latinized the ancient Gauliſh or Britiſh names, leaving us to ſeek their etymons, not in the Roman but in the Britiſh language. Horſley obſerves, that Cæſar calls the paſſage the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt, being about thirty miles. Now by an accurate ſurvey the diſtance at Calais from land to land is twenty-ſix Engliſh miles, or twenty-eight and a half Roman, which ſhews how near Cæſar came to the truth.

n Rapin by miſtake ſays ſix-ſcore.

o This river could not be the Thames, that being too diſtant, but the Stour. So that the battle very probably was fought on the banks of the Stour, to the north of the town, towards Sturry or Fordwich. The ſtrong place to which the Britons retreated after their defeat, muſt have been

reſolute as they ſeemed at firſt, they could not withſtand the furious charge of the Roman horſe, but were forced at length to quit their poſt. They retired a little farther into a wood, the avenues whereof were blocked up with large trees laid acroſs one another, and which ſeemed to be fortified in ſome former war. Though it appeared very difficult to force theſe intrenchments, the ſeventh legion however performed that ſervice, and obliged the Britons to betake themſelves to flight. But night coming on, and the country unknown, Cæſar forbids all purſuit.

The Britons are worſted.

Next day, he divides his army into three bodies, which march at ſome diſtance from each other in purſuit of the enemy. During the march, he received the melancholy news that his fleet was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm, moſt of the ſhips being daſhed in pieces or driven aſhore. As this accident might be attended with ill conſequences, he reſolved to haſten back to the ſea-ſide. Here he finds forty of his ſhips deſtroyed, and the reſt ſo damaged that they were hardly repairable. However, neceſſity compelling him to go about it without loſs of time, he ſets all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, ſending for others at the ſame time from Gaul. To prevent the like misfortune again, as ſoon as the ſhips are refitted, he employs his ſoldiers night and day, to draw them by ſtrength of arms into the midſt of the camp. This work, notwithſtanding the difficulty of it, was finiſhed in ten days [p]. Mean while, he writes to Labienus, his lieutenant in Gaul, to build more ſhips, and ſend them over when ready. Then leaving a ſufficient force to guard the camp, he reſumes the deſign interrupted by the misfortune befallen his fleet.

The Roman ſhips are ſhattered by a ſtorm.

Cæſar repairs the fleet,

and draws the ſhips within the camp.

He had not marched far, before he was informed that the enemies forces were much increaſed, under the conduct of Caſſibelanus king of the Trinobantes, whoſe kingdom lay beyond the Thames, about eighty miles from the ſea [q]. This

Caſſibelanus general of the Britiſh forces, attacks the Romans.

been Durovernum, or Canterbury, (twelve miles from the place of Cæſar's landing) which was taken (and poſſibly kept till Cæſar's return) by the ſeventh legion. This might afterwards be converted by the Romans into a ſtation, as they treated ſeveral other towns of the Britons, as Camelodudunum, Verulamium, Iſurium, and others, the capital towns of ſeveral ſtates. Horſley, p. 14.

p Upon the ſhore about Deal, Sandon, and Wolmer, are a long range of heaps of earth, where Camden thinks this ſhip-camp was, which, he ſays, by the people thereabouts was called Rome's Work.

q Rapin by miſtake ſays twenty. Cæſar's words are, "a mari circiter "millia paſſuum octoginta." The borders of Caſſibelanus's territories extended to the Thames in Surry, over-againſt Oatelands, which lies eighty miles from the eaſt ſhore of Kent, where Cæſar landed. The Trinobantes inhabited Eſſex with part of Hertfordſhire, Verulam being the chief town of their kingdom.

prince

prince had hitherto waged continual wars with his neighbours; but upon the Romans approach, they had concluded a peace with him, and choſen him commander in chief. Whilſt the Roman army was on the march, they found themſelves attacked on a ſudden by the Britiſh horſe and chariots. But this attack, though vigorous, was repulſed with great loſs on their ſide. Nevertheleſs, they were not diſheartened. Some days after, whilſt the Romans were employed about their intrenchments, a body of their troops, that lay concealed in the neighbouring woods, fell furiouſly upon thoſe that guarded the camp, and put them into great diſorder. Cæſar ſeeing this, immediately ſends two cohorts to their aſſiſtance, who ſurprized at the Britiſh manner of fighting, are routed at the firſt charge. Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune, was ſlain in the action. As this battle was fought in ſight of the camp, Cæſar ſaw plainly the great diſadvantage the Romans, encumbered with their heavy armour, lay under, againſt ſwift and light armed enemies that engaged in ſmall parties only, with a body of reſerve in their rear, from whence they were continually recruited. The Roman horſe were no leſs embarraſſed than the foot. As the Britons frequently counterfeited a retreat, the horſemen detached to purſue them, were immediately cut in pieces; ſo that it was equally dangerous to purſue the enemy or to retire. The confuſed manner of Cæſar's relating this affair, is a clear evidence that the Romans were worſted, though he does not ſay it in ſo many words. Beſides, the reaſons he alledges to excuſe his ill ſucceſs are very weak; or if they are of any weight, whence is it that he did not meet with the ſame difficulties in ſo many other actions, wherein he pretends the Britons were routed horſe and foot?

He is repulſed.

Another ſkirmiſh, where the Britons have the advantage.

On the morrow, the Britons poſted themſelves on ſome hills within ſight of the Roman camp. As they appeared to be but few in number, it was thought they had no deſign to engage a ſecond time. Mean while, Cæſar ſending out all the horſe to forage, with three legions to guard them, the Britons fall with great fury upon the foragers, who were defended by their guard. The reſiſtance made by the legions giving Cæſar time to advance with the reſt of the army, a great battle enſued, wherein the Britons were entirely defeated.

Another conflict, wherein the Britons are defeated.

After this victory, Cæſar marches towards the Thames, with intent to penetrate into Caſſibelanus's dominions. When he comes to the river, at a very difficult ford, he ſees the enemy drawn up on the oppoſite ſide. Beſides their great numbers, they had fortified that part of the river with ſharp ſtakes,

Cæſar paſſes the Thames in ſight of the enemy.

ſtakes [r], driven ſo deep that ſome of them did not appear above the water, as deſerters ſaid afterwards. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, Cæſar reſolves to attack them, and orders the horſe to ride in, and the foot to follow, the ſoldiers being ſcarce able to hold their hands above water to carry their arms. The attack was made with ſuch reſolution, that the Britons at length were forced to quit their poſt and leave the Romans a free paſſage [s]. Caſſibelanus finding he could not hinder Cæſar's paſſing the Thames, diſmiſſes his army, reſerving only four thouſand chariots, with which he harraſſes the Romans, and endeavours to cut them ſhort of proviſions, by carrying off all the corn and cattle that lie in their rout. The Romans were great ſufferers in this march; for they did not dare to make the leaſt excurſions in ſearch of proviſions, for fear of ſallies from the woods and by-places.

The Trinobantes ſubmit to Cæſar,

Mean while, the Trinobantes, upon Cæſar's approaching their country, ſend deputies to him to ſue for peace, praying him withal to take into his protection Mandubratius their king, who fled into Gaul upon Caſſibelanus's murdering his father Immanuentius, and depriving him of his dominions. Cæſar promiſes to ſend back Mandubratius, if they will ſupply him with proviſions, and deliver forty hoſtages, to which they immediately agree. Several other ſtates following the example of the Trinobantes, Cæſar found himſelf in condition to attack the capital of Caſſibelanus, where the country people were retired with their flocks and herds [t]. What the Britons called a city, was only a wood fenced with a ditch to defend them againſt the incurſions of their enemies. Though this intrenchment ſeemed very ſtrong, Cæſar ordered it to be ſtormed ſo briſkly at two different places, that the Britons, not being able to ſtand the aſſault, fled out at one of their avenues, but not without great numbers ſlain and taken, and leaving behind them abundance of cattle.

who takes Caſſibelanus's chief city.

r The ſtakes are juſt above Walton in Surry, and the meadow facing them is called Coway. They are even now to be ſeen at low-water; and one of them was pulled out of the Thames, a few years ago, but with great difficulty; they are of oak, and though they have lain ſo long in the water, are as hard as Brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton they have ſeveral knife-handles made of them. See Camden, p. 155. Bede, lib. i. cap. 2. Tyrrel, p. 34.

s Cæſar does not mention a ſtratagem he is ſaid to make uſe of upon this occaſion. He cauſed an elephant well fenced with iron, with a wooden tower on his back, full of men, to be forced into the river; the ſight of which monſtrous creature, that looked like a walking battery, did not a little contribute to frighten the Britons from the oppoſite ſhore. Polyænus Stratag. lib. viii.

t This is ſuppoſed to be Verulamium, or the preſent St. Albans. It is certain London was not ſo conſiderable in Cæſar's time as Verulamium, this laſt appearing to have been more antient, and was a Municipium or colony, when London was not.

Whilſt

Whilſt Cæſar was advancing into the enemies country, the Kentiſhmen inhabiting on the ſouth coaſt over-againſt Gaul, drew their forces together, with deſign to cut off the Romans that were left to guard their ſhips. As ſoon as they were ready, they marched under the conduct of four kings, namely, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, and furiouſly attacked the Roman camp; but after a long and obſtinate fight were repulſed, and king Cingetorix taken priſoner.

Four Kentiſh kings attack the Roman camp.

They are repulſed, and one taken priſoner.

After ſo frequent defeats, Caſſibelanus, conſidering that moſt of his kingdom was now in ſubjection to the Romans, and ſeveral neighbouring ſtates had made, or were ready to make their ſubmiſſion, treats with them likewiſe, by the mediation of Comius. He eaſily obtains a peace, Cæſar's reſolution to return to Gaul not permitting him to purſue his conqueſts in Britain. Beſides, he conſidered that the weather beginning to grow bad, would help Caſſibelanus to defend himſelf the reſt of the campaign, as well as the whole enſuing winter. By the conditions of the treaty, the Britons are annually to pay the Romans a certain tribute; Caſſibelanus is to deliver ſuch a number of hoſtages, and leave Mandubratius in quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions [u]. Though Cæſar had ſcarce ſhips enough to tranſport his army, he choſe rather to ſtow his men on board what veſſels he had, than run the hazard of being ſurprized by the autumnal equinox. He embarked them therefore in the beſt manner he could, and receiving the hoſtages, puts to ſea, and ſafely arrives in Gaul [w].

Caſſibelanus begs peace,

and obtains it.

Tribute impoſed upon the Britons.

This is the account given by that great general of his two expeditions into Britain. And here we may obſerve, that though out of an affected modeſty, he refrains from all commendations of himſelf, yet by the bare recital of his actions, he gives himſelf the higheſt praiſes. For to make a deſcent with two legions only, in an enemy's country, in ſight of an army formidable for number, bravery, and way of fighting; to force enemies intrenched on the ſide of a river, and what is more wonderful, to paſs the Thames at a ford guarded by a numerous army, ſtuck full of ſharp ſtakes, and withal ſo deep as to take the ſoldiers up to their chins; theſe, I ſay,

Remarks on Cæſar's account of his two expeditions.

[u] Geoffrey of Monmouth ſays, Mandubratius was not reſtored to his kingdom, but leaving Britain, betook himſelf again to Cæſar, and attended him to Rome. Caſſibelanus reigned ten years after Cæſar's departure.

[w] It is conjectured that Cæſar's ſecond expedition was in May, and that he returned to Gaul about the middle of September. For in a letter to Cicero, from Britain, dated September 1, Cæſar ſays, "He was come to the ſea-ſide "in order to embark."

are actions that ſufficiently ſpeak their own praiſe, and need no amplification. And if Cæſar in penning his own hiſtory, is charged with turning every thing to his advantage, this imputation ſeems to be no where more juſtly caſt upon him than in the preſent caſe. Indeed one cannot read the particulars of his two Britiſh expeditions, without being ſenſible that ſomething is wanting, and what is paſſed over in ſilence was not to his honour. I forbear to inſiſt upon the great difficulty of knowing where the ford he mentions could be, ſince in the very place where he is thought to paſs the Thames, there is no leſs than ſix foot water. But what I have been ſaying will appear ſtill more evident, if we conſider Cæſar's deſign in attacking the Britons, and the iſſue thereof. He ſails from Gaul with a reſolution to conquer Great Britain, and reduce the whole iſland to a Roman province. This is what Dion Caſſius poſitively aſſerts. He every where gets the better of the Britons. He paſſes the Thames in ſpite of all obſtacles. Caſſibelanus, vanquiſhed and routed, diſbands his forces, not believing himſelf able to ſtand againſt him. Cæſar becomes maſter of his capital, and the Britons ſubmit and ſue for peace. With all theſe advantages he is contented to impoſe an eaſy tribute on Caſſibelanus, and without fortifying any one place, or leaving any troops in the iſland, drops his firſt deſign, ſatisfied with reſtoring Mandubratius, as if the war had been undertaken ſolely for his ſake. Does not this ſhew that he was forced to be ſatisfied with ſo inconſiderable an advantage? Lucan's teſtimony is a further confirmation of the matter, who taxes him plainly with turning his back to the Britons [x]. Though Lucan was no friend to him, he would not however have ventured to upbraid him with running away, without ſome ground. Dion Caſſius ſays, that in a battle the Britons utterly routed the Roman infantry, but were afterwards put in diſorder by the cavalry [y]. Horace and Tibullus intimate in ſeveral places of their works, that in their days the Britons were not conſidered as a conquered nation [z]. All which evidently ſhews that the fame acquired by Cæſar in theſe two

x Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis. Lucan.

y He ſays elſewhere, ſpeaking of the Britons when purſued by Plautius, "They fled into marſhes and woods, "in hopes the Romans, tired with "waiting to no purpoſe, would, like "Julius Cæſar, retire without effecting any thing."

z Intactus aut Britannus ut deſcenderet
Sacra catenatus viâ. Hor. Epod. viii. 7. Rapin.
Te manet invictus Romano marte Britannus. Tibul. lib. iv.

expeditions

expeditions came far ſhort of the idea he would give of it in his Commentaries. But however this be, moſt certainly the commonwealth reaped no great benefit by them; which doubtleſs was the reaſon of Tacitus ſaying, "Cæſar rather "ſhowed the Romans the way to Britain, than put them in "poſſeſſion of it." Vit. Agricol

After Cæſar's death, who had rendered himſelf ſovereign of that commonwealth whereof he was born a ſubject, the empire was ſo torn with civil wars that it was not poſſible for the Romans to think of Britain. So the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps demanded for twenty years. But when, after the defeat and death of Mark Antony, Auguſtus was firmly ſettled in the poſſeſſion of the empire, he undertakes to compel the Britons to ſtand to their agreement with his predeceſſor, and to that end advances as far as Gaul twice, in order for Britain [a], but is prevented the firſt time by a revolt in Pannonia, and the ſecond by the ſubmiſſion of the Britons, who ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he very readily grants. Britain, conſidered then as a wild auculcultivated country, did not ſeem to him worth the pains of conquering. Beſides, he was determined not to enlarge the bounds of the empire, wiſely conſidering that a ſtate, like a ſhip, cannot be managed when too vaſt and unweildy: yet as the Britons neglected to perform their promiſe, he reſolves in good earneſt to go and ſubdue them: but hearing of his deſign, they find means to appeaſe him. Tenuantius, ſucceſſor of Caſſibelanus, ſends the ſame emperor rich preſents, which were laid up in the capitol. Cunobelinus his ſucceſſor, following his example, keeps fair with the Romans: nay, he orders money to be coined, ſome pieces of which are ſtill to be ſeen in the cabinets of the curious, with the five firſt letters of his name, C. U. N. O. B. or C. A. M. the three firſt of Camelodunum, his capital city, on one ſide, and on the reverſe a man ſitting and coining money, with theſe letters, T. A. S. C. I. A. by which antiquaries underſtand that this money was deſigned for the payment of the tribute [b].

Augustus State of Britain under him.

Dion Caſſius lib. xlix. et liii.

Camden in Middleſex.

[a] Serves iturum Cæſarem in ultimos orbis Britannos. Hor. lib. iii. 35. Rap.

[b] The payments of the Britons were uſually made in pieces of braſs and iron rings, and probably this coin ſtamped by Cunobelin was for tribute only, which the Romans exacted in gold and ſilver, as may appear by the word Taſcia, which in Britiſh (ſays David Powel) ſignifies a Tribute Penny, perhaps from the Latin Taxatio. For the Britons do not uſe the letter X. Brad. p. 11. Tyr. p. 37. Camden, p. 109.

TIBERIUS neglects Britain. Tacit. Ann. lib. xi.

TIBERIUS, ſucceſſor of Auguſtus, neglected Britain as a country of little conſequence, it being unknown to him. Satisfied with the reſpect ſhown him by the Britons in ſending back ſome of Germanicus's ſoldiers that were ſhipwrecked on their coaſt, he left them to enjoy their liberty.

40. CALIGULA his ridiculous expedition againſt the Britons. Sueton. Dion Caſſ. 49.

CALIGULA, his ſucceſſor, would not doubtleſs have turned his eyes towards Britain, if he had not by a Briton himſelf been drawn into the project of conquering the iſland. Adminius, ſon of Cunobelinus, incurring his father's diſpleaſure, and flying to Rome for protection, finds means to perſuade the emperor that nothing was more eaſy than this conqueſt. Caligula, whoſe folly is well known, imagines, upon what the young prince tells him, that the ſight of him is ſufficient to ſubdue the Britons. Full of this notion, he advances in perſon to the coaſt of Belgic Gaul, where he had ordered his army to march. But being told, as he was embarking his men, that the Britons ſtood ready to receive him on the other ſide of the water, his warlike ardour cooled, and he deſiſted from an enterprize which began to appear too hazardous. However, as he was led by his caprice to the moſt extravagant actions, he went on board a galley, ordering the people to row with all ſpeed towards Britain, as if he intended to have alone the glory of conquering the iſland. But preſently after, he is ſeen to return back as faſt as he went off. As ſoon as he lands, he harangues his troops, as if he were going to employ them in ſome important expedition. Having ended his ſpeech, a charge is ſounded juſt as if the enemy were in view. Upon which the whole army, purſuant to an order given to the principal officers, fall to gathering of cockle ſhells in their helmets. The emperor pleaſed with the alacrity of his ſoldiers on this occaſion, liberally rewards them, and ſends letters to Rome of his ſucceſs, wiſhing the ſenate to decree him a triumph. But being informed the ſenate made ſome difficulty to comply with his order, he reſolves to put all the ſenators to death. He would doubtleſs have executed his barbarous purpoſe, had he not been deprived of the power with his life, by a conſpiracy ſoon after formed againſt him.

After Julius Cæſar's ſecond invaſion, to which ſome very improperly give the name of conqueſt, the Britons preſerved their liberty above ninety years, during the reigns of the four firſt emperors; their ſubjection to the Romans not commencing till the time of Claudius. The occaſion of that emperor's undertaking the conqueſt of Britain, and the cauſe of the Britons loſing their liberty, was this:

Cunobelinus

Cunobelinus leaves two ſons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, who both ſucceeded him: but whether they reigned jointly or ſeparately, or whether one was ſuperior to the other, is unknown. In their reign it happens that one Bericus [c], being forced to depart the kingdom for endeavouring to raiſe a ſedition, flies for refuge to Claudius the emperor at Rome. His extreme deſire of being revenged of the two kings his ſovereigns inſpiring him with a deſign to betray his country to the Romans, he frequently talks to the emperor of the conqueſt of Britain as of a thing very eaſy to be accompliſhed. By his deſcription of the iſland and poſture of the Britiſh affairs, he intimates to him that he would meet with little or no oppoſition. The emperor giving credit to what he ſays, reſolves to acquire fame by an enterprize ſeemingly difficult, but, according to the Britiſh lord's account, very practicable. Having taking this reſolution, he gives the ambaſſadors of the two Britiſh kings a very ill reception, who are ſent to demand the fugitive Bericus, refuſing to deliver up one whom he intends to make his chief inſtrument in the execution of his project. Shortly after, he himſelf ſends to the Britons, and demands the tribute due to the empire; but finds them not at all ready to give him ſatisfaction. Beſides that this tribute was never regularly paid, the haughty treatment they had juſt met with in the perſons of their ambaſſadors, by no means diſpoſed them to pay him any great deference. They refuſe therefore, and very juſtly, as they think, to pay the tribute, and moreover prohibit all commerce with the Romans. As Claudius wanted only a pretence for the war, he was not ſorry they afforded him ſo plauſible a one. Shortly after he orders Plautius to begin the expedition, whilſt he is preparing to follow when there ſhould be occaſion. Plautius accordingly draws an army together in Gaul, and advances to the ſea-ſide. But when the ſoldiers, came to embark, they refuſed to obey him, declaring, "They will not make war "out of the compaſs of the world." The emperor hearing of this mutiny, ſends Narciſſus his freedman to appeaſe it. Narciſſus, though a great favourite with his maſter, when he would have harangued the troops, could not prevail with them, to hear him: the moment he opened his mouth, the ſoldiers cried out, "Io Saturnalia!" alluding to the cuſtom, during that feaſt, of the ſlaves taking the place and habit of their maſters. However, the mutiny went no farther. The ſoldiers ſuddenly altering their reſolution, of their own accord

42. CLAUDIUS. He forms the deſign of conquering Britain. Dio. lib. lx. Sueton. in Claudio. cap. 17.

43. Plautius is ſent thither with an army. A mutiny in the army. It is appeaſed.

[c] This Bericus was perhaps the ſame with Adminius, ſon of Cunobelin, mentioned by Suetonius, or one of the fugitives that accompanied him.

obey the orders of their general, who immediately puts them on board, whilſt they are in the mind. He ſails from three ports, in order to land at three different places: but this precaution was needleſs. The Britons, informed of the mutiny in the Roman army, and not expecting ſo ſudden an alteration, neglect to prepare to oppoſe their landing; ſo the Roman general lands his forces without any reſiſtance. He was very deſirous to come to a battle at his arrival; but the Britons were reſolved to avoid it, and keep themſelves in ſeparate parties, behind their moraſſes, or on their hills. Their aim was to make the Romans loſe time, in expectation that Plautius, after the example of Julius Cæſar, would go and winter in Gaul. This reſolution gave the Roman general a great deal of trouble, being forced to hunt after enemies diſperſed in ſeveral places, whom he could, as he flattered himſelf, eaſily vanquiſh at once, were it but in his power to bring them to a general battle. In ſpite of theſe difficulties, he finds means to attack Caractacus ſeparately, and entirely routing him, goes in queſt of Togodumnus, and obtains the like victory over him. The Britons, purſuant to their firſt deſign, retire beyond a river, where they encamp in a careleſs manner, imagining the Romans could not paſs without a bridge. But Plautius had, in his army, ſome German ſoldiers that were uſed to ſwim the ſtrongeſt currents. Theſe ſoldiers, though few in number, ſwimming the river in their arms, ſo aſtoniſh the Britons that they quit their poſt, and retire at a greater diſtance[d]. The Roman general improving this advantage, ſends over a conſiderable body of troops under the command of Veſpaſian, and his brother Sabinus. Theſe two brave leaders advancing towards the enemy, engage them and put them to flight. The Britons however are not diſcouraged. Next day they attacked a Roman detachment commanded by Sidius Gæta, ſo vigorouſly that the Romans were immediately put in diſorder; their commander himſelf was engaged in ſuch a manner amongſt the enemies, that he was thought to be dead or taken. But the ſcale was ſoon turned againſt the Britons: Gæta happily eſcaping out of their hands, heads his troops again, and charges the Britons, now ſure of victory, ſo briſkly, that after an obſtinate fight, he compels them at laſt to take to flight. This affair was ſo well managed, and Gæta acquired ſo great reputation on this occaſion, that the honour of a triumph was granted him by

Plautius defeats the two Britiſh princes one after another.

He paſſes a river in ſight of the enemy

The Britons attack the Romans and put them in diſorder, but are defeated at laſt.

[d] This river is ſuppoſed to be the Severn, and conſequently this battle was fought on the weſt ſide, upon the borders of the Silures. Horſley, p. 30.

the

the ſenate, though he had never been conſul. The Vanquiſhed Britons retire towards the mouth of the Thames, and being perfectly acquainted with the fordable parts of the river, croſſed over with eaſe, whilſt the Romans following them at a diſtance, fall into the bogs and moraſſes, from whence they very hardly diſentangle themſelves. At laſt, the Germans lighting upon a ford, and the reſt of the army paſſing over a bridge a little higher up, the Britons are ſurrounded on all ſides, and great ſlaughter made of them [f].

They retire beyond the Thames.

Plautius paſſes the Thames. Dion Caſſ. lib. lx.

44.

Plautius thought it now time to ſend to the emperor to come and reap the honour of putting an end to the war. Claudius having every thing ready, ſets out immediately, and embarking at Oſtium, arrives in a few days at Marſeilles. Then purſuing his journey by land, he re-imbarks at Bologne [f], to go and head his army on the other ſide of the Thames. Whilſt the emperor was on his way, Plautius had it in his power to attack the Britons, who, deceived by his ſeeming backwardneſs, reſumed their courage, fancying it proceeded from his fear. But Plautius took care not to rob his maſter of the honour of a victory he thought himſelf ſure of. As ſoon as Claudius arrives, he heads his troops, approaches the Britons, and forcing them to come to a battle, entirely routs them. After this victory, he advances to Camelodunum [g],

He ſends to the emperor to come into Britain.

Claudius arrives, and defeats the Britons.

[e] Notwithſtanding the authority of Dion Caſſius, it is very difficult to conceive that the Thames ſhould be fordable near it's mouth, or a bridge ſtand a little higher up. He muſt have confounded ſome river that runs into the Thames with the Thames itſelf. (This is Rapin's obſervation.) But the paſſage in Dion Caſſius is capable of another ſenſe. His words are, Ἀναχωρησάντων δ' ἐνθεῦθεν τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταμέσαν ποταμὸν καθ' ὃ ἐς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλει, πλημμυροῦς τε αὐτῷ λιμνάζει, καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτὸν διαβάντων, ἅτε καὶ τὰ ςέριφα τά τε εὔπορα τῷ χωρίῳ εἰδότων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, etc. Which may be thus rendered, "The Britons "retreated to the river Thames, where "it falls into the ſea, and that [the "river] overflowing, ſtagnate, or forms "a lake, which having paſſed, as "knowing theſe places that were firm "at bottom and fordable, the Ro-"mans," etc. The words being thus underſtood, it is manifeſt, that it was the land-water or lake, over which the Britons paſſed and the Germans ſwam. And probably there might be a bridge croſs this water, further up from the ſhore, where ſome of the Romans might alſo paſs. There is a paſſage in Herodian relating to Severus, which ſeems to add much light to this paſſage of Dion. Μάλιςα δὲ γέφυρας, etc. lib. iii. cap. 47. that is, "Severus took care "in the firſt place to lay bridges through "the fenny grounds, that the ſoldiers "might paſs them with ſafety, and "might ſtand upon a ſolid bottom when "they fought. For many places of "Britain being overflowed by the ſea, "upon the receſs of the tide become "fenny, which the barbarians are ac-"cuſtomed to ſwim over or wade "through." To this may be added, that the month of the Thames in Dion's time was as well known to the Romans as the mouth of the Tiber. Horſley takes theſe fens to have been on the ſouth ſide of the river.

[f] Geſſoriacum. Dr. Halley takes Geſſoriacum to be Gravelin or Dunkirk. Claudius, in all probability, landed at Portus Ritupenſis, called afterwards Portus Britanniarum.

[g] According to ſome Malden, according to others Colcheſter in Eſſex. Dr. Gale will have it to be Malden.

where he meets with little reſiſtance, and puſhing his conqueſts, ſubdues ſome of the neighbouring ſtates. Upon theſe ſucceſſes he is by the army ſaluted Imperator ſeveral times, contrary to the Roman cuſtom, which allowed no general to be honoured with that glorious title above once in the ſame war.

Claudius's moderation to the Britons; who worſhip him as a God.

If by this expedition, which was finiſhed in fifteen days, Claudius acquired great fame, his moderation was no leſs honourable and advantageous to him. The vanquiſhed Britons, touched with a ſenſe of his generoſity in leaving them the poſſeſſion of their goods, which he might have taken from them, carried their gratitude ſo far as to erect a temple to him, and pay him divine honours. After this ſucceſsful expedition, the emperor committing the government of Britain to Plautius, ſets out for Rome, where he ſafely arrives after a ſix month's abſence only. At his return the ſenate decreed him the honour of a triumph, and the ſirname of Britannicus in memory of his ſubduing the Britons. The public rejoicings on this occaſion held ſeveral days,, and the poets diſplayed in lofty ſtrains the greatneſs and importance of his victories. And yet, Suetonius ſays, he became maſter of part of Britain without battle or bloodſhed [h]. But it is more probable, as Dion Caſſius affirms, that it coſt him a bloody battle.

He returns to Rome.

Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 17.

45. Plautius continues the war. Sueton. in Veſpaſian. cap. 4.

Plautius carried on the conqueſts begun by the emperor, being bravely ſeconded by Veſpaſian, and his ſon Titus, who ſerved under him. Titus, then a tribune only, ſignalized himſelf on all occaſions. He had even the good fortune to ſave his father's life in a battle. Veſpaſian, who had a large command, was often detached by the general on expeditions of moment, which gained him great reputation. He fought thirty battles with the Britons, ſubdued two powerful nations, and conquered the Iſle of Wight. As all this was done under Plautius, the commander in chief, he acquired great reputation in this war. At length, being recalled, he goes and receives

Tacit Agric.

[h] Mr. Wright of Stretton in Cheſhire, has lately publiſhed in his Traveſs, an inſcription which confirms this account of Suetonius. He took a copy of it himſelf from the palace of Barberini at Rome. It is as follows;

TI. CLAVDIO. CÆS.
AVGVSTO.
PONTIFICI. MAX. TR. P IX.
COS. V. IMP. XVI, P. P.
SENATVS. POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES. BRITANNIÆ. ABSQ.
VLA. JACTVRA. DOMVERIT.
GENTESQVE. BARBARAS.
PRIMVS. INDICIO. SVBEGERIT.

at

at Rome the reward of his ſervices, the ſenate having decreed him the honour of an ovation, or inferior triumph. He was met by the emperor without the gates, who gave him the right-hand as they walked, in token of his great eſteem for him [i].

Oſtorius Scapula was ſent into Britain in the room of Plautius. He arrives in the beginning of winter, and finds the Britons making continual inreads into the Roman conqueſts. They never imagine the new governor would march his army at ſuch a ſeaſon, in an unknown country. But he does not ſuffer them long to continue their ravages. Drawing his troops together, he forthwith marches againſt them with all expedition, and defeating the firſt that ſtand their ground, ſo diſperſes the reſt in the end, that he has no more to fear from their incurſions. However, not to be expoſed to continual alarms, he reſolves to confine them between the Avon and Severn, by means of forts built between the two rivers. Before he puts this reſolution in practice, he makes Camelodunum a military colony. Much about the ſame time London was alſo made a [trading] colony, and that part of Britain lying between the Thames and the ſea, was reduced into the form of a province, and called Britannia Prima.

50. Oſtorius Scapula governor of Britain. Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. et Vit. Agric.

Camelodunum is made a colony, and likewiſe London. Stillingfleet. Part of Britain made a province.

The Iceni [k], not yet weakened by the foregoing wars, having from the beginning been in alliance with the Romans, were the firſt that oppoſed Oſtorius's deſign. Some neighbouring nations followed their example, and joining their forces under one general, they encamped upon advantageous ground, throwing up in haſte a breaſt-work of flints to prevent the attempts of the horſe. Though Oſtorius was then without any but the auxiliary forces [l], he attacked them however,

The Britons unite againſt Oſtorius.

i From the following words of Tacitus, the wife of Plautius is ſuppoſed to be a Chriſtian, and the firſt in Britain. "Pomponia Græcina inſignis "fœmina, Plautio, qui ovans ſe de "Britannis retulit nupta, ac ſuperſti-"tionis externa rea, mariti judicio "permiſſa." Annal. lib. xviii. cap. 32. This Pomponia Græcina, wife of Plautius, and Claudi Ruffina, a Britiſh lady are ſuppoſed to be of "the ſaints that "were in Cæſar's houſhold," mentioned by St. Paul. Claudia is celebrated by Martial for her admirable beauty and learning, in the following epigram?

From painted Britons how was Claudia born?
The fair Barbarian how do arts adorn!
When Roman charms a Grecian ſoul commend,
Athens and Rome may for the dame contend.

k The inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeſhire and Huntingdonſhire. Rowland obſerves, that Cyn, or Kyn, ſignifies in Britiſh, Firſt or Foremoſt. Hence Kynta, or Kent, ſo called from being the firſt in ſituation from the continent, and Uch-Kyn (Icenorum regio) i. e. next to Kyn or Kent.

l Every legion had ſo many auxiliaries,

however, ordering the horſe to diſmount and ſupport thoſe that were to charge firſt. The reſiſtance of the Britons was more obſtinate than expected: nevertheleſs their intrenchments were forced at laſt with great ſlaughter on their ſide. After this victory, Oſtorius turns his arms againſt the Cangi [m], who, keeping in ſmall parties, are quickly diſperſed. The Roman army was not far from the ſea that parts Ireland from Great Britain, when the general is informed that the Brigantes [n] are in arms. This news obliging him to defer the execution of his firſt deſign, he marches with all ſpeed againſt the Brigantes, being willing to ſecure the old, before he proceeds to new conqueſts. The inſurrection is appeaſed by the death of the chief revolters. But the Silures [o], the braveſt and moſt powerful of all the Britons, could not be tamed either by clemency or ſeverity. Their forces were ſo conſiderable that the legions were obliged to march againſt them. They were headed by their king Caractacus, famous for his great exploits, and univerſally eſteemed by his countrymen, being accounted the beſt general Britain had ever produced. This prince, whom the nations in alliance with the Silures had made commander in chief, was retired into the country of the Ordovices [p], where aſſembling all his forces, he reſolves to expect the Romans. To that end he chuſes an advantageous poſt of very difficult acceſs, and draws up his army on the ſide of a ſteep hill, with a little river [q] at the bottom, which though fordable in many places, was of great ſervice to him. Moreover, his camp being ſurrounded with a ſort of rampart of flints and ſtones, he ſeemed, thus poſted, to be out of all danger [r]. Theſe difficulties are not ſufficient to check the Romans, who appear before their enemies with their wonted bravery, and reſolve to exert their utmoſt in expectation of ending, by a ſingle battle, a war that kept them as it were in another world. The Britons on their part pre-

They are defeated.

Caractacus general of the Britons.

aries, the number of which is ſuppoſed, as to the foot, to be the ſame with the Legion, but double as to the horſe. Horſley, p. 87. The auxiliaries were foreigners, whereas the legions were Romans.

m Generally ſuppoſed to be inhabitants of the weſtern parts of Wales, but Horſley places them about Derbyſhire, near the Brigantes, p. 35.

n Inhabitants of Yorkſhire, Lancaſhire, Durham, Weſtmorland, Cumberland.

o Inhabitants of Hertfordſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Monmouthſhire, Glamorganſhire.

p Inhabitants of Montgomerymire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Flintſhire, Denbighſhire.

q Horſley takes this river to be the Severn rather than the Dee.

r In the edge of Shropſhire where the rivers Clune and Temd meet, is a hill to which there is no acceſs but at one place, called Caer-Caradoc, ſo named from Caractacus, where yet are to be ſeen the relics of theſe ſtone ramparts. Horſley, p. 31.

pare

pare for battle with all poſſible ardor, not queſtioning but they ſhould free themſelves that day from the Roman yoke. Their leaders ride up and down, exhorting them to do their duty, by all the motives that could inflame their courage, and excite them to brave actions. Caractacus tells them, "This is the day that will give them liberty or perpetual "ſlavery; and bids them call to mind the glory of their an- "ceſtors, who drove Cæſar out of Britain, and freed their "country from the dominion of the Romans." The ſoldiers with loud acclamations declare they are ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their liberty. The reſolution that appeared in the looks of the Britons ſtartled the Roman general at firſt. But finding his army extremely eager to engage, he makes the ſignal of battle, having firſt obſerved in what place the river might beſt be forded. The Romans paſs it without much difficulty; but before they can approach the enemy's camp, they are expoſed to a ſhower of darts, by which many are killed and wounded. In ſpite of theſe difficulties they make ſeveral breaches in the rampart, which being nothing but looſe ſtones, is eaſily thrown down. As ſoon as they could uſe their ſwords, it was not poſſible for the Britons to ſtand againſt the warlike and veteran troops, who quickly put them to flight. Beſides the loſs ſuſtained by the Britons in the action, their defeat was the more conſiderable by the taking of the wife, daughters, and brothers of Caractacus. This victory was followed, in a few days, with an unexpected happineſs to Oſtorius: Caractacus flying for protection to Cartiſmandua queen of the Brigantes, was by her delivered up to the Romans, for fear doubtleſs of drawing a victorious army into her country, ſhould ſhe think of protecting the vanquiſhed prince. He had now commanded the confederate army of the Britons nine years; and his fame had reached as far as Rome, where all were ſurprized at his ſo long reſiſting the Roman power. When the emperor had notice of the victory, and taking of Caractacus, he ordered the captives to be ſent to Rome, that he might behold in chains a prince that had been talked of as a very formidable enemy. On a day appointed, the people being all preſent, and the emperor ſeated on his throne, there came firſt Caractacus's vaſſals and retinue, with the capariſons and other ſpoils of war; then his wife, daughters, and brothers; and laſtly Caractacus himſelf, walking with a ſettled countenance, without holding down his head, or appearing too much dejected at his misfortune. When he came near the emperor, he made the following ſpeech, if it be true that Tacitus did not make it for him:

is defeated by Oſtorius,

and delivered up to the Romans.

"If

His Speech to Claudius.

" If my moderation had been as great as my birth or for-
" tune, Rome had ſeen me this day her ally and not captive,
" and perhaps ſhe would not have diſdained to rank in the
" number of her friends a prince royally deſcended, and who
" commanded many nations. My preſent condition is as diſ-
" honourable to me, as it is glorious to you. I had arms,
" horſes, riches, and grandeur. Is it ſtrange I ſhould part
" with them unwillingly? Does it follow, becauſe you have
" a mind to rule over all, that therefore every one muſt tame-
" ly ſubmit? Had I ſooner been betrayed to you, neither
" your glory nor my misfortunes had been rendered ſo fa-
" mous, and my puniſhment would have been buried in
" eternal oblivion: but now if you preſerve my life, I ſhall
" be a ſtanding monument of your clemency to future ages."

The emperor, moved with theſe words, generouſly pardons the captives, and orders their chains to be taken off. The firſt uſe they make of their liberty is to go and fall at the empreſs's feet, who, in all appearance, interceded for them. The ſenate being aſſembled to conſider of a due reward for Oſtorius, his victory was ſpoken of in terms very much to his advantage. It was declared to equal Scipio's over Syphax, and Paulus Æmilius's over Perſeus; and therefore it was reſolved that the ſame honours ſhould be decreed him.

52. The Britons reſume their courage.

Mean while Oſtorius's reputation began to ſink, either becauſe he grew remiſs after acquiring ſo great fame, or becauſe the Britons had exerted themſelves more vigorouſly to repair the diſgrace of their late defeat. They ſucceſsfully attacked the troops that were left to build forts in the country of the Silures, and, had not timely relief come from the neighbouring gariſons, would have cut them in pieces. The commander and eight captains, with a good number of ſoldiers, were ſlain. Another time they defeated the Roman foragers, and put the horſe that guarded them in diſorder. In this action they improved their advantage in ſuch manner, that Oſtorius was obliged to advance with the legions, after having tried in vain to reſtore the battle with ſupplies of the light-armed troops. The coming of the legions revived the courage of the Romans, and forced the Britons to retreat, though with little loſs. After that there were ſeveral conflicts with various ſucceſs, according to the circumſtances of time and place.

The Silures are intractable.

The Silures, of all the Britiſh nations, were the moſt obſtinate, being exaſperated at the emperor's ſaying, Britain would have no peace, till, like the Sicambri, they were tranſported into ſome foreign country. They ſurprized two cohorts, that by the avarice of the officers, and greedy deſire of pillage, were

were advanced too far into the enemy's quarters. By diſtributing the ſpoil and priſoners, they endeavour to draw in the reſt of the nations to revolt. Oſtorius dies about this time with vexation, for not being able to put an end to the war. The Britons rejoice at his death, and the more for their aſcribing it to his grief that he could not ſtop the progreſs of their victories. Oſtorius dies

53. As it was dangerous, in the preſent poſture of affairs, for the emperor to leave the army long without a general, Aulus Didius is immediately ſent over, who finds matters in a worſe condition than ever, a legion commanded by Manlius Valens having been defeated. The loſs however was not ſo great as reported. Nevertheleſs Didius himſelf magnified it very much, that he might gain the more honour in reſtoring affairs, or leſſen the diſgrace, if the war ſhould continue any time. His arrival was a check to the Silures, who, exalted with their late ſucceſs, were making inroads into the frontiers of the Roman province. Aulus Didius ſucceeds him.

Mean while Venutius, king of the Brigantes, ſucceſſor of Caractacus in the command of the army, is perſuaded by the inſtigations of Cartiſmandua his queen, (the ſame that betrayed Caractacus) to enter into an alliance with the Romans. As long as this prince lived in a good underſtanding with his queen, he ſuffered the Romans peaceably to enjoy their conqueſts, ſatisfied with preſerving his own dominions, without troubling himſelf about the concerns of other nations. A quarrel ariſing between him and his queen, and ending in a domeſtick war[s] cauſed him to take other meaſures[s]. Tho' hitherto he had no averſion to the Romans, he is now forced to declare himſelf againſt them, they having impolitickly eſpouſed the cauſe of his queen. This partiality of theirs ſo enrages him, that he uſes all his intereſt with his countrymen to ſtir them up to a revolt. The war is kindled afreſh with greater fury than ever, tho' in the abſence of Didius, who, being very old, managed affairs by his lieutenants. The war kindles afreſh. Tacit. Hiſt. lib. iii.

57. Veranius, who ſucceeded him in the reign of Nero, died before he had done any thing remarkable. It is true, his head was full of vaſt projects, and the fame he had acquired in other poſts, gave occaſion to think him capable of executing the greateſt undertakings. But his will, ſtuffed with flattering praiſes of the emperor, and full of vain boaſts, that in caſe he had lived but two years longer he would have ſubdued all Britain, Veranius ſucceeds Didius and dies. Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

[s] She rejected him, and marries his eſquire Vellocatus, making him king, Tacit. lib. iii.

tain, made him forfeit the good opinion people had conceived of him.

58. Suetonius Paulinus was appointed to fill his place. Great matters were expected from this general, whose merit was compared with Corbulo's, who had lately conquered Armenia. As he himself looked with emulation on the glory acquired by that great man, he burned with desire to confirm, by fresh exploits, the good opinion the world had entertained of his experience and bravery. The moment he comes to his government, he forms the project of conquering the isle of Mona[t], now called Anglesey. To that end, he passes the foot over in flat-bottomed boats, the sea being very shallow in that place, the horse following, some swimming, others fording[u]. The islanders are drawn up on the other side, with the women running up and down, dressed like furies, their hair hanging loose, firebrands in their hands, and surrounded with the druids, who, with hands lifted up to heaven, pour out dreadful curses and imprecations. The horror of this sight so astonishes the Romans, that they stand stock still, exposed to the enemies darts. But at length, the shame of being frighted by a company of frantick women and priests, and the exhortation of their general, bringing them to their senses and courage, they fall upon the enemy sword in hand, and become masters of the island. The first thing Paulinus did was to order all the consecrated groves to be cut down, where the islanders sacrificed their captives, and consulted their gods, by inspecting the entrails of men.

Suetonius Paulinus is sent into Britain. Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv.

He conqners Mona.

60. But whilst Paulinus is employed in this expedition, an unexpected turn obliges him to leave Mona in an abrupt manner, to go and settle affairs of much greater moment.

Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, dying left by will the emperor and his daughters co-heirs to his great treasures, in expectation to procure by that means Nero's protection for his family and people. But this precaution had a quite contrary effect. Prasutagus is no sooner laid in his grave, but the emperor's officers seize upon all his effects in their master's name. Boadicea[w], his widow, a woman of great courage and a high spirit, opposing these unjust proceedings, meets with fresh

A general insurrection in Britain. Tacitus. Dion Cass. The causes of it.

[t] So called from Mon, signifying in old British, the furthermost or end, in respect to it's situation from the continent of Gaul. Rowl. p. 21.

[u] The Romans are supposed to have passed from Lhan vair is Gair in Caernarvonshire to Lhan Idan in Anglesey, which is still the shalloweſt part of the Fretum, and there are remarkable works yet visible near Lhan Idan. See Camden, p. 675, 676.

[w] This name is variously written; Xiphiline Dion's epitomizer, has it Bonduca; Tacitus calls her Voadica, and Boudicea; Camden and others, Beodicia, but most usually Boadicea.

cause

cauſe of diſcontent in the contempt ſhewn to her remonſtrances. As ſhe is expreſſing, by her complaints, her reſentment of the injury done to her daughters, the brutiſhneſs of the officers is ſuch, that they order her to be publickly whipped. And then, not ſatisfied with ſo outrageous an affront, they cauſe her daughters to be raviſhed by the ſoldiers.

The Britons looked upon this ſtrange barbarity with ſuch indignation, that the whole iſland was poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of revolt, which quickly breaks out into action. The Iceni lead the way, and are ſoon followed by their neighbours the Trinobantes. Venucius and his party join with them, and, in ſhort, all the nations in ſubjection to the Romans riſe in arms with one conſent, the city of London only excepted. The Roman hiſtorians themſelves own, that the injuſtice and violence of the emperor's officers gave the Britons but too juſt cauſe to revolt. They were thruſt out of their poſſeſſions without any form of law, by the veterans that were ſent to ſettle in the iſland. Caius Decianus, Nero's procurator, without any regard to the ordinance of Claudius, that left the vanquiſhed in poſſeſſion of their goods, confiſcated their eſtates to the emperor's uſe. The petitions preſented to him on that occaſion were all rejected; and without alledging any other reaſon but his will, which he made a law, he minded nothing but his own and his maſter's profit. Seneca himſelf, with all his noble ſentiments of moderation and diſintereſtedneſs which ſhine in his writings, but were never ſeen in his practice, is ſaid to contribute very much to the inſurrection, by rigorouſly exacting on a ſudden the money he had lent ſome of the Britons upon uſury[x]. This treatment bred in the minds of the people ſo great an averſion to a foreign yoke, that they were all unanimouſly determined to ſhake it off. Venutius, mortal enemy of the Romans, cheriſhes the rebellion to the utmoſt of his power. The very adherents of the queen, laying aſide their domeſtick quarrels, and renouncing the friendſhip of the Romans, join with the reſt of their countrymen for the recovery of their liberty.

General maſſacre of the Romans.

Boadicea, animated with an ardent deſire of revenge, heads the revolters, and earneſtly exhorts them to take advantage of the Roman general's abſence to free themſelves from ſlavery, by putting their oppreſſors, the foreigners, all to the ſword. The Britons immediately embrace the propoſal, and fall in a ſudden and furious manner upon the Romans diſperſed in their

[x] Seneca is ſaid by Dion Caſſius to have in Britain, about this time, to the value of three hundred thouſand pounds, as Camden computes it. Xiphil. in Ner. Stilling. Orig. Brit. p. 5.

colonies,

colonies, which were more carefully embelliſhed than fortified, maſſacring all without diſtinction of age or ſex. Unheard-of cruelties are acted upon this occaſion, and ſtrange puniſhments invented to glut the fury of the enraged people. Wives are hung up with their infants at their breaſts, to make them ſuffer in ſome meaſure a double death. Virgins have their breaſts cut off and crambed in their mouths, to make them ſeem in the agonies of death to eat their own fleſh. The Veterans at Camelodunum retiring into a temple for ſanctuary, are ſacrilegiouſly burned alive, rather than ſuffered to ſtarve to death. In a word, the fury of the Britons is carried to that height, that not a ſingle Roman eſcapes. Eighty thouſand [y] are computed to periſh in this maſſacre.

Cruelties exerciſed upon the Romans

Let us reflect here a little on the politicks of thoſe conquerors of the world, ſo great maſters in the art of government. Upon their ſubduing a country, they immediately ſent their numerous colonies, who, by degrees, mixing and intermarrying with the natives, ſecured to them their conqueſts. Of this Britain is a remarkable inſtance, where, though the iſland had been conquered but eighteen years before by Claudius, above eighty thouſand Romans were already ſettled, beſides Paulinus's army, and, doubtleſs, ſome gariſons in the fortified places, which the fury of the Britons could not penetrate.

Paulinus receiving advice ofthis revolution, ſuddenly quits the iſle of Mona to march againſt the revolted Britons, who have now an army of a hundred thouſand men, under the conduct of Boadicea, whoſe noble ſtature and heroic courage makes them hope ſhe may have likewiſe all the qualities of a general. This princeſs, fired with the affronts ſhe had received, ardently deſires to engage with Paulinus, whoſe army is only ten thouſand ſtrong, in expectation of compleating her revenge, by the deſtruicton of ſo inconſiderable remains of the enemy. Mean while, Paulinus expecting no ſuccours from any place, is in great ſtraits. The ninth legion, commanded by Petilius Cerealis, was juſt then entirely defeated. Pœnius Poſthumus, with a conſiderable detachment of the ſecond, refuſed, contrary to the law of arms, to obey his general's orders to come and join him. Thus Paulinus is under a neceſſity either of marching againſt his enemies with his little army, or of expecting them in ſome town. He chuſes the latter, and

Paulinus leaves Mona

[y] Rapin follows Dion Caſſius. Tacitus ſays only ſeventy thouſand; his words are,—ad ſeptuaginta millia civium et ſociorum. Verulamium was a municipium; ſo that civium may refer chiefly to this place, and Sociorum to London, which was only a trading colony.

ſhuts

ſhuts himſelf up in London, but quickly alters his reſolution. Foreſeeing his endeavours to ſave that colony will endanger the whole province, he marches out, notwithſtanding the cries and intreaties of the inhabitants, not to abandon them to the fury of the rebels. However, with his handful of troops, he ſeemed little able to ſtand againſt an army of an hundred thouſand men. But great men very often, by their courage and experience, find means to extricate themſelves out of the greateſt difficulties. Paulinus plainly ſees, that in ſuch an extremity he muſt either conquer or die, the relief he might expect being too far off, and the danger at hand. Therefore, inſtead of retiring from the Britons, now marching towards him, he reſolves to meet them. This reſolution inſpires his troops with ſuch courage, that they readily follow him; ſo powerful is an army's good opinion of their general. Paulinus ſummons all his experience to balance by his conduct the advantage of the enemy's numbers. He pitched upon a narrow piece of ground for the field of battle, with a foreſt behind, that ſecured him from ambuſcades in the rear, and a large plain before, where the Britons were encamped. He draws up the legions cloſe together in the center, the light armed are placed round them, and the horſe make the two wings. The enemies ſwarm about the plain in battalions and ſquadrons, exulting at their numbers[z], and ſecure of victory. Their wives and children are brought into the field in waggons, which line their intrenchments, to be witneſſes of their actions and partners in the ſpoil.

Boadicea, with her daughters by her ſide in the chariot, rides up and down, addreſſing herſelf to the ſeveral nations in the following manner, "That it was not the firſt time the "Britons had been victorious under the conduct of their "queens. That, for her part, ſhe came not there, as one "deſcended from royal progenitors, to fight for empire or "riches; but as one of the common people, to avenge the "loſs of their liberty, the wrongs done to her own perſon, "and the violation of her daughter's chaſtity. That the "Romans luſt was grown to that height, that neither old nor "young eſcaped its pollutions; but the gods had already be-"gun to puniſh them according to their deſerts; for one legion "that durſt hazard a battle was cut in pieces, and the reſt "ſkulked in their camp[a], or fled for their lives; ſo that in-"ſtead of being able to ſtand the attack of a victorious army, Boadicea's ſpeech to the army.

[z] The army conſiſted of 230,000, according to Dion Caſſius.

[a] Alluding to Pœnius Poſthumus's conduct, who ſeems to have refuſed to draw his legion out of their ſtation or camp. Horſley, p. 29.

" the very ſhouts of ſo many thouſands would put them to " flight. That if the Britons would but conſider the number " of their forces, and the motives of the war, they would " reſolve to vanquiſh or die. That it was much better to " fall honourably in defence of their liberty, than to be ex- " poſed again to the outrages of the Romans. This was her " reſolution; but as for the men, they might, if they pleaſed, " live and be ſlaves." She is ſaid at the end of her ſpeech to let looſe a hare, ſhe concealed in her boſom, as a good omen of victory.

Paulinus harangues his army.

Whilſt Boadicea is endeavouring to animate the Britons, Paulinus is not idle at the proſpect of ſo great danger. Tho' he is aſſured of the bravery of his troops, he exhorts them to deſpiſe the clamour and threats of the barbarians. He repreſents to them, that " among the enemy there were more " women than ſoldiers; and that the greateſt part of them, " having neither arms nor courage, would immediately take " to their heels, when they came to feel the force of their " victorious arms. That in the moſt numerous armies, the " deciſion of the battle depended upon a few, and that their " glory would be ſo much the greater as it was the leſs divided. " That they ſhould take care only to keep their ranks cloſe, " and fight ſword in hand, after they had thrown their darts. " And laſtly, that they ſhould not loſe time about the ſpoil, " which would be the certain reward of their victory." Theſe words are followed with ſuch loud acclamations, and the reſolution of the ſoldiers appears ſo great, that the general, not doubting of ſucceſs, orders a charge to be ſounded. The Romans dart their javelins, without quitting the advantage of their poſt. But their quivers being emptied, they advance ſword in hand, ſeconded by the auxiliaries, who fight with equal bravery, in an opinion that there was no ſafety but in victory. Whilſt the fight was carried on with darts at a diſtance, the Britons were in hopes the Romans, daunted at the number of their enemies, would take to flight. But when they ſee the legions advancing ſword in hand, with ſhort and thick ſteps, and no ſigns of fear in their looks, they fall into diſorder, which continually increaſes, there being no leaders or officers capable of repairing it[b]. The Romans ſeeing them thus ſhaken, fall upon them with great fury, and put the whole army into the utmoſt confuſion, who now think only of ſaving themſelves by flight. At the ſame time the Roman horſe in the wings breaking through the Britiſh cavalry, a terrible rout

A bloody battle.

[b] Theſe laſt words are not in Tacitus.

enſues

enſues of the frighted troops. 'Tis even with difficulty they run away, by reaſon of the great number of carriages, full of unſerviceable multitudes, which firſt retiring, become an obſtacle to the flight of the army. The Roman ſoldiers ſpare neither age nor ſex, but ſacrifice to their revenge the women and children, and even the very horſes. This victory equalled their moſt famous ones, if it be true, as Tacitus affirms, that eighty thouſand Britons were ſlain, with the loſs only of four hundred Romans, and as many wounded. Boadicea eſcaped falling into the hands of the conquerors; but was touched with ſo deep a ſenſe of her ſhame and loſs, that ſhe ended her days with poiſon. On the other ſide, Pœnius Poſthumus, who refuſed to obey his general, either to avoid the puniſhment due to his offence, or for grief at loſing his ſhare of the glory of the victory, ſtabbed himſelf.

The miſerable condition of the Britons.

How advantageous to the Romans the conſequences of ſo great a victory were, may be eaſily conceived. The Britons, in the utmoſt conſternation, without general or army, fly before their enemies, without offering the leaſt reſiſtance. Their miſery is farther increaſed by a famine, brought upon themſelves by neglecting to ſow their lands. All their hopes are, that the inconſiderable number of their enemies muſt oblige them to keep together, and thereby afford time to form another army. But theſe hopes vaniſh upon the Romans receiving a ſtrong reinforcement from Germany. No doubt, as matters then ſtood, Paulinus's army would have been ſufficient to complete the conqueſt of Britain, if diſſenſions ariſing among the Romans had not prevented them from improving their advantages.

Diſcord among the Romans. Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv.

Julius Claſſicianus, who ſucceeded Decianus in the office of procurator, diſagreeing with Paulinus, ſtudied to croſs him in all his deſigns. Probably the general would not ſuffer him to continue the oppreſſions that occaſioned the late revolt. However this be, Claſſicianus conceives ſo violent a hatred for him, that he declares publickly, and even writes to the emperor's miniſters at Rome, that there is no proſpect of ending the war, as long as the management is left to Paulinus. In all his reports to the emperor's miniſters, he imputes the good ſucceſs to fortune, and the bad to the governor's ill conduct, intimating, that if another general were ſent, it would be very eaſy to appeaſe the troubles, without diſobliging the province. At laſt Nero, hearing of this diſſenſion, orders his freedman Polycletus to go and learn the cauſe. The reſpect ſhown him by Paulinus was ſurprizing to the Britons, who could not conceive that ſuch a general, and a victorious army, ſhould be

accountable to a freedman. This reſpect however was not paid in vain. Polycletus in his report to the emperor, juſtifies Paulinus, and ſo manages that he keeps his command.

62. Paulinus is relieved by Turpilianus,

But in the end, Claſſicianus beginning afreſh, prevails by his friends and ſecret practices, to have Paulinus relieved by Petronius Turpilianus, who being a perſon of no ambition, acted nothing memorable, hiding his love of eaſe and ſloth under the ſpecious name of the love of peace.

65. who is ſucceeded by Trebellius. Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

To him ſucceeds Trebellius Maximus, as indolent as himſelf, and famous for nothing during his government but his quarrel with Cælius commander of the twentieth legion. This quarrel is carried ſo high, that great part of the army deſerting their general, he is forced at length to fly to Vitellius, who commanded the Roman army in Germany.

67.

In the mean time Nero dying, the Britons enjoy ſome reſpite, during the ſhort reigns of Galba and Otho, there being neither governor nor general. The Roman army was commanded only by tribunes, among whom Cælius bore the chief ſway. Vitellius being come to the empire, ſends Victius Bolanus into Britain, to take upon him the command of the army. The new governor, little ſkilled in the art of war, leaves the Britons in quiet, and contents himſelf with gaining the affections of the ſoldiers, without having the authority of a general. He continues in the province till Veſpaſian, who ſucceeds Vitellius in the imperial throne, being informed of the wants of Britain, ſends thither Petilius Cerealis. Petilius, during his government, attacks and defeats in ſeveral battles the Brigantes, the moſt numerous and conſiderable of all the Britiſh nations[c]. Julius Frontinus ſucceeds him, and acquires no leſs glory than his predeceſſor. He ſubdues the warlike Silures, whoſe country ſeemed, by its ſituation, to ſcreen them from all attacks.

68.

69. Vettius Bolanus is made governor.

69. He is ſucceeded by Petilius Cerealis,

who is ſucceeded by Julius Frontinus.

Toward the end of Veſpaſian's reign, Julius Agricola is ſent into Britain to ſucceed Frontinus. Here we begin to have fuller accounts of the Britiſh wars; for which we are wholly indebted to Tacitus, who has taken care to write the life of

75. 78. Julius Agricola is made governor of Britain. Tacit. Vit. Agricolæ.

[c] Their capital was Iſurium, call'd by Antonine Iſu-Brigantum, now Aldborough in Yorkſhire, which appears to have been a very large ſtation. It muſt be obſerved, that encampments upon a march were by the Romans call'd Caſtra. Winter or Summer quarters Caſtra Hiberna, aut Æſtiva. The word Statia is uſed by Cæſar, Tacitus, &c. for the duty of ſoldiers upon guard, or for the men employed in this duty. But afterwards Statio was applied to a Fort or Place where the ſoldiers lodg'd, and like Vegetius's Caſtella, were often built like towns in the borders of the empire, where they were conſtant fences againſt the enemy. The ſtations here in England were ſtrong fortifications, of no great extent, adjoining to which were uſually other buildings, forming a ſort of town, to which the ſtation was in the nature of a citadel.

his

his father-in-law Agricola, in order to give that luſtre to his actions they juſtly deſerved, and which perhaps they would have wanted, had it not been for that illuſtrious hiſtorian[d].

Some time before Agricola was appointed governor of Britain, the Ordovices had ſurprized and cut in pieces a body of Roman horſe, quartered in their frontiers. This accident gave occaſion to apprehend the like again, and cauſed the Romans to expect with great impatience the arrival of a new governor. The news that Agricola was to command them, revived their courage. They did not queſtion but under a general of ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation, they ſhould quickly put an end to the war. However, he could not come till about the middle of ſummer. Tho' he finds no magazine for the army, diſperſed in ſeveral places for their better ſubſiſtance, he draws them together without delay. He immediately attacks the Ordovices, and notwithſtanding the difficulty of the undertaking by reaſon of the incommodious places he is forced to go thro' in queſt of them, makes them pay dear for the advantage they had lately gained. All the world was ſurprized to ſee him fighting the enemies of the empire upon his firſt entrance, a time uſually ſpent by other governors in feaſting and diverſions, or in receiving the compliments of the province. But there was ſtill greater reaſon to admire his diligence, when he was ſeen, in his firſt campaign, to attack the iſle of Mona, which the Romans had been forced to abandon, tho' he wanted flat-bottom'd veſſels for the expedition. He ordered a choice body of auxiliaries, who were acquainted with the ſhallows, to ſwim over, which they perform'd ſo dextrouſly, (being trained up by the cuſtom of their native country to manage in ſwimming themſelves, their horſes and arms) that the inhabitants, aſtoniſhed at the ſight, and never ſuſpecting any ſuch thing, ſurrendered the iſle to the Romans without obliging them to draw a ſword. 78. Agricola's firſt campaign.

War was not the only affair that employed the new governor. Whilſt his arms are triumphant, he carefully enquires about every thing relating to the government of the province, and the propereſt means to keep the people in obedience. This enquiry ſhews him that the Britons are not to be tam'd by arms alone, but that lenity is no leſs neceſſary than force. And therefore he ſpends the whole winter after his firſt campaign, in diligently regulating ſeveral abuſes crept in by the avarice or negligence of former governors. He takes care to He gains the love of his Britiſh ſubjects.

[d] Tacitus's Life of Agricola is juſtly eſteemed a maſter-piece by the beſt judges. The ſtrength and vivacity of the expreſſion, the beauty and variety of thought are almoſt inimitable. Horſley, p. 38.

prevent all kind of exactions; to cauſe juſtice to be adminiſtred punctually and impartially; in a word, to remove every occaſion of diſcontent from the Britons in ſubjection to the empire. This proceeding gained their affection to ſuch a degree, that he had no cauſe to fear a revolt whilſt he ſhould be employed in making new conqueſts. Veſpaſian dying about this time, his ſon Titus ſucceeds him, and knowing Agricola's great merit, continues him in his government.

79. Agricola's ſecond campaign.

In the ſpring the general takes the field again, and marches towards the north, where he makes ſome conqueſts. He obſerved the Romans commonly loſt in the winter what they gained in the ſummer, becauſe they durſt not venture to quarter in the conquered countries, which were too much expoſed. To prevent this inconvenience, he reſolved to build forts in proper places, where garriſons might be kept in the winter, always ready to repulſe the enemy. As he was a great maſter in the art of fortification, theſe forts were built and ſituated in ſuch manner, that the Romans were never under a neceſſity to quit them, nor the enemies ever able to take them [e].

He induces the Britons to come into the cuſtoms of the Romans.

During the following winter, Agricola's chief buſineſs was to ſoften the rough manners of the Britons, and inſtill into them a deſire to imitate the cuſtoms of the Romans. His pains are not beſtowed in vain. Soon after, Britain is adorned with ſtately temples, noble porticos, and many fine ſtructures both public and private, of a very different taſte from what had been hitherto ſeen. The Britiſh nobles even pride themſelves in ſpeaking the Latin tongue, to which a little before they were utterly averſe. They dreſs likewiſe after the Roman manner, and in ſhort, as Tacitus obſerves, are brought to eſteem, as politeneſs and good breeding, what was only a badge of their ſlavery.

80. Third campaign.

In this third campaign, Agricola advances as far as the river Tweed, fortifying his conqueſts with caſtles and fortreſſes in ſeveral places.

81. Fourth campaign.

The fourth ſummer was ſpent in ſubduing the nations inhabiting between the Tweed and the two friths of Glota and Bodotria, now called of Dunbritton and Edinburgh. Thoſe two arms of the eaſt and weſt ſeas ſhoot ſo far into the land,

[e] This paſſage of Tacitus, (ſays Horſley) is almoſt incredible, though we extend it no farther than to the time of Tacitus writing his hiſtory. There is perhaps a good deal of compliment in it to Agricola, the hiſtorian's father-in-law and favourite hero. It ſeems not to be well conſiſtent with another paſſage, "perdomita Britannia & ſtatim "amiſſa." Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 2. The forts built this year by Agricola are ſuppoſed to be on the borders, eſpecially on the weſtern ſide of the iſland, along which Agricola marched. Horſley, p. 40.

that

that they are parted only by an iſthmus of between thirty and forty miles. Upon this iſthmus Agricola raiſes forts and plants garriſons for the ſecurity of the Roman province, which he had extended thus far. By this means the nations yet unconquered, were pent up as it were in a ſeparate iſland.

What Agricola had done ſhould, one would think, have ſatisfied his ambition: but he was labouring alſo for the glory of the Roman name, which, as Tacitus expreſſes it, knew no bounds. During his fifth campaign, Agricola leads his army beyond the friths, where he diſcovers countries and nations, whoſe very names were unknown to the Romans. Some of them he conquers, and leaves garriſons in the weſtern parts oppoſite to Ireland. His deſign was to attempt the conqueſt of that iſland, that it might be a check upon Britain, being perfectly informed of the ſtate of the country by a lord baniſhed from thence. Tacitus ſays, he heard his father-in-law ſay, that with one legion and a few auxiliaries, he could eaſily become maſter of that iſland, the conqueſt whereof would be of great ſervice to keep the Britons in awe. 82. Fifth campaign.

In this ſixth campaign, the Roman general paſſes Bodotria, ordering his fleet to row along the coaſts, and diſcover the creeks and harbours in thoſe northern parts. This was the firſt Roman fleet that appeared on thoſe ſeas, the ſight whereof inſpired the enemy with terror, but the Romans with courage, who having ventured upon thoſe unknown countries with ſome dread, were extremely animated by the communication they had with their fleet, which always kept near the ſhore. 83. Sixth campaign.

But while Agricola was advancing towards the north, a report was ſpread that the northern nations had drawn together a formidable army, and attacked the forts built on their frontiers. The news of this armament being confirmed a few days after by deſerters, the principal officers of the army adviſed the general to relinquiſh his conqueſts beyond the friths, and avoid the ſhame of being compelled to it by force. But he rejected this advice, as injurious to his maſter's honour and intereſt. Whilſt he was deliberating upon this affair, he had notice that the enemies were coming upon him with an army of numberleſs multitudes, according to common report. Apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, he divided his army into three bodies, hearing the enemy had done the ſame. This precaution had like to have coſt him dear. For the enemies having intelligence of it, altered their reſolution, and with united forces ſet upon the ninth legion in the night, as they lie encamp'd at a good diſtance from the reſt of the army. They ſurpriz'd the The ninth legion is attacked in their camp.

Agricola marches to their aid.

advanc'd guard, and attacking the camp with great fury, had like to become maſters of it. Agricola, upon notice of their march, made all poſſible haſte to the relief of the legion. But for fear of being too late, he ordered the horſe to go before and maintain the fight, till the reſt of the army came up. He appear'd at day break in ſight of the enemies, who ſeeing him advance, would have retreated, but not having time, were forc'd to continue the fight. The battle was fierce and obſtinate. The Romans, that were almoſt defeated in their camp, vigorouſly endeavour to repair their diſgrace, at the ſight of their companions who were coming to their aſſiſtance. And

The iſlanders are defeated.

theſe, ſeeing the ninth legion in danger, ruſh furiouſly upon the enemy to relieve them. Both fought with ſuch courage and bravery, that the enemy began at laſt to give ground. The fens favour'd their retreat, otherwiſe the war had been terminated by that ſingle battle[f].

They aſſemble again.

This defeat, though conſiderable, diſhearten'd not the iſlanders. They imputed their misfortune to chance and other circumſtances, rather than to the valour of the Romans, and reſolv'd to try the fortune of war once more. Having convey'd their women and children into the towns, they came together from all parts, and form'd a more numerous army than the firſt, with a reſolution ſtoutly to defend their liberty.

A cohort of the Roman army deſerts,

But whilſt the Romans are preparing in the winter to withſtand the efforts of their enemies, and even to attack them, a cohort of Uſippians, levied in Germany, form a deſign to return home, and execute it with that ſecrecy and expedition, that it could not be prevented. A captain and ſome Roman ſoldiers, placed among them to diſcipline them, were killed, leſt they ſhould oppoſe the deſign. Which done, theſe Germans ſeize upon two [g] ſmall veſſels, kill one of the pilots, and compel the other to conduct them, threatning to ſerve him as they had done his companion: after which they ſet ſail before

and periſh miſerably.

their intentions could be known. They had laid their meaſures ſo ill, that they were quickly in want of proviſons, and reduc'd to the neceſſity of eating ſome of their comrades. Thoſe that remain'd alive, ignorant of the art of navigation, were driven aſhore on the coaſt of Friſeland and made ſlaves [h],

[f] This battle was fought, according to Gordon, in the county of Fife; for there is a Roman camp in Sir John Malcolm's ground at Lochore, two miles from Lochleven, and a large moraſs near it, and formerly a wood. Alſo near this place is a ſmall village called Blair, which in the old language ſignifies a place of battle. Horſley, p. 44.

[g] Tacitus ſays, three. Vit. Agr.

[h] Tacitus ſays, after a ſtrange adventure ſailing round Britain, they were taken firſt by the Suevi, then by the Friſii. And being bought and ſold, ſome of them at laſt in traffick were brought to the coaſt where the Romans were, who told the adventure, and were afterwards famous for it. Tac. vit. Agr.

Upon

Upon opening the next campaign, Agricola orders his fleet to row along the coaſt, to keep ſeveral places in awe. At the ſame time he marches at the head of his troops, taking for guides ſome natives of known fidelity, that were acquainted with the ways. When he comes near the Grampian mountain, he ſees the enemies drawn up to the number of thirty thouſand, beſides volunteers, who flock'd together to be at a battle, of which liberty or ſlavery was to be the iſſue. Upon the armies approaching each other, Galgacus, commander of the iſlanders, repreſents to them, "That being at the extremity of the iſle, they have no refuge left if vanquiſh'd, and "therefore nothing but victory can deliver them from perpetual bondage." On the other ſide, Agricola exhorts his ſoldiers "to do their duty, by the conſideration of their paſt "victories. Particularly he ſets before their eyes their ſad "condition, if after being defeated, they are forc'd to ſeek for "ſhelter among the Britons, who for fifty years together have "felt the force of their victorious arms." Whilſt the general is yet ſpeaking, the ſoldiers by their looks diſcover their eagerneſs to fight, and their hopes of victory. The army was drawn up in ſuch manner, that the auxiliary foot were to bear the firſt ſhock, in order to prevent as much as poſſible the effuſion of Roman blood. The legions were plac'd in the rear, to ſupport the auxiliaries in caſe of repulſe. Galgacus had rang'd his men on the ſide of a hill, that his whole army might be viſible at once to the Romans, and ſtrike them with the greater terror. The horſe were drawn up on the plain at the bottom of the hill, and the chariots ran between the two armies. Agricola, apprehenſive of being ſurrounded by theſe multitudes, widened his front, though he thereby weakened it, rejecting the advice given him of ordering the legions to advance. Then alighting from his horſe, full of courage and hopes, he went and headed the legions. They fought ſome time with darts, the iſlanders being unwilling to quit the advantage of their poſt. Beſides, their little targets, and unwieldy pointleſs ſwords, were not ſo proper for cloſe fighting. But Agricola found means to compel them to it, by detaching two cohorts of Batavians, and as many of Tungrians, who fell upon them ſword in hand. The iſlanders, unuſed to that way of fighting, could not long withſtand the charge of theſe warlike troops, who preſſing them with the points of their bucklers, ſoon broke their foremoſt battalions, and began even to aſcend the hill. Thoſe that followed them, animated by their example, fought with the ſame bravery; and without giving the enemies time to rally, overthrew all that withſtood them.

84. Agricola's ſeventh campaign

Galgacus the Britiſh general prepares for battle.

Agricola's ſpeech to his army.

Deſcription of the battle.

Mean

Mean while, the Britiſh horſe began alſo to give ground, and their chariots were forc'd to drive up the hill to aſſiſt the foot that were in extreme diſorder. Though the chariots at firſt ſomewhat daunted the Romans, yet did they but little execution by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ground. The hill being pretty ſteep, the charioteers had no command of the horſes, and ran without diſtinction over friends and foes, according as they came in their way. The foot that were poſted on the top of the hill, and had not yet engaged, ſeeing the Romans hotly purſuing their victory, now made a motion to ſurround them, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of their number. But Agricola perceiving it, detach'd four ſquadrons of horſe, who not only withſtood the charge of the foot, but entirely routed them, and then falling upon the enemies in flank that were ſtill on the plain, made great ſlaughter of them. This action compleated the victory. Galgacus finding it impoſſible to renew the fight, retreated with the remains of his army. He loſt ten thouſand men in the action; but on the ſide of the Romans there fell but three hundred and forty: among whom was Aulus Atticus, captain of a cohort, who by the heat of youth, and the unrulineſs of his horſe, was carried into the midſt of the enemies. The conquerors paſs the following night with joy and gladneſs, and the vanquiſh'd with lamentations and ſorrow, taking advantage of the darkneſs to eſcape the purſuit of the Romans. Far from any thoughts of rallying, their flight was ſo haſty, that when day appeared it was in vain to purſue them [i]. Agricola ſeeing they were intirely diſpers'd, the ſummer almoſt ſpent, and unſafe to ſend his army to waſte the enemy's country, marched back into the territories of the Horeſtians [k], from whom he received hoſtages. He march'd ſlowly, to ſtrike terror into the Britons, and in expectation of his fleet, which having alarm'd all the northern coaſt, return'd about the end of the ſummer, and anchor'd in the port of Trutulum [l].

The Romans gain the victory.

Domitian recalls Agricola.

Domitian, now emperor upon the death of his brother Titus, receives the news of this victory with a ſeeming ſatiſ-

[i] Mr. Gordon ſuppoſes this battle to be fought in Strathern, half a mile from the Kirk of Comerie, there being a remarkable encampment in that place.

[k] Mountaineers or Highlanders. Camden places them in Eſk-dale. But his annotator thinks they ſhould be placed between South-Eſk and North-Eſk in Angus. See Camden, p. 845.

[l] Some read it Rhamenſis, moſt probably it ſhould be Rhutupenſis for Rutupenſis or Ritupenſis. So that when Agricola's fleet, (that lay in the Tay during the battle) arrived here, having gone north about by the Orcades, 'tis plain they had ſail'd quite round the iſland, becauſe they had ſail'd before from Portus Ritupenſis to Tay. For Tacitus ſays, "Trutulenſem Portum "tenuit, unde proximo latere Britan-"niæ lecto omni redierat." Vit. Agric. cap. 38.

factions

faction, though inwardly he repines at the reputation Agricola gained by it. Envy not ſuffering him not to continue him in his poſt where his fame might ſtill have an additional luſtre, he recalls him on pretence of promoting him to the government of Syria. But after cauſing the ſenate to decree him a ſtatue crowned with laurel, he ſends him out of the world with a doſe of poiſon. In this manner he rewarded the ſervice that great man had done the empire. This unworthy emperor could not bear the fame of a general whoſe noble actions reproach'd him with the imaginary triumph decreed him as conqueror of the Germans, in which he had cauſed ſlaves to be diſguiſed like captives.

and poiſons him.

Agricola gave the finiſhing blow to the liberty of Britain. By his valour and prudent conduct, all that part of the iſland lying ſouth of the two friths, was reduced to a Roman province. As for the northern parts, they were left to the inhabitants as a wild uncultivated country, not worth the conquering or keeping. Only ſtrong garriſons were placed in the fortreſſes built on this ſide the friths.

Britain is reduc'd to a Roman province.

Tho' the loſs of their liberty ſeemed to be an irreparable damage to the Britons, it was in ſome meaſure repaired by the great alteration for the better in their cuſtoms and manners, after their being ſubject to the empire. In a ſhort time they were ſeen to lay aſide their rude and ſavage ways, and aſſume the politeneſs of the conquerors. Arts and ſciences, little regarded by the Britons before this revolution, flouriſhed among them as much as in any other part of the Roman dominions. In a word, from mere ſavages the Britons were become polite and civilized, an advantage the moſt northern parts of the iſland have not yet attained. After this reformation, they made but faint ſtruggles for the recovery of their liberty, being pleaſed, for the moſt part, with their ſervitude. It muſt however be noted, that a great many choſe to loſe their poſſeſſions, and retire into the north, among the Picts and Scots, rather than live in ſubjection to the Roman yoke. Theſe were the men, that, joining with thoſe that afforded them refuge, made continual war with the Romans, in maintenance of that precious liberty their unhappy country had loſt. They ſpared not even their countrymen, whom they looked upon with horror for being pleaſed with their ſlavery.

The Britons begin to be civilized.

Theſe were the men, that, with the Picts and Scots, obliged emperors themſelves to come over in perſon and oppoſe the efforts of their invincible courage.

As for the ſubjects of the empire, they endured all the hardſhips that are the uſual lot of the vanquiſhed. Exorbitant

Policy of the Romans with regard

to conquered countries.

taxes were laid upon them on numberleſs pretences. Their eſtates were taken from them and given to the veterans, that were continually coming to ſettle in the iſland. The flower of their youth were made ſoldiers, and diſperſed in the other provinces of the empire. Such was the Roman policy. They ſent away whole bodies levied in a conquered country, into other remote regions. For inſtance, the Britons into Pannonia, the Batavians into Illyria, the Germans into Britain, to keep them at a diſtance from their own country. By thus draining the conquered nations of their main ſtrength, they diſabled them from revolting, and at the ſame time made uſe of them to acquire new conqueſts.

85. Lucullus governor of Britain.

After Agricola's departure from Briton, we have but a ſlender account of what paſſed in the iſland till the reign of Adrian. We only know that Salluſtius Lucullus was ſent thither by Domitian, to whoſe ſuſpicions or jealouſy he quickly fell a ſacrifice. It is to be preſumed, the ſubjects of the empire were quiet, and the inhabitants of the north ſuffered to enjoy their liberty in peace. The Roman hiſtorians mention alſo, in the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, ſome commotions in the iſland, that were quickly appeaſed; but the particulars are unknown. It may likewiſe be obſerved in this interval, the Romans, after their conqueſts, ſuffered kings to be in Britain; for they gloried in having ſuch for their ſubjects. Juvenal ſpeaks of king Arviragus, who reigned in ſome part of the iſland under Domitian[m].

Arviragus king of the Britons.

Sat. iv. ver. 125.

[m] Under Plautius and Oſtorius, in the reign of Claudius, ſome places (ſays Tacitus) were given to king Cogidunus, who continued faithful to the Romans. Over what people he was king does not appear, Camden thinks the Regni; Dr. Gale, the Segontiaci. However, there was lately found at Chicheſter a very curious inſcription relating to this Cogidunus. This ſtone was found in a cellar under the corner houſe of St. Martin's Lane; it is about two foot nine inches broad, and very near three foot long. It is now fixed in the wall of the houſe where it was found. The inſcription, ſomewhat defaced, is as follows:

. EPTVNO. ET. MINERVAE
TEMPLVM.
. . O. SALVTE. DOMVS. DIVINAE.
. . AVCTORITATE. TIB. CLAVD.
. . GIDVBNI. R. LEGA. AVG. IN. BRIT.
. . . . . GIVM. FABROR. ET. QVI. IN. EO.
. . . . . D. S. D. DONANTE. AREAM.
. . . ENTE. PVDENTINI. FIL.

Thus to be read, according to Roger Gale, eſq.

"Neptuno et Minervæ templum pro "ſalute domus divinæ ex auctoritate "Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni regis le"gati Auguſti in Britannia collegium "fabrorum et qui in eo a ſacris ſunt de "ſuo dedicaverunt donante aream Pu"dente Pudentini filio."

The ſtone in digging up was broken in four parts, of which one is not taken up, lying under the foundation of the next houſe. See Philoſoph. Tranſact. N. 379.

In

In the firſt year of Adrian[n], the northern people, a mixture, as ſuppoſed, of Picts, Scots, and Britons, but confounded by the Roman hiſtorians under the name of Caledonians, made an irruption into the Roman province. Their firſt exploit was to demoliſh ſome of Agricola's fortreſſes between the two friths. Adrian being informed of theſe commotions, appoints Julius Severus governor of Britain; but before he has time to perform any thing, he is ſuddenly recalled, and employed elſewhere[o]. Mean time, the Caledonians continuing to infeſt the Roman territories, the emperor reſolves to go over in perſon, and ſubdue theſe fierce and troubleſome people. As ſoon as they hear of his arrival, they relinquiſh the country they were poſſeſſed of, and retire to the north. Adrian however advances as far as York, where he meets ſome of Agricola's old ſoldiers, that had been with him in the northern parts. The deſcription theſe give him of the country he intended to conquer, diverts him from purſuing his expedition. Beſides that the bogs and mountains he was to paſs, would have engaged him in a war more laborious than honourable, he eaſily perceived, that ſhould his undertaking be crowned with ſucceſs, it would procure no great advantages to the empire. Wherefore he comes to a reſolution to leave to the Caledonians all the country between the two friths and the Tine, in hopes by thus enlarging their bounds to keep them quiet. But at the ſame time to ſecure the Roman province from their incurſions, he cauſes a rampart of earth to be thrown up, covered with turf, from the mouth of the Tine to Solway frith. This rampart was eighty miles in length, and ran quite croſs the country from eaſt to weſt, by which he ſecured the ſouthern parts, leaving the Caledonians all the lands between the new rampart and the iſthmus that parts the two friths[p]. Having thus ſettled matters in the iſland, he returns to Rome, and is honoured with the title of Reſtorer of Britain, as appears by ſome medals.

117. Julius Severus made governor. Spartian in Hadriano.

120. Adrian goes over in perſon.

He parts the Roman provinces from the northern countries by a rampart.

[n] Here is a gap of above thirty years, from the year 85 to 117, during which it is ſuppoſed the Romans loſt much of their conqueſts here.

[o] Priſcus Licinius ſucceeds Severus in the government of Britain, in the year 120. Severus was recalled to go againſt the Jews. Dion. lib. lxix.

[p] Adrian's Wall, or Vallum, was entirely of earth. The whole work conſiſted of the following parts: 1. The north agger; 2. The ditch; 3. The principal vallum; 4. The ſouth agger. The ditch at Harrow hill, where the original breadth and depth is very apparent, meaſures near nine foot deep and eleven over. The height and thickneſs of the vallum and aggers cannot be exactly known. The diſtance of the north agger from the ditch is about twenty-four foot, and that of the ſouth agger was originally thirty, tho' leſſened at preſent by the ſpreading of the earth.

Enmity between the northern and ſouthern Britons.

After theſe laſt irruptions of the northern people, there was all along a mortal enmity betwixt them and the ſouthern Britons. Theſe laſt finding themſelves entirely ſeparated by inclination and intereſt from the reſt of the inhabitants of the iſland, were the more forward to embrace the cuſtoms and manners of the Romans. Afterwards, by means of the arts and ſciences, they came by degrees capable of being inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, which till then was ſcarce known in the iſland.

The grow more civilized.

The northern people deſtroy Adrian's rampart.

How ſtrong ſoever Adrian's rampart might be, it was not ſufficient to prevent the inroads of the northern people. Indeed, they behaved peaceably as long as there were Roman troops enough on their borders to defend the rampart. But the moment theſe were removed, as it ſometimes happened, being wanted elſewhere, they began their uſual ravages. Nay, in the reign of Antoninus Pius[q], not ſatisfied with their booty, they deſtroyed the rampart in ſeveral places. Antoninus being informed of it, and fearing their boldneſs, if not curbed, would carry them to greater undertakings, orders Lollius Urbicus to go and quell them. The new governor (having firſt ſubdued the Brigantes, who endeavoured to ſhake off the Roman yoke) in order to put a ſtop to the northern irruptions, raiſes another rampart on the neck of land between the two friths, where Agricola had formerly built his fortreſſes. Thus the inhabitants of the north were confined within narrower bounds than before. By means of this rampart and a camp at a little diſtance, where troops were kept ready to march on occaſion, he compelled the Caledonians to remain peaceably in their country. Though Antoninus was never in Britain himſelf, this expedition, as done by his orders, and under his auſpices, gained him the title of Britannicus.[r]

Capitolin in Antonin.

138. Lollius Urbicus raiſes another rampart.

140.

Marcus

q Here is another gap of eighteen years, from 120 to 138.

r From Antoninus's building his wall in 140 to 165, we meet with no occurrences, nor from thence to 183. Antoninus's wall, like Severus's, had a ſeries of forts or ſtations, which are ſuppoſed (ſome at leaſt) to be prior to the wall, and the ſame that were built by Agricola. This wall reaches from the frith of Forth to the frith of Clyde, as appears by inſcriptions. It begins at Caer-ridden, and runs through Munrills, Falkirk, Camelon, Rough-caſtle, Dick's Houſe, Caſtle-cary-fort, Weſterwood fort, Crow-hill, Barhill-fort, Auchindavy, Kirkintilloch, Calder, Bemulie, New Kirk-patrick, Caſtlehill-fort, Duntocher, Old Kirk-patrick, ending at Dunglaſs near Dunbarton, where ſtood the old city of Alcluith, afterwards Dunbritton, i. e. the Town of the Britons. Horſley (who had it ſurveyed) takes the wall to have been near forty Roman miles, that is (allowing fourteen Roman to thirteen Engliſh) a little above thirty-ſeven of our miles. By the inſcriptions ſhowing the part that was raiſed by the cohorts of the Legio ſecunda, etc. the number of paces amount to thirty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty ſix, that is thirty-nine Roman miles, and ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix paces. It was built of turf, upon a foundation of ſtone, four yards thick. To this work belongs

Marcus Aurelius, his ſucceſſor, gave the government of Britain to Calphurnius Agricola. This governor checks the inſolence of the Caledonians, and ſtrengthens the emperor's dominion over ſuch of the Britons as ſeem to bear their yoke with the moſt reluctance. It was in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, that Lucius, a Britiſh king, embraced the Chriſtian religion, which had been long before planted in the iſland; but, for want of due cultivation, had taken no deep root. I ſhall ſpeak more largely of this king in the ſtate of the Britiſh church. 165. Calphurnius Agricola is made governor. Capitolin. in Aurelio. Lucius a Britiſh king becomes a Chriſtian.

During the reign of Commodus, ſucceſſor of Marcus Aurelius, there were great commotions in Britain. The northern men taking up arms, cut in pieces the Roman army, commanded by an unexperienced general, and make great ravages in the province. All Britain was in danger of being loſt, if the emperor had not ſpeedily ſent Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great reputation. The new governor defeats the rebels in ſeveral encounters, and by his conduct puts an end, in a very ſhort ſpace, to this dangerous war, that had made his maſter extremely uneaſy. During his ſtay in the iſland, he obſerved that the want of diſcipline in the Roman army, was the ſole foundation of the boldneſs of the northern people, and the chief cauſe of the advantages gained by them over the former governors. He undertakes therefore to bring it to its ancient ſtrictneſs, which he happily accompliſhes. But his ſervices are repaid with ingratitude. The emperor, not content with depriving him of his government, was upon the point of putting him to death. This unworthy prince, like Domitian, could not behold diſtinguiſhed merit without ſuſpicion and envy. 181. Troubles in Britain. D. Caſſius, lib. lxxii. and others. 184. Ulpius Marcellus is governor. 185. 186. Ill rewarded by the emperor.

Marcellus no ſooner leaves Britain, but the army mutiny upon Perennis, the emperor's favourite, breaking or calling home all the old officers, and putting his creatures in their place. This mutiny is carried ſo far, that the army ſend a 187. The army mutiny on account of Perennis,

belongs a great ditch, larger than that of Severus, on the ſouth ſide of which was the main agger, vallum or rampart, and ſouth of the vallum a large military way well paved, and is in ſeveral places very magnificent and beautiful. How this work came to be called Grimes's Dike, or Graham's Dike, does not appear. It is ſaid that Graham, in the Highland tongue, ſignifies Black; then Graham's Dike will be the ſame as the Black Dike. There is a military way near Silcheſter in Hampſhire, now called Grime's Dike. The 's annexed to Graham, is, doubtleſs, owing to the opinion of its being the name of a man. The common ſtory is, that one of this name broke through the wall, and ſo gave his own name to it. Within ſight of the wall ſtands an ancient building, called Arthur's Oven, in the ſhape of the Pantheon at Rome, twenty-two feet high, and nineteen and a half in diameter. Horſley takes it to have been a funeral monument. It ſtands in the north ſide of the wall. See a large deſcription of theſe things in book i. chap. 10. of Horſley's Britain. Rom.

body

and ſend a detachment to Rome.

body of fifteen hundred men to demand juſtice of the emperor againſt Perennis. This body marching to Rome, without any obſtacle, are met by the emperor without the city, who demands of the leaders the cauſe of their diſcontent. "They "were come (they ſaid) to offer him their aſſiſtance againſt "Perennis; acquainting him withal how that dangerous "miniſter had by degrees caſhiered the braveſt officers, and "filled the army with his creatures; a clear evidence of his "ill deſigns." Commodus having been jealous of him for ſome time, delivers him up to the ſoldiers, who execute him upon the ſpot.

Commodus delivers up Perennis.

188. Pertinax made governor. Capitolin. in Pertinace.

Mean while, it was neceſſary to ſend into Britain ſome perſon of authority, to ſuppreſs the mutinous temper of the army. Pertinax, afterwards emperor, being pitched upon for this ſervice, reſolves to proceed according to the rigour of military diſcipline: whereupon the ninth legion raiſe a mutiny, which is not appeaſed without bloodſhed; the general himſelf is wounded, and ſaves his life only by being left for dead among the ſlain. However, in ſpite of all obſtacles he gains his point, and brings the army at laſt to ſubmit. But as he was not beloved by the ſoldiers, he deſired to be diſmiſſed from his office, and Clodius Albinus was ſent in his room. Albinus being recalled, upon a ſuſpicion conceived of him by Commodus, Junius Severus was ordered to go and relieve him.

Mutiny in the army.

190. Clodius Albinus is made governor. Capitolin

192. Succeeded by Junius Severus.

Pertinax being come to the empire, after the death of Commodus, makes the ſame Clodius Albinus, lately recalled, governor of Britain. He was continued in that poſt by Julian, ſucceſſor of Pertinax. Albinus gains the affection of the ſoldiers by his liberalities, to ſuch a degree, that, after Julian's death, they proclaim him emperor. At the ſame time Septimius Severus in Pannonia, and Peſcennius Niger in Syria, receive the ſame honour from their reſpective armies. Severus being neareſt Rome, haſtens thither to receive from the ſenate the confirmation of the dignity conferred on him by the ſoldiers. But notwithſtanding the ſenate's decree, the other two emperors perſiſting in their claims, put Severus to a ſtand. His rivals were at the two extremities of the empire, and conſequently, while he marched againſt one, there was danger of the other's making too great a progreſs. He judges it neceſſary therefore to uſe diſſimulation with Albinus, making him believe he is willing to ſhare the empire with him. This offer being accepted, Severus draws all his forces together, and goes and fights Peſcennius, who at length is vanquiſhed and ſlain in battle; after which Severus conſiders how to get rid

193. Albinus is ſent again into Britain. He is elected emperor, ſo is likewiſe Peſcennius and Severus.

Herodian. lib. ii. cap 48

Peſcennius is ſlain.

rid of Albinus likewiſe. He tries firſt to aſſaſſinate him by villains hired and ſent into Britain for that purpoſe. But this way failing, he reſolves to employ force; and cauſing Albinus to be declared enemy of the ſtate, marches againſt him. Albinus was now with his army in Gaul, intending to meet him and decide the quarrel by a battle: and accordingly it was decided near Lyons, where the two emperors fought with equal bravery, though not with equal fortune; Albinus is defeated and ſlain, and by his death Severus remains ſole poſſeſſor of the empire. Shortly after he divided Britain into two governments: the firſt, containing the ſouthern parts, was given to Heraclitus, and Virius Lupus had the ſecond, conſiſting of the northern provinces bordering upon the Caledonians, by whom he was ſo infeſted, that he was forced at laſt to purchaſe a peace with money.

196. Battle of Lyons between Severus and Albinus. Herodian, lib. iii. Severus divides Britain into two governments. Dion. lib. lxxv.

After this treaty Britain remains in quiet till the fifteenth year of Severus, when the Caledonians renew their incurſions into the Roman province. The Roman ſoldiers having enjoyed ſeveral years peace, were grown ſo effeminate and negligent, that they ſeemed never to have had the leaſt tincture of military diſcipline. It was this that emboldened the Caledonians, and made them think they ſhould not neglect ſo fair an opportunity to attack their neighbours, who till then had appeared ſo formidable to them. They make ſuch progreſs, that the emperor, though ſixty years of age, and afflicted with the gout, reſolves to go in perſon and chaſtiſe their inſolence. His intent was, once for all, to put an end to the continual commotions in Britain, by the entire conqueſt of the north. To that purpoſe he draws together a numerous army, and ſets out for Britain, accompanied by his ſons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians, when they hear of his arrival, ſend ambaſſadors to demand peace upon honourable terms. But he refuſes to hearken to them, unleſs they will ſubmit to his mercy: which they not conſenting to, he marches towards their country with his eldeſt ſon Caracalla, leaving Geta at London to take care of the ſouthern parts.

205. Herodian. lib. iii. cap. 46. etc.

207. Severus goes over into Britain.

It was with infinite toil that he penetrated to the utmoſt bounds the north, cutting down woods, draining bogs, or filling them with bavins. By this hard duty, and the continual ambuſcades of the enemy, he loſt fifty thouſand men[s]. However, notwithſtanding all difficulties in his way, he ac-

He penetrates to the utmoſt parts of the north. Dio. lib. lxxvi. Xiphilin.

[s] Horſley imagines from this great loſs of men, that Severus's wall muſt be reckoned among theſe works, tho' by much the greateſt of them, p. 61.

compliſhes his deſign, and ſubdues theſe fierce and hitherto unconquered people. But as ſoon as he had executed his project, he perceived how fruitleſs it was, ſince he could not poſſibly keep the country in ſubjection without a great army always on the ſpot. This conſideration made him ſenſible it was better to relinquiſh theſe conqueſts than keep them: and therefore confining himſelf to Adrian's former project, he only divides the iſland into two parts by a wall [t], in the place where Adrian threw up his rampart. This wall, of which there are ſtill ſome remains, called by the ancient Britons Murſever, or Severus's Wall [u], muſt not be, as it is by ſome, confounded with the rampart raiſed by Lollius Urbicus, between the two friths. The emperor having nothing more to do in the north, returns to York, leaving the finiſhing of the wall and command of the army to his ſon Caracalla. This expedition got him, or cauſed him to aſſume, the title of Britannicus Maximus. Caracalla, no longer reſtrained by the emperor his father's preſence, ſuffers the ſoldiers to commit all manner of licentiouſneſs. So that the Caledonians, unuſed to the yoke, take up arms with one accord. Severus hearing of this revolt, but not knowing

He relinquiſhes his conqueſts, 208, 209 and builds a wall on Adrian's rampart. Spartian in Severo. Bede, lib i. cap. 5. Camden.

[t] Severus's wall was of free-ſtone, as is certain from what is yet viſible. In ſome places, where the foundation was not good, they ſeemed to have made uſe of oaken piles. The inner part of this wall is filled with pretty large, and moſtly broad and thin ſtones, always ſet edgeways, ſomewhat obliquely. Upon theſe the running mortar or cement was poured, and by this contrivance the whole wall was bound as firm as a rock. Theſe ſtones are ſuppoſed to have been brought from Helbeck-Scar on the Gelt and Leuge-Crag, as appears from an inſcription on the rock that hangs over the Gelt. The wall generally meaſures about eight foot thick, and twelve high. Upon the wall were placed caſtles, or cheſters, ſixty foot ſquare, about ſix furlongs and a half from each other; and turrets four yards ſquare, about three hundred yards from each other. There ſeems to have been four turrets between every two caſtles. The centinels placed in the turrets being within call, the communication quite along the wall might be kept up, without having recourſe to the fiction of pipes laid under-ground to convey the ſound; though this ſeems to be credited by Echard and others. The wall is traced from Couſin's Houſe through Newcaſtle, Berwell-hill, Rutcheſter, Halton-cheſters, Warwick-cheſters, Carrawburgh, Houſeſteids, Great-cheſters, Thirlwel-caſtle, Burdoſwold, Cambeck-fort, Watch-croſs, Stanwick's, Brugh, Drumburgh, to Boulneſs, ſixty-eight miles three furlongs. And therefore it is a wonder that ſuch great men as Uſher, Burton, Buchanan, Dr. Smith, and others, ſhould ſay the wall reached only to the Eſk, when the contrary, upon view, is plain to a demonſtration. It was not built exactly upon Adrian's wall, there being a good diſtance ſometimes between them. It is obſervable that the legionary ſoldiers were employed in building this wall, as they generally were in works of this nature. This is evident from the centural inſcriptions on the ſtones of the wall, ſhewing what part was built by each centuria. A good hint how ſoldiers may be uſefully employed in peaceable times.

[u] The Engliſh call it the Picts Wall, becauſe it parted the Picts from the Britons. Rapin.

the

the cauſe, orders the rebels to be all maſſacred [x], which made them fear he intended an utter extirpation of them. He dies ſhortly after at York; and the two princes his ſons, ſucceeding him, conclude a peace with the Caledonians, and return to Rome.

Severus dies at York.

As nothing very memorable paſſed in Britain during the reigns of Severus's immediate ſucceſſors, I muſt fill up this void, with an enquiry, who were theſe northern people or Caledonians [y] ſo often mentioned. But this is a ſubject fitter for a diſſertation than a hiſtory. It ſuffices to inform the reader, that ſome maintain theſe Caledonians to be Picts and Scots, with a mixture of ſouthern Britons. Others affirm, the Scots ſettled not in the iſland 'till the beginning of the ſixth century, and that the Caledonians in Severus's time were no other than Britons, that had all along inhabited thoſe parts, or fled thither after the Roman invaſion. But though as to the hiſtory, the name of theſe people be not very material, I ſhall add here, that, for my part, I think the reaſons alledged in proof of the Picts and Scots not being yet ſettled in the iſland to be inſufficient, though it may be, their ſettlement is of a later date than pretended by the Scotiſh hiſtorians [z].

Remark on the Caledonians.

What

[x] Repeating theſe lines of Homer,

Μὴτις ὑπεκφυγέῃν, &c.

None our arms ſhall ſpare,
None ſhall eſcape the fury of the war;
Children unborn ſhall die. Il. ii.

[y] That is, Cilyddion, Borderers in the Britiſh tongue, whom biſhop Lloyd ſuppoſes to be firſt called Picts, about the year of our Lord 300. Though at the ſame time they that lived next the Romans frontiers were ſtill called Caledones or Borderers. Ammianus, who writ eighty years after, ſays there were two nations of the Picts which were called Dicaledones and Vecturiones, perhaps Deucilyddion and Chwithwrion, that is, in Britiſh, the Southern Caledones, or Borderers, and the Northern Men, (Deu and Chwith, Right and Left, being anciently uſed for South and North) the ſame, no doubt, that were afterwards called the South and North Picts, ſeparated (as Bede ſays) by a ledge of high and ſteep mountains or Grantſhain-hills; amongſt which hills the country is called Braid-albin, i. e. High-albion, and the higheſt of them is called Drum-albin, i. e. Ridge of Albion. This perhaps is the only remains of that moſt ancient name of this iſland. See Amm. Marc. lib. xxvii. p. 346. Uſſer. prim. p. 80, and 586. Bede, Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 4. Paneg. ad Conſt. p. 235. Eumen. Paneg. ad Conſt. p. 258.

[z] Lloyd ſeems to have ſet this matter in a clear light in his proofs of the following particulars. 1. That the inhabitants of Ireland or the Scots were never in Britain before the year 300. 2. About that time they began their incurſions, but ſettled not here 'till after the decay of the Roman empire, when the Saxons conquered the beſt part of Britain, calling it England. 3. Then part of the Scots or Iriſh ſeated themſelves among the Picts, and about the year 500 erected the kingdom of Argyle, and held it a long time peaceably. 4. About the year 850, they conquered all that was north of Graham's dike. 5 After the year 900 they got the reſt of the country, and it came to be called Scotland. This ſeems to be the moſt probable account of this much conteſted affair, which the reader may ſee at large in Lloyd's hiſtorical account, &c. p. 5, 46. It may not be amiſs to lay before the reader one argument

Several emperors at once, some of which in Britain.

What is known of the affairs of Britain from the death of Severus to the reign of Diocleſian, is inconſiderable [a], and amounts to no more than this. There is ground to ſuppoſe that ſome of the thirty tyrants [b] who were in poſſeſſion of the empire for ſome time, were acknowledged, if not perſonally preſent, in Britain. This appears the more probable, as the coins of Lollianus, Victorinus, Poſthumius, and others of theſe pretended emperors, are commonly found in England. Bonoſus, who attempted to uſurp the empire under Tacitus and Aurelian, was born in Britain. 'Tis known moreover, that a governor ſent hither by Probus aſſumed the imperial purple, and was ſhortly after killed by Victorinus, who had recommended him to the emperor. Two other particulars of the reign of Probus, with reſpect to Britain, ought to be recorded. This emperor was the firſt that permitted the Britons [c] to plant vines as well as the Gauls or Spaniards. But, in all appearance, no great benefit was reaped by this permiſſion. The emperor Probus alſo, after ſubduing the Vandals and Burgundians, ſent over great numbers of them into Britain [d]. Theſe new colonies are generally thought to have been ſettled on Gogmagog hill near Cambridge, where there remains to this day a fortification, imagined to be the work of theſe foreigners. It is however more probably aſcribed to the Danes, who were long maſters of Cambridge.

259. Camden in Eſſex.

Voſpiſcus in Bonoſo and Probo.

276 Probus gives the Britons leave to plant vines, and ſends over great numbers of Vandals and Burgundians.

Zoſim. lib. i.

285. Carauſius aſſumes the title of emperor.

In the beginning of Diocleſian's reign, Carauſius had the command of a fleet, with orders to ſcour the ſeas of the pyratical Franks and Saxons, that perpetually infeſted the Belgick,

ment alledged by Buchanan in favour of the antiquity of the Scots in Britain. In Paneg. Maximiano, A. p. 258. The orator comparing Conſtantius's victory over Carauſius, with that formerly gained by Cæſar over the Britons, ſays, "Ad hoc, natio etiam "tunc rudis & Soli Britanni, Pictis "modo & Hibernis aſſueta hoſtibus ad- "huc ſeminudis, facile Romanis armis "ſigniſque ceſſerunt." Hence Buchanan infers the Scots were in Britain in Cæſar's time, by ſuppoſing Soli Britanni to be the genitive caſe. For then the ſenſe will be this: "Moreover the "nation (conquered by Cæſar) being "yet rude, and uſed to no other ene- "mies but Picts and Iriſh of the Britiſh "ſoil," &c. that is, ſays he, Scots ſettled in Britain. But the Engliſh writers ſeemingly more juſtly render the words thus: "The nation being yet "rude, and only Britons, uſed to no "other enemies but Picts and Iriſh, "eaſily yielded to the Roman arms "and enſigns." Hence the Iriſh here ſpoken of are not ſaid to dwell in Britiſh ſoil, as Buchanan would have it.

a That is, from 211 to 286. But notwithſtanding the ſilence of the Roman hiſtorians, we learn from inſcriptions the names of three proprætors under Gordian III. viz. Mæcilius Fuſcus, Cneius Lucilianus, (both mentioned in two inſcriptions found at Lancheſter in the county of Durham) and Nonnius Philippius, (in one found at Old Carliſle, dated 242.)

b The thirty tyrants roſe up in the reign of Gallienus, about the year 260. Eutropius has it, "Vineas Gal- "los & Pannones (inſtead of Britannos) "habere permiſit." lib. ix. c. 17.

d Who are ſaid to be of great uſe to the Romans in quelling inſurrections. Milt. Hiſt. Eng. p. 102.

Armo-

Armorican, and Britiſh coaſts. Carauſius finds means to enrich himſelf immenſely, by plundering the pyrates, or going ſhares with them in their ſpoils. After which, he begins by degrees to receive the emperor's commands with leſs reſpect and ſubmiſſion. Maximian was then emperor of the weſt, Diocleſian of the eaſt. Carauſius's haughtineſs breeding in Maximian ſuſpicions that were but too well grounded, he reſolves to have him aſſaſſinated. Upon notice hereof, Carauſius immediately aſſumes the imperial purple, purſuant to the ſcheme he had laid. As his riches had acquired him a great intereſt in the army, his authority was readily acknowledged in the iſland. Maximian, ſurprized at his boldneſs, advances as far as Gaul, with deſign to chaſtize him. But finding him too well eſtabliſhed, he alters his reſolution, and thinks it more proper to aſſociate him into the empire, and leaves him Britain for his ſhare. There are ſilver coins ſtill found in England of theſe two emperors, having on the reverſe two hands joined together with theſe words, CONCORDIA AUGG[e].

Aur. Victor. Eutrop. lib. ix. c. 17.

290. Maximian aſſociates Carauſius into the empire.

This forced agreement not removing Maximian's deſire to be rid of his aſſociate, he commits the execution of his deſign to Conſtantius Chlorus, lately made Cæſar, giving him an army anſwerable to the greatneſs of the undertaking. As Carauſius was retired into Britain, Conſtantius thought it neceſſary in the firſt place to become maſter of Boulogne, that town being as it were the door into Britain from Gaul. Whilſt he is employed in the ſiege, Carauſius is ſlain by Alectus, who aſſumes the title of emperor. Whereupon Canſtantius raiſes the ſiege of Boulogne, and paſſes into Britain, in order to drive the uſurper from thence, before he has time to fortify himſelf. Shortly after, Alectus is killed by Aſclepiodotus, who aſſuming likewiſe the imperial dignity, loſes his life afterwards in a battle.

He ſends Conſtantius againſt him.

Carauſius ſlain by Alectus, and he by Aſclepiodotus, who is alſo killed. Eutropius, lib. ix.

300.

Whilſt theſe petty tyrants are contending for the poſſeſſion of Britain, Diocleſian and Maximian, both on a day, reſign the empire, one in the eaſt, the other in the weſt. Galerius and Conſtantius ſucceeding them, the laſt, as emperor of the weſt, had Britain in his diviſion. Some commotions in the iſlands obliging him to go thither in perſon, he dies at York[f], in the beginning of an expedition againſt the northern people, now diſtinguiſhed by the names of Deucaledonians and Vecturions. Conſtantius, before he expired, had the ſatisfaction to

304. Conſtantius is emperor of the weſt. Euſebius vit. Conſtant. lib. i. c. 9.

307. Dies at York

[e] They have on the reverſe PROVIDENTIA AVGGG, or PAX AVGGG, ſhewing there were three emperors at this time. See Batt. Antiq. Rutup. p. 65.

[f] Nennius ſays, that in his time the tomb of Conſtantius was ſhewn "juxta "urbem quæ vocatur Caer-coſtaint." i. e. York, or as others, Caer-marthen, c. xxi. p. 103.

His ſon Conſtantine ſucceeds him. Uſh de Antiq. Brit. Still. orig. Brit.

ſee his ſon Conſtantine, and appoint him his ſucceſſor. Some think Conſtantine was born in Britain of Helena, daughter of Coel king of Colcheſter [g]. But this at beſt is only conjecture. However, this prince, at firſt only emperor of the weſt, vanquiſhed his rivals, and became in the end maſter of both empires.

State of the empire under Conſtantine. Pancirolli Notitia Imperii Occident. Brady, vol. i. p. 41---48.

The Britons, as long as Conſtantine ruled, lived in profound tranquillity. His reign was remarkable for three circumſtances in which Britain was concerned. The firſt is, the liberty granted by this emperor throughout all the Roman empire, of profeſſing the chriſtian religion, which Britain enjoyed as well as the reſt of the provinces. The ſecond is, the general regulation made by this prince, for the better government of his dominions. He divided the whole empire into four large præfectures, namely, Italy, Gaul, the Eaſt, and Illyria, in which were contained fourteen great dioceſes or provinces. Britain, one of the fourteen, was ſubject to the præfect of Gaul, and governed by a vicarious or deputy under him [h]. Before Conſtantine, Britain was divided into two provinces only. But that emperor was pleaſed to divide it into three. The firſt was called Britannia Prima [i], containing all the country ſouth of the Thames, the capital London. The ſecond, named Britannia Secunda, contained all the country weſt of the Severn to the Iriſh ſea, now called Wales, the capital Iſca or Caerleon. All the reſt lying northward of the Thames, and eaſtward of the Severn, made up the third province, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Maxima Cæſarienſis, the capital York. This laſt was afterwards ſubdivided into two parts; the ſouthern part retained the old

[g] Uſher, Camden, and Stillingfleet, have endeavoured to render this opinion probable, and pretend that Conſtantius was forced to put away Helena, mother of Conſtantine, and marry a daughter of Maximian, Rapin.

[h] 'Till Conſtantine's time the governor of Britain was called the emperor's preprætor or lieutenant. But afterwards (as appears in the Notitia of the empire) the iſland was governed by a vicar or deputy, under the præfectus prætorio of Gaul. See Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. ii. p. 68. The enſigns of his government were, 1. A draught of the five provinces of Britain expreſſed in ſeveral buildings, with their names on the triangular form of the iſland, as if they comprehended the whole iſland. 2. The book of their inſtructions covered with green, and the commiſſion in a gilt cover, with ſeveral letters inſcribed on the book. The letters were, F. L. I. N. T. A. L. L. C. O. M. O. RD. P. R. i. e. "Frons libri "juſſu noſtro tranſcripti a laterculis "continentis mandata ordinaria prin-"cipis." There were two books called the Laterculum Majus, and the Laterculum Minus. The firſt contained the names, inſtructions, &c. of the higher officers, as the ſecond did thoſe of the inferior officers. See Pancirol in Not. Imperii.

[i] Called Prima, becauſe firſt conquered: as Wales was called Secunda, becauſe next ſubdued. It was always the cuſtom of the Romans to divide their conqueſts into certain portions or provinces, and give them new names.

name

name of Maxima Cæsariensis, and the other more northward was called Flavia Cæsariensis. But whether this subdivision was made by Constantine is uncertain. In these three provinces were twenty-eight large cities, which in time became so many bishops seats. The lieutenant of the præfect of Gaul had four magistrates under him, two consulars, and two with the title of presidents. These magistrates, with several inferior officers, managed all civil and criminal matters.

As for the military government, there were in the empire two generalissimo's; one for the east, and the other for the west. Each of these in the several provinces in his jurisdiction, had others under him. In Great Britain there were three general officers to command the militia; namely, the count of Britain[l], the duke of Britain[m], and the count of the Saxon coasts[n]. The business of the first was to keep peace in the inland parts of the island, and probably of the western coasts. The second's province was to defend the north from the irruptions of the Picts and Scots. The third was to guard the eastern and southern coasts from the frequent inroads of the Saxon pyrates. Each of these generals had a certain number of troops under his command, and the three together could form a body of twenty thousand foot and about two thousand horse[o].

Besides the civil and military officers, there were others for more private concerns; for instance, the count of the emperor's largesses, that is, the receiver general or high treasurer[p], had in Britain three officers, a register[q], a treasurer[r], and a procurator[s]. And the count or auditor of the private revenues of the emperor, had also one to look after the affairs belonging to his office. From an inscription found not long since, 'tis thought there was also a procurator of the gladiators[t]. These were the principal Roman officers in Britain, who, with numberless others, sought these employments only to enrich themselves at the expence of the province.

I have mentioned two of the three things in Constantine's reign that Britain was concern'd in. The third is the removal Zosim. lib. ii

[k] Magistri Peditum

[l] Comes Britanniarum.

[m] Dux Britanniarum.

[n] Comes Littoris Saxonici.

[o] According to Pancirollus, the duke had under his command fourteen thousand foot, and nine hundred horse; the count of Britain three thousand foot, and six hundred horse; the count of the Saxon coast two thousand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse, which made in all nineteen thousand two hundred foot, and seventeen hundred horse, the whole Roman force in this island.

[p] Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.

[q] Rationalis Summarus Provinciæ.

[r] Præpositus Thesaurorum Augustorum in Britannia.

[s] Procurator Gynesii.

[t] Procurator Ludorum Gladiatorum.

of the imperial ſeat from Rome to Conſtantinople. After this removal the emperor was freqently obliged to drain his weſtern provinces of their forces[u], which in the end proved extremely detrimental to them, as it gave the northern nations opportunity to ravage their borders by continual irruptions. Britain, though ſcreened from theſe invaſions by the ſea that ſurrounded her, felt the effects of them however, being often forced to ſupply troops for the defence of other provinces. In the mean time the Britons were ſo expoſed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots, that they were forced at laſt to call in a foreign nation to their aid, which in time became maſter of the iſland.

337. Affairs of Britain from Conſtantine to Valentinian.

After the death of Conſtantine, the Roman empire was divided between his three ſons; but in a little time Conſtantius, one of the three brothers, being poſſeſſed of the whole

353. The extortions of Paulus. Amm. Mar.

ſent into Britain a notary, one Paulus[w], who committed numberleſs extortions. Complaints were brought to the emperor, but he was not prevailed with to recall this miniſter, though he publickly abuſed his authority. Martinus, then governor of the province, was long witneſs of theſe abuſes, without daring to oppoſe them, Paulus having an independent

355.

commiſſion. At length, ſeeing no end of his unjuſt proceedings, he could not forbear adviſing him to uſe his power with more moderation, declaring withal he would quit his government, rather than employ his authority any longer in countenancing ſuch oppreſſions. Paulus, proud of his maſter's favour, inſolently told him, that they who found fault with his conduct deſerved to be put in irons, ſince the daring thus to oppoſe the execution of the emperor's orders could not but proceed from a ſpirit of rebellion. The governor, enraged at theſe words, draws his ſword, and ſtrikes at him; but miſſing his blow, plunges it into his own breaſt, and kills himſelf.

After Martinus's death, the Britons were expoſed more than ever to the oppreſſions of Paulus. This mercileſs man condemned to death, baniſhment, or impriſonment, all that made the leaſt reſiſtance to his will, and the emperor never concerned himſelf to reſtrain him[x].

360. Julian governs the weſt.

About the end of Conſtantine's reign, the government of the weſt was conferred on Julian, now created Cæſar, who

[u] Conſtantine, in his war with Maxentius, carried at once over the Alps into Italy an army of Germans, Celtæ, and Britons, conſiſting of ninety thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. Brady, p. 33.

[w] To enquire what officers and ſoldiers were engaged in the rebellion of Magnentius. Amm. Marcell.

[x] Paulus was afterwards burnt alive. Am. Marcel. lib. xiv. c. 6.

reſided

resided at Paris. Shortly after his arrival there, news came that the Picts and Scots had made incursions into the province of Britain, and that it was necessary to send a speedy assistance. Whereupon Lupicinus receives orders to repair thither with all expedition; but is recalled before he reaches London. Probably the northern people had appeased Julian by their submission. Amm. Mar. 361. Sends Lupicinus into Britain.

From that time to the reign of Valentinian I. nothing remarkable happened in Britain. But under that emperor the island was in a wretched condition, by the joint attacks of the Picts, Scots, Attacots[y], Franks, and Saxons. All these nations, by accident or a common league, invaded the Roman province at once, and made great ravages. Nectaridus, count or guardian of the coasts, was defeated and slain by these new enemies, and soon after duke Buchobaudes had the same fate. Severus and Jovinus were successively sent into Britain, to put a stop to their ravages, but to no purpose. At last, the emperor Valentinian pitches upon Theodosius the elder, so called to distinguish him from his son, the first emperor of that name, to go and command in the island. Theodosius behaves like a man of courage and experience. At his arrival, he divides his army into three bodies, the better to oppose those of the enemies that were dispersed in the island. Fortune favouring his diligence and valour, he routs them in several encounters, and at last drives them out of the Roman province, recovering all their booty, with a small part of which he rewards his troops, restoring the rest to the owners. The barbarians being repulsed, Theodosius returns in triumph to London, and perceiving the city to have lost much of her ancient splendor, omits nothing to restore her to her former condition. London is not the sole object of his care. He applies himself also to repair the other ruined cities and castles, and to put them in condition to hinder another time the invasions of the nothern people. He was not satisfied even with this precaution. As the enemies were retired beyond the two friths, he thought it necessary, for the safety of Britain, to keep all the country they had abandoned. To that end, he built fortresses on the neck of land between the two seas, to keep them at a greater distance. By this means the Roman territories were enlarged with a great tract of land, of which Theodosius made a fifth province, calling it Valentia, in honour of Valentinian.

364. Troubles in the island. It is attacked by several nations. Amm. Mar. lib. xxvii. xxviii.

365. 366.

367. Theodosius the elder is sent over. He beats back the enemy into the northern parts.

368. Repairs London and other places and makes a fifth province.

[y] Probably the wild and mountainous Britons. Camd. Brady, Tyr. Stilling. The Franks are not mentioned by Marcellinus, who says, "Attacoti bellicosa hominum natio, & "Scoti per diversa vagantes, multa "populabantur." lib. xxvii. c. 8.

tinian. This country was part of the kingdom of the Picts, which was thereby conſiderably diminiſhed. Theodoſius, having thus ſettled matters in Britain, returned to Rome, leaving the iſland under the command of the governors of each of the five provinces [z].

Maximus, governor of Britain, deſigns to reduce the whole iſland Zoſim. Gild Buchan.

Valentinian I. had for his ſucceſſors his ſon Valentinian II. and Gratian. Shortly after, Maximus was ſent into Britain, upon the Picts beginning to ſtir. At his arrival he forms a deſign to reduce the whole iſland under the dominion of the Romans. But the union of the two northern nations being a grand obſtacle to the execution of his project, he reſolves to divide them, if poſſible, and then attack them one after the other. In order to this, deſigning to make uſe of the Picts to deſtroy the Scots, firſt, he feigns to be extremely provoked with the Scots, and charges them with being the ſole cauſe of all the troubles in Britain. Then he publickly engages the Picts to join their forces with his, upon a promiſe of giving them all the lands that ſhould be taken from the Scots. This artifice has all the ſucceſs he expected. The Picts not perceiving the latent poiſon, ſwallow the bait, and readily join with the Romans for the ſake of the promiſed advantage. Preſently after, the Scots being attacked by theſe two united powers, are forced to abandon their country and fly into Ireland, and the adjacent iſles. Maximus, according to his promiſe, ſuffers his allies to take poſſeſſion of the lands deſerted by the Scots. But whilſt he is conſidering of means to ſubdue them in their turn, affairs of greater importance, relating to himſelf, oblige him to form new projects.

He joins with the Picts againſt the Scots,

who fly into Ireland.

378. Whilſt this general was employed in enlarging the bounds of the empire, Gratian, joint emperor of the Weſt with Valentinian his brother, aſſociates Theodoſius the Younger, ſon of Theodoſius the Elder, who had commanded in Britain. This choice, though univerſally applauded, diſpleaſes Maximus, who thinks himſelf more worthy of the purple than the perſon inveſted with it. He takes the preference given by Gratian to Theodoſius as a heinous affront, and therefore cannot bear the thought of ſerving ſo ungrateful a maſter, and a young prince ſo much in his opinion beneath him in merit. The vexation to ſee himſelf thus ſlighted, throws him into a reſolution to aſſume the imperial dignity, and ſo put himſelf

Gratian aſſociates Theodoſius in the empire. Zoſim. lib. iv.

Maximus forms the project of becoming emperor.

[z] The poet Claudian. in his panegyrick on Theodoſius the emperor, ſon of this Theodoſius, has the following lines generally taken notice of:

Ille Caledoniis poſuit qui caſtra pruinis,
Qui medio Libyæ ſub caſſide pertulit æſtus,
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni,

upon

upon an equality with the perſon Gratian had given him for ſovereign. After forming this project he alters his meaſures: inſtead of making war upon the Picts, according to his former reſolution, he thinks only how to gain their friendſhip. His intent was to leave Britain in quiet, and attached to his intereſt, whilſt he was elſewhere employed againſt the three emperors, from whom he deſigned to wreſt the empire. But an unexpected war ariſing in Britain, prevented him from diſcovering his purpoſe ſo ſoon as he intended. The Scots, ſtrengthened with the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh, make an irruption into the north, and endeavour to recover the dominions from whence they were chaſed. Maximus therefore is forced to employ againſt them the forces prepared for the execution of his other projects. He defeats them ſeveral times, and at length drives them back into Ireland, where he makes a ſhow of following them, to deprive them of that refuge, and puniſh the Iriſh. But the Iriſh dreading to ſee a Roman army in their iſland, ſend to him to make his own terms, which he did in a much more favourable manner than they expected, with intent to ſtifle all ſeeds of diviſion and diſcontent, that might any way fruſtrate his principal deſign.

The Scots re enter their country.

Are driven back into Ireland.

Maximus grants a peace to the Iriſh.

After theſe troubles are appeaſed, Maximus aſſumes the imperial purple, and quits Britain to go and fight Gratian. He leads all the Roman forces into Gaul, with a conſiderable body of ſuch Britons as are fit to bear arms. Thus Britain was on a ſudden deſtitute of ſoldiers, and conſequently ſo weak, that ſhe could not defend herſelf in caſe of attack. The Roman hiſtorians inform us, that Maximus cauſing Gratian to be aſſaſſinated as he was flying into Italy, and dethroning Valentinian II. was himſelf vanquiſhed and beheaded by Theodoſius. This victory procured the reſtoration of Valentinian, who was ſoon after murdered by Arbogaſtes, and Eugenius placed on the throne. Theodoſius was therefore forced to fight the new uſurper, who met with the ſame fate as Maximus. Eugenius being dead, Arbogaſtes deſpairing to eſcape due puniſhment, lays violent hands on himſelf[z]. Thus Theodoſius remains ſole maſter of the empire, and keeps poſſeſſion as long as he lives. The fame of his victories, and the mildneſs of his government, keep his ſubjects in obedience, and his neighbours in awe. The Picts in particular lived peaceably in their country without moleſting the Britons.

He aſſumes the title of emperor.

Gildas, n. 10
Bede, lib. i. cap. 9.

388. Is beheaded by Theodoſius.

392. Affairs of the empire.

After the death of Theodoſius, the empire was divided between his two ſons: Arcadius was emperor of the Eaſt, and 393.

[z] Horſley ſays he ſaw a curious medal of his at Newcaſtle, though he could never learn where it was found, p. 74.

Honorius

Honorius emperor of the West. Zosim. lib. iv.

Honorius of the West, As Honorius was very young, the famous Stilico, by the emperor his father's order, was regent during his minority. His first care was to send a governor into Britain with a legion, to curb the insolence of the Picts, who, after Theodosius's death, began to make inroads into the Roman province. He made choice of Victorinus, a person of a fierce and arrogant temper, who not satisfied with cooping up the Picts in their country, treated them as subjects of the empire. He pretended to stretch his authority so far as to forbid them to crown another king in the room of Hengist, whom death had just taken out of the world. This proceeding convinced the Picts, Victorinus had a design to attack them, and laid them under apprehensions, that after having helped to drive out the Scots, they should be forced to follow them, now that they could no longer depend upon the assistance of their neighbours, as formerly. They considered, by the retreat of the Scots, they were deprived of an aid, which in time to come might be to them very necessary. The little regard the Roman governor had for them making them apprehensive he had formed some design against their liberty, they thought of means to avoid their ruin, by repairing the error they had committed. In this state of fear and uncertainty, they resolved to recall the Scots: to which end they send an honourable embassy to Fergus, a prince of the blood-royal of Scotland, who was retired into Denmark, and invite him with his countrymen to come and take possession again of the country they were forced to abandon. As a farther inducement they promise him the command of their army in the war with the Romans, which to them seemed unavoidable. Fergus accepts these offers, and acquaints the fugitive Scots that he is ready to lead them back into their country. There could never be a more favourable juncture: the Roman empire was not only rent with intestine troubles by the discord which reigned among the governors, but powerfully attacked by barbarous nations that ravaged the borders. These disorders had obliged Stilico to recall Victorinus with his legion, and employ him in other parts, where the occasion was more urgent. At this very juncture the Scots re-enter the island under the conduct of Fergus, whom they unanimously chuse for their king[a].

Victorinus sent into Britain,

He treats the Picts ill,

who recall the Scots. Gordon, lib. iii. cap. 1. Buchanan.

403. Fergus conducts the Scots into Scotland. Scot. Chr. lib. iii. cap. 1

As soon as Fergus II. is seated in the throne, he meditates revenge upon the Romans, which to him appears the more easy to effect, as they are extremely weakened by the depar-

[a] The Scotch writers are here followed, though accused by the English of vending many fables. Rapin. See note, p. 67.

ture

ture of Victorinus. Purſuant to this reſolution, he aſſembles the forces of both nations, of which he was inveſted with the command; and after taking the fortreſſes built by Theodoſius the Elder, between the two friths, advances to Severus's wall. The ſmall number of troops left by the Romans in the iſland not being able to defend a wall of ſo great length, the Picts and Scots enter the Roman province with little or no difficulty, and lay waſte the country.

Being made king he wars againſt the Romans.

After Britain had ſubmitted to the Roman yoke, a great number of foreign families removed thither, ſprung for the moſt part from the veteran ſoldiers ſettled there. Theſe families had ſo mixed with the natives, that they now made but one people, governed by officers ſent from Rome: I ſhall therefore call this mixed people hence forward by the name of Britons, becauſe the Romans and other foreigners, as well as the natives, had the ſame intereſt to defend Britain, now become their common country. The Britons then finding themſelves thus harraſſed by their neighbours, and deſpairing of aſſiſtance from Rome, reſolved to elect an emperor, whoſe intereſt it ſhould be to protect them. Their choice falls upon one Marcus, an officer of great credit among them; but the new ſovereign not having the good fortune to pleaſe all the world, is quickly ſlain or dethroned, and another, called Gratian, choſen in his room. This laſt being a man of a cruel and bloody diſpoſition, meets the ſame fate, four months after his election.

The Britons a mixed people.

408. They chuſe an emperor. Oroſ.

Marcus and Gratian elected and ſlain. Ann. 407. Zoſim lib. vi Bede, lib. i. cap. 11. Bede lib. vii. cap. 40.

As theſe two firſt emperors did not anſwer expectation, Conſtantine, a common ſoldier, was next raiſed to the imperial dignity merely for the ſake of his name, which was thought to be fortunate. The new emperor being a man of courage, and of a genius far above his former condition, beats back the northern people into their country, and then concludes a peace with them. This ſucceſs inſpiring him with a higher conceit of his merit and fortune, he is not content to reign in Britain only, but forms a deſign to become maſter of the whole empire. To this end he draws together the remains of thoſe that can bear arms, as well Romans as iſlanders, and forming an army, paſſes into Gaul. His intention was to improve the preſent favourable juncture. Honorius was then attacked by Alaric king of the Goths, who a few years after became maſter of Rome. Whilſt Conſtantine is making preparations, he ſends ambaſſadors to Honorius, to acquaint him with his being choſen emperor by Britain, and to excuſe his accepting the imperial dignity without his knowledge. Honorius, now preſſed by Alaric, is forced to

Conſtantine is elected Zoſim. Oroſ.

He forms a deſign to become maſter of the whole empire.

409. Goes with an army into Gaul. Oroſ.

Honorius owns him for his associate.

to admit of Constantine's excuses, and own him for his associate in the empire. The emperor's condescension is not capable of satisfying the ambitious Constantine, whose designs and hopes are vastly enlarged. At his arrival in Gaul, he associates his son Constans, taken out of the monastery at Winchester; and leaving him an army to maintain his authority in these provinces, marches towards the Alps in order to pass into Italy and dethrone Honorius. Constans had for general of his troops one Gerontius, who by his prudent conduct, not only made his master respected in Gaul, but also put him in possession of Spain. The young emperor was so exalted with this unexpected success, that for fear the honour, which he thought wholly belonged to himself, should be ascribed to Gerontius, he removed him from his post. So ungrateful a return goes not long unpunished. Gerontius, exasperated at the affront, finds means to assemble the army, and causing Maximus, a friend of his, to be proclaimed emperor, gains the majority to his side. Then he goes and besieges Constans in Vienne, where he was retired. That town not being then in condition to stand a long siege, Constans in a sally wilfully rushes upon his death, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy.

Constantine associates his son Constans and marches towards Italy.

Gerontius turns against Constans,

who is killed at the siege of Vienne.

Constantine seeing the face of affairs altered by the revolt of Gerontius and the death of his son, lays aside his design of going into Italy, and retires to Arles, where he is besieged by Gerontius. But while Gerontius is pleased with the hopes of having him soon in his own power, he is forced on a sudden to raise the siege, and march against a more formidable enemy. Count Constantius, to whom Honorius had given the command of his armies, upon the peace lately concluded between the emperor and the king of the Goths [b], was advancing with all speed to curb the insolence of the tyrants of Gaul. Upon his approach, Gerontius is suddenly deserted by his army, and forced to fly into Spain, where he is slain by his own people. Constantine had no better fortune than Gerontius: he was taken at Arles, with his son Julian and his brother Sebastian. Though before the surrender of the town he had taken priest's orders, he was nevertheless sent to the emperor and beheaded.

Constantine is besieged in Arles.

Count Constantius leads an army into Gaul.

Gerontius retires into Spain, and is killed.

Zosim lib. ix cap. 15.

Constantine is taken at Arles, and beheaded.

410. The northern people attack the defenceless Britons.

The Britons thus left to themselves after the departure of the Roman soldiers, and the flower of their youth, are quickly reduced to great extremities. The Picts and Scots continue their ravages without opposition, by reason of the weakness of their enemies. This wretched state held some years,

[b] In the year 404, or 405. Rapin.

and

and the Romans were not able to help it. They were too much taken up with their own affairs, to think of Britain. The Goths had renewed the war under the conduct of Alaric, and having taken and ſacked the city of Rome, were now in poſſeſſion of Gaul [c]. On the other ſide, the Suevi, Vandals [d], Cotti, and Alani [e], had over-run Spain. In vain therefore do the Britons implore the emperor's aſſiſtance: he is neither able nor willing to give them any; Britain, ſo carefully preſerved by his predeceſſors, beginning now to be a burden. Wherefore, to free himſelf at once from their importunities, he voluntarily reſigns the ſovereignty of the iſland, and diſcharges the inhabitants of their allegiance to the empire. This ſolemn renunciation was made in the year 410, a little after Alaric's taking of Rome.

Zoſim. Niceph. Oroſ. Gildas, n. 11

They implore aid of the Romans in vain.

Honorius renounces his ſovereignty of Britain.

The liberty the Britons had thus recovered, ſerved only to render them more miſerable. Whereas before they might claim the protection of the emperor, they were now deſtitute of all hopes of aſſiſtance. However, the affairs of the Romans happening afterwards to be ſomewhat reſtored under Valentinian III. by the victories of the famous Ætius over the Wiſigoths and Burgundians, this general, out of pity to the wretched condition of the Britons, ſends them a legion, commanded by Gallio of Ravenna, or, as ſome ſay, by Maximian. This aid arriving unexpectedly, beat back with eaſe the northern nations, and forced them to retire into their country. But the emperor having occaſion for the legion, they were recalled, juſt as the enemies were preparing to renew their devaſtations.

Miſeries of the Britons. Gildas, n. 13, 14, 15.

Ætius ſends them a legion. Stillingfl. Orig. Brit.

which is ſoon recalled.

Before his departure the Roman commander told the Britons plainly, they were to expect no farther aſſiſtance from the emperor, who was wholly employed elſewhere againſt the northern nations of Europe, whoſe ravages extended to all parts of the empire. After this declaration he adviſes them to inure themſelves to arms, that they may be able to withſtand the continual attacks of their enemies; and conſidering their

Advice of the Roman commander to the Britons. Bede, lib. i. cap. 21.

[c] In 404, or 405, Honorius made a treaty with Alaric, who retired into Illyria, from whence he returned, in 409, or 410, and then it was he took Rome. Rapin.

[d] Northern people from Scythia, about the lake Mæotis and river Tanais, of Gothic original, and called Vandals from the word Wandelen, To wander or rove; becauſe they often changed their places of abode. At laſt they fixed near the coaſts of the Baltic Sea towards Germany, which from them was called Vandalia. The Suevi were of the ſame original, ſo named from the word Schweben, of the ſame import with Wandelen: they poſſeſſed that part of Germany beyond the Danube, now called Suabia. Brady, p. 37.

[e] The Alani were ſeated not far from the head of the river Tanais, or Don. Ibid.

weakneſs, exhorts them to repair the wall of Severus to ſerve them for a barrier; offering them the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers, and his own direction in the work. What could the Britons do in this their extremity? they had no other method to take, but that propoſed to them by the Roman captain, and therefore fell to work upon their wall with all poſſible diligence, which as ſoon as they had finiſhed, the Romans took their laſt farewel of Britain, never to return more. The end of the Roman dominion over Britain is to be fixed to the time of this legion leaving the iſland, in the year 426 to 427 [f].

They repair Severus's wall.

The Romans quit Britain. Uſher. Gildas, n. 15 Bede, lib. i. cap. 12

The Picts and Scots, who lived in ſtrict union after the coronation of Fergus, began their hoſtilities againſt the Britons with more confidence than ever, when they heard of the departure of the Roman forces. The wall of Severus, lately repaired, is attacked afreſh, and abandoned at laſt, being defended only by Britons little uſed to war.

After which, the northern people made large breaches in ſeveral places, that it might be no obſtacle to their future incurſions into their enemies country. About this time Fergus dies as he is returning to Ireland, leaving his young ſon Eugenius II. a minor, under the regency of Greham his grand-father by his mother's ſide.

The Britons abandon part of their country.

The weakneſs of the Britons was then ſo great, that deſpairing to reſiſt their enemies, they abandoned part of their country, and retired more ſouthward. Whereupon the Picts and Scots, grown more bold by their advantages, form new projects, and think of means to drive the Britons entirely out of the iſland. To this end they reſolve to ſend for colonies from Ireland and the adjacent iſles, to people the lands forſaken by the Britons, as well as thoſe they hope to take from them hereafter. But Greham prevents, by his authority, the execution of this project, fearing the return of the Romans, and the making Scotland the ſcene of war. It may be, he was not altogether ignorant of the ſad condition then of the Roman empire; but knew not how low it was; and therefore, thought fit to oppoſe the deſigns of the Scots, and prefer a ſolid peace, with ſome real, though not great, advantages, to a war which, as he imagined, might be attended with dangerous conſequences. A peace then was offered to the Britons upon honourable terms, and by them gladly accepted. By the treaty the wall of Severus was to be the common boundary of the two nations. But for this advantage the Britons were obliged to pay a conſiderable ſum of money. The Scots thinking

Greham regent of Scotland makes a peace with the Britons.

[f] Stillingfleet thinks it was in the year 418. Rapin.

this peace not advantageous enough, loudly murmured at it; but Greham took care to see it observed during his administration.

As soon as Eugenius II. was of age to take the reins of the government into his own hands, he resolved to break a treaty, which his subjects had protested against. He knew the Romans were not in a condition to assist Britain, and the opportunity appeared too favourable to be neglected. Pursuant to this resolution, he sends ambassadors to the Britons, and haughtily demands all the lands possessed by the Scots before the late treaty. The chief of the Britons, surprized at this unexpected demand, convene a general assembly to consider of an answer to the king of Scotland. The majority of the assembly, provoked at the haughtiness of their neighbours, and knowing they only wanted an excuse to renew the war, were of opinion to reject their demand. "It is easy (say "they) to perceive the Scots will not be satisfied hereafter "with their present demands. Their aim is only to have an "entrance into the country, that they may with less difficulty "become masters of the whole; and it will be an easier task "to prevent them from entering, than to drive them out when "once they are settled. In short, since a war is unavoida-"ble, it will be very imprudent to grant what they demand, "under colour of preserving a peace which cannot last long." Others not so warm, knowing the extreme weakness of the nation, were of another mind. They were for finding some expedient to satisfy the Scots, and avoid, if possible, a war which must prove fatal to the Britons. "They desire the "assembly to consider what prodigious number of soldiers were "drawn out of the island by the Romans to supply their ar-"mies abroad; how many Maximus carried with him that "were settled in Gaul; and lastly, how the country was "drained of all that could bear arms by Constantine. To "this they add, the weakness of the nation was but too vi-"sible in their late war with the Scots, when their frequent "defeats obliged them to abandon the very lands now de-"manded, the possession of which was entirely owing to the "generosity of Greham; it is therefore better for the Bri-"tons to give up freely what they cannot keep, than for the "sake of that, to run the risk of losing their All."

Eugenius king of Scotland breaks the treaty.

Dissentions among the Britons.

Though these reasons were very weighty, they were overruled by the violent party, and Conan, one of the wisest and most powerful of the nation, for dwelling too long upon the advantages of peace, was deemed a traitor, and torn in pieces by them. After that, none daring to oppose it, the ambassadors

A war is resolved.

The Britons are beaten.

baſſadors were ſent back with an inſulting anſwer. This haſty reſolution was followed with a war more deſtructive to the Britons than their former ones, and which entirely weakened them by the loſs of fourteen or fifteen thouſand men in one ſingle battle. Reduced to extremity, they have no courſe left but to ſue in a ſuppliant manner for that peace they ſo haughtily refuſed. They obtain it indeed, but upon very hard terms. By the new treaty, they are obliged to give up all the country north of the Humber, of which the Picts and Scots as waging war in common, take poſſeſſion [g].

They obtain peace.

Cauſe of the Britons weakneſs.

The extreme weakneſs of the Britons will not be thought ſtrange, if it be conſidered in the firſt place, they were not uſed to war. The Romans, who had long been maſters of the iſland, never ſuffered them to exerciſe their arms; it being their cuſtom always to employ foreign troops in their conquests. For this reaſon the ſoldiers levied in Britain were ſent into other provinces, from whence they never returned. Theſe levies were ſo numerous, that there were twelve conſiderable bodies of Britons in the Roman armies diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, and always recruited from Britain. In the next place, Maximus and Conſtantine led ſuch great armies from thence, as almoſt drained the iſland of men fit to bear arms. In fine, if to this be added the late loſſes ſuſtained by the Britons after the departure of the Romans, it is no wonder they became ſo eaſy a prey to their enemies.

Camden, p. 87.

Nennius, cap. 23.

Confuſion in the hiſtory of thoſe days.

From this time to the coming in of the Saxons, the hiſtory of Britain is very confuſed, by reaſon of the diſagreement of the writers, which makes it very difficult to diſcover the truth, and much more ſo to fix all the dates. What can be gathered with any certainty is, that the Britons elected ſeveral kings, whoſe actions are unknown; and that theſe kings were eſtabliſhed, and afterwards killed or dethroned, according to the humour and intereſt of the leading men. Probably too, ſeveral kings reigned at the ſame time in different provinces, and by their diſcord and wars contributed to the weakening one another. To complete their misfortunes, Britain was afflicted with a cruel famine, which raged alſo in moſt parts of the world. This terrible ſcourge rendered the country quite deſolate, people dying with hunger by thouſands. In this extreme diſtreſs, multitudes of poor wretches, to ſave their lives, fly into Armorica, where great part of Maximus's army was already ſettled. Others, rather than ſtarve with

Gildas, n. 6. 21. 25. Bede, lib. i. cap. 13.

[g] From Severus's Wall to the Humber, is eighty miles. Rapin.

hunger

hunger, threw themſelves upon the Picts and Scots. Amidſt theſe deſolations, the northern people, their irreconcileable enemies, taking advantage of their misfortunes, break the treaty, and paſſing the Humber, ravage the country in a mercileſs manner.

The miſerable ſtate of the Britons forces them to apply once more to the Romans for aſſiſtance. They ſend, upon this occaſion, a very moving letter to Ætius then in Gaul [h]: "We know not (ſay they) which way to turn us. The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea forces us back to the Barbarians; between which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to be ſwallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the ſword." Ætius was then preparing to repulſe Attila, who was entered Gaul with an army of eighty thouſand men, and therefore not being in condition to grant their requeſt, ſent them word that the affairs of the empire would not ſuffer him to aſſiſt them, neither were they to depend upon him [i]. So mortifying an anſwer threw the miſerable

The Britons le ter to Ætius Gildas, n. 17

h The Britons calling, in their letter, Ætius conſul, hath made ſome call this fact in queſtion, becauſe his name is not found in the Roman Faſti; but, as Mr. Seldon obſerves, the name of conſul was frequently given to illuſtrious perſons, though they were not actually conſuls. Not. on Poly Olb. p. 84.

i As this is the laſt mention of the Romans, it may not be amiſs to give a brief account of the legions that came into the iſland. Julius Cæſar brought with him the firſt time the ſeventh, and tenth his favourite legion. In his ſecond deſcent he brought five legions, but which they were, except the ſeventh, is unknown. All theſe returned the ſame year they came. Under Claudius came four legions, (with the proper auxiliaries, making an army of about fifty thouſand men) namely the ſecond, the ninth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth. The ſecond called Legio ſecunda Auguſta, came hither under the command of Veſpaſian, and continued here to the very laſt. They were concerned in building the Roman wall in Scotland, as appears from the inſcriptions. Their uſual quarters were at Caerleon, though they were removed from thence at laſt, being placed at Rutupæ in the Notitia, where they are called Legio ſecunda Britannica ſive Secunda, i. e. Thoſe of the ſecond legion, as the Quintani, Quartadecumani, &c. are thoſe of the fifth and fourteenth in Tacitus. Ptolemy places this legion at Iſca Dumnoniorum, or Exeter, which might be miſtaken for Iſca Silurum or Caer-leon. The ninth was cut in pieces by Boadicea; it was recruited with two thouſand ſoldiers, and eight auxiliary cohorts, but attacked again, as being the weakeſt, by the Caledonians. After which, being no more heard of, it was either broke or incorporated with the ſix legion brought over by Hadrian. It is ſuppoſed to have been ſtationed at York, where an inſcription was found with theſe words, Legio nona Victrix. The fourteenth was the only legion, ſays Tacitus, that together with the Vexillarii of the twentieth, (that is, ſix hundred ſelect men of a legion) was entirely engaged in the battle with Boadicea's army. This legion was recalled by Nero, ordered back by Vitellius, and ſent for again by Veſpaſian; after which they ſeemed never to have returned to Britain any more. As they left Britain, before the humour of erecting inſcriptions, it is no wonder they are not mentioned in any. The twentieth is thus expreſſed in the Roman inſcription, LEG. XX V. V. That is, Legio Viceſima Valens, (or Valeria)

ſerable Britons into the utmoſt conſternation, not knowing what meaſures to takes, to free themſelves from their unfortunate circumſtances. In this diſtreſs, it is judged proper by the chief men of the nation to call a general aſſembly, and conſider of ſome poſſible remedy for their calamities, which daily increaſe. They agreed at laſt to chuſe a monarch [k] as the only expedient to ſave them from deſtruction, in expectation, that when united under one head, their diviſions would ceaſe, and their enemies be more ſtrongly reſiſted. But the diſcord that reigned among the principal members of the ſtate, prevented the good effects of this expedient. Several great men, having fortified themſelves in diverſe parts, acted like ſovereigns. All theſe petty tyrants, jealous of one another, far from owning the monarch elect, ſought only to deſtroy him, in order to be choſen in his room. It was therefore impoſſible for theſe monarchs to ſubſiſt long, ſince not being agreeable to all, the male-contents joined together for their deſtruction: thus the Britons, whilſt they endeavour to unite themſelves under one head, are plunged the deeper into anarchy and confuſion.

They chuſe a monarch.

Great diſcord and confuſion among the Britons.

Vortigern is elected. n. 445.

We know not the names of any of theſe monarchs 'till Vortigern, count or king of the Dunmonii [l], elected in the year 445. This prince, as he was the moſt powerful and ambitious, could never brook a ſuperior, and therefore was all along a profeſſed enemy to the preceding monarchs, and contributed to their ruin. Nay, 'tis affirmed by hiſtorians, that he aſſaſſinated his predeceſſor to make room for himſelf. Thoſe

Veleria) Victrix. The ſtated quarters of this legion was Deva or Weſt-Cheſter, which probably was therefore honoured with the name of a colony, as in one of Geta's coins with this legend, COLONIA. DIVANA. LEGIO. XX. VICTRIX. This legion was with the ſecond employed in building the Roman forts and walls. It does not appear when they left Britain. Beſides theſe four legions, there came with Hadrian the ſixth, uſually thue expreſſed, LEG. VI. V. P. F. that is, Legio Sexta Victrix Pia Fidelis. This legion was a long time in Britain. They are frequently mentioned in the inſcriptions on Severus's wall. Their ſtated quarters were at York. From what has been ſaid it appears, that for twenty-five years (from Claudius's invaſion, till the fourteenth was recalled by Nero, and afterwards by Veſpaſian, there were four legions in Britain. From the firſt year of Veſpaſian to Hadrian's reign, only three; and from Hadrian's time (when the ſixth came over) to the loweſt empire, there were ſtill but three; the ninth being broken or incorporated with the ſixth. The reader may ſee a large account of theſe things in Horſley, B. I. c. 6.

k By monarch here is to be underſtood, one ſuperior to the other heads, or kings, on whom they were in ſome meaſure dependent. See Selden and Malmſbury. Rapin.

l Inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall. Rowland thinks Dunmonium is the true word for Cornwall, and Dunmoniam for Devonſhire, or the Britiſh Dyfuejnt. The Corniſh write and pronounce (d) as (t). He derives both theſe words from Mon, ſignifying the utmoſt or fartheſt.

that

that imagine Conſtans ſon of Conſtantine killed at the ſiege of Vienne, to be his immediate predeceſſor, are certainly miſtaken, ſince there are at leaſt forty years ſpace between the death of Conſtans and the election of Vortigern [m].

His character.

The new monarch was by no means qualified to reſtore the affairs of the Britons. As he attained to the ſupreme dignity by artifice and cabal, he wholly bent his thoughts to maintain himſelf in the throne by the ſame wicked methods, regardleſs of the general welfare of his ſubjects. He was moreover of a cruel and avaritious temper, addicted to many vices; and ſo lewd, that he debauched his own daugher, by flattering her with hopes of being a queen [n]. Mean while there was a neceſſity to think of repulſing the enemies, and Vortigern knew himſelf incapable of ſuch an undertaking, though he had been choſen for that very purpoſe. But what troubled and perplexed him moſt, was, his being ſo little beloved by the people, and the continual fear of being dethroned. The examples of the monarchs his predeceſſors being never out of his mind, he was apprehenſive the ſame courſe would be taken with him, ſince he was ſo little able to anſwer the good opinion conceived of him when raiſed to the throne. Living thus in equal dread of the enemies of the ſtate and of his own ſubjects, he fancied he had deviſed an expedient to free himſelf from the danger of the one, and the plots of the other. But as he could not put his deſign in practice without the conſent of the Britons, he calls a general aſſembly, and makes a long ſpeech, before he comes to the point. "He deſcribes "in a ſtrong and lively manner the extreme miſery of the "nation: accuſes the Romans of being the ſole cauſe of the "misfortunes of the Britons, by draining the iſland of all her "youth fit to bear arms, and then leaving her to the inſults "of her neighbours. He enlarges upon the great loſſes "ſubained ſince by the Britons, and the manifeſt danger of "being either driven out of their country, or utterly de-

Malm. lib. i. cap. 2.

He fears as well his own ſubjects as the enemies of the ſtate.

Nennius.

He calls a general aſſembly.

He propoſes to call the Saxons to aid the Britons.

Gildas, n. 23 Bede, lib. i. cap. 15.

m Alford and others place Vortigern's election between 430 and 436. The common opinion is followed here, which appears to be moſt probable. Rapin.

n This ſtory of Vortigern's inceſt ſeems altogether unlikely. At leaſt, the dialogue between Vortigern and St. Germain, and his being condemned in a great council of clergy and laity, in which St. Germain preſided, is certainly falſe, that Saint being dead a year before the Saxons arrived in Britain. And indeed, when is it that he ſhould commit this crime? Not before he married Rowena, for Nennius places it afterwards; nor could it well be during the time of his marriage with her, ſince, as the ſame author relates, ſhe continued his wife long after, when he was taken priſoner by Hengiſt, and it is very ſtrange he ſhould fall in love with his own daughter, when he had another wife, whom he is ſaid to love ſo well, that he was divorced from his firſt for her ſake. See Tyrrel, vol. i. p. 127, 228.

" ſtroyed, by reaſon of their weakneſs. For his part, he is " always ready to hazard his life for the ſervice of the nation: " but conſidering the few troops in his power, and the little " union between the principal members of the ſtate, he has " no hopes that his weak endeavours will be able to reſcue " his ſubjects from their preſent calamities. In this melan- " cholly ſtate of affairs, he ſees but one way to ſave his " country from the deſtruction ſhe is threatened with, and " that is, to call into their aſſiſtance a nation, that by their " victorious arms were ſettled in Germany, upon the lands " of the Romans. Then tells them, he means the Saxons; " adding, they have indeed done ſome damage to the Britons " by their pyracies, but are now ready to repair it with ad- " vantage; ſince they can free them from the continual ir- " ruptions of the Picts and Scots. This people, being parted " from Britain by a ſmall arm of the ſea only, can be as " ſpeedy with their aid as their preſſing occaſions require: " they are already grown formidable to the northern nations, " and by the arrival of ſome of their troops the Britons will " quickly be in condition to reſiſt their enemies, and perhaps " repay them in their own coin." He concludes with repre- ſenting, " The thing will hardly admit of debate; the Britons " cannot be without a foreign aid, and none but the Saxons " are in condition to give them aſſiſtance."

His propoſal is approved. Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit.

The fears all were ſeized with, and the hopes of ſtill enjoy- ing their native country, and recovering their loſt eſtates, and no doubt the deſire of revenge, conſpired to a joyful reception of Vortigern's propoſal. But when they came to conſider of the terms to be offered the Saxons, great debates aroſe. The monarch, whoſe ſecret purpoſe was to ſtrengthen himſelf as well againſt his own ſubjects as foreign enemies, moved, the alloting them ſome province, that their own intereſt might induce them to wage war more heartily and vigorouſly. But as no lands could be aſſigned them but what belonged to ſome of the aſſembly, it was no eaſy matter to agree on this point.

The iſle of Thanet is to be given to the Saxons.

At length, after great debates, it was reſolved that the Saxons ſhould have the iſle of Thanet in Kent, as being a proper place to land their forces, and convenient for them whenever they wanted to return to their own country. It was farther agreed, that the Saxon ſoldiers ſhould be allowed pay, which ſhould be ſettled by agreement on both ſides. After this reſo- luti n, ambaſſadors were appointed to negociate the affair in Germany. Vortigern, pleaſed with having carried his point without incurring ſuſpicion, imagined himſelf out of the reach of all danger. But ſee how blind and ſhort-ſighted is human wiſdom!

Ambaſſa- dors are na- med to go to the Saxons.

Vortige n's po'icy proves fatal to the country.

wiſdom! This very expedient, by the direction of divine providence, proved his own and the nation's ruin.

But before I proceed to the effects of this pernicious advice, it will be neceſſary to give a more particular account of theſe Saxons, who are to be the chief ſubject of our hiſtory. They were ſo little known before their coming into Britain, and what is ſaid of their original ſo uncertain, that it is no wonder this ſubject is but ſlightly touched upon by the generality of the Engliſh hiſtorians. Some barely ſay, the Saxons were called in to the aſſiſtance of Britain, without any farther addition concerning them. Others ſay only, the Saxons were a German people, without mentioning the parts they inhabited. Some again add, they were pyrates from the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, that came and ſettled on the coaſts of the German ocean. But as theſe coaſts are of a vaſt extent, we are not much the wiſer for that. In ſhort, the moſt probable account I can gather from the ſeveral authors that have writ of this people, is as follows.

Origin of the Saxons and their conqueſts in Germany, Sheringham.

About the time the Romans began to extend their conqueſts into Germany, the inhabitants of the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, now called Jutland, leaving their country, advanced towards the ſouth. They poſſeſſed themſelves at firſt of the northern parts of Germany, and doubtleſs ſpent ſome years in ſettling themſelves in thoſe quarters. But as the Romans had not yet penetrated ſo far, and we have no ancient hiſtories of the northern countries, nor even of the weſtern, but what the Romans have left us, there is little known of the firſt irruptions made by the northern people into Germany. The Cimbri continually puſhing their conqueſts to the ſouthward, and the Romans advancing to the northward, they at laſt approached one another. Then it was that the Romans had opportunity to learn in ſome meaſure, the ſtate of theſe hitherto unknown nations.

Their hiſtorians however ſpeak very confuſedly of them, giving ſometimes different names to the ſame people, and ſometimes the ſame name to different nations. The Cimbri that came from the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, were divided into three bands, one taking the name of Suevi, another of Francs, and a third of Saxons. Some will have the Francs to be a branch of the Suevi. However that be, theſe three nations, continually advancing ſouthwards, came at length to the frontiers of the Roman empire; the Suevi towards Italy, the Francs to the ſouth-weſt, towards the coaſt of Belgic-Gaul, and the Saxons to the weſt, towards the German Ocean. The Suevi eſpecially were ſo terrible to the ancient Germans, that they

Temple. Introd.

Cæſ. lib. iv Stillingfleet. looked upon them as a "Match for the Immortal Gods," as Cæſar ſays in his Commentaries. As for the Francs, they are known to have over-run the whole province of Gaul, and founded the noble and ancient kingdom of France.

The Saxons poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe tracts of land lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their territories bounded on the weſt by the German Ocean, extended eaſtward to the borders of Thuringen. Conſequently they were maſters of Saxony, Weſtphalia, and all that part of the Low-Countries lying north of the Rhine. The nations ſubdued by theſe conquerors were in time called Saxons, in like manner as the inhabitants of Gaul were named Francois or French, after their ſubjection to the Francs. But however, whether the Saxons were not ſo rapid in their conqueſts as the Suevi, or the courſe they took made it longer before they approached the Romans, 'tis certain they were not ſo ſoon known. The firſt Roman hiſtorians that mention them, at leaſt by the name of Saxons, are Eutropius and Oroſius, who inform us that Carauſius (as I have elſewhere taken notice) was ſent to clear the ſeas of the pyratical Francs and Saxons. From that time they became formidable to the Romans, and obliged them to keep ſtanding forces to guard both the German and Britiſh coaſts, with a general officer ſtiled the Præfect, or Count of the Saxon Coaſts. Upon the decline of the Roman empire, after the death of Theodoſius, the Saxons taking advantage of its weakneſs, made themſelves maſters of the whole country along the coaſt of the German Ocean, and even extended their conqueſts as far as the iſles of Zealand. Hence the Friſons, Batavians, and the neighbouring nations, were hardly known by any other name but that of the Saxons.

Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. Sheringham de Orig. Ang.

Though ſeveral authors have writ of the Saxons, we are ſtill in the dark as to their original, or how to diſtinguiſh the the nations called by that general name. And therefore the beginning of their hiſtory remains very confuſed and intricate, it being almoſt impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, conſidering, authors for the moſt part have made no diſtinction of times or places. One while they are conſidered juſt as they left their own country, and then are confounded with the Francs and Suevi, under the name of Cimbri. Another while, they are viewed at beginning their conqueſts towards the north-weſt of the continent, and then they are repreſented as ſeated north of the Friſons, Batavians, Marſians, and other nations of thoſe parts ſubject to the Romans. Some have placed them at once along the coaſt of the German Ocean, and banks of the Rhine, and even in the iſles of Zealand, as if they had from the very firſt inhabited theſe regions. Others again,

Pyndius. Chron. zel.

not

not conſidering that all their conqueſts were termed Saxony, and finding Saxons in the eaſtern parts of Weſtphalia, have imagined they were a different people from thoſe inhabiting on the Rhine. Juſt as if ſpeaking of the Francs, I ſhould make different nations of thoſe that conquered Gaul, and thoſe that ſettled in the Narbonnoiſe. However this be, it is certain when the Britons ſent to deſire their aſſiſtance, the Saxons were in poſſeſſion of Weſtphalia, Saxony, Eaſt and Weſt-Frizeland, Holland and Zealand.

I could wiſh the origin of the Saxons were as well known as their conqueſts: it would be a pleaſure to give here an abſtract of their hiſtory to the time of their ſettling in Great-Britain. But the thing is impoſſible, ſuch obſcurity do we meet with in the authors that have ſtudied this ſubject. Some take up the Saxons at the Tower of Babel, and leading them from country to country, ſettle them at laſt in Saxony, ſo called from them. Others derive them from the Sacæ or Saſſones of Aſia, mentioned from Pliny. There are who will have them to be originally from Perſia, becauſe of the affinity between ſeveral Saxon and Perſian words [o]. But they that are willing to ſpare the pains of ſo laborious a ſearch, are content to begin their hiſtory from the time of their coming forth from the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus. It is not impoſſible, perhaps, to reconcile moſt of the opinions concerning this matter, tho' ſeemingly very different, if regard be had to the times of their ſeveral migrations. But ſince, in the main, conjectures only are to be had, it is better to proceed at once to what is more certain.

The Saxons had for ſome time been in poſſeſſion of the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, when driven thence by the Goths, (from whom that Peninſula was called Gothland or Jutland) they came and ſettled in Germany, in the parts now called Lower-Saxony. Between that country and the Cherſoneſus, were a people known by the name of Angles, inhabiting about Sleſwick in Holſtein. Probably the little country of Anglen in thoſe parts was ſo named from them, or they from the country [p]. However this be, the Angles joining with the Saxons

The Angles.

[o] Joſeph Scaliger ſays, that Fader, Muder, Brader, Tutcher, Band, and the like, are ſtill uſed in the Perſian language, in the ſame ſenſe as Father, Mother, Brother, Daughter, Bond, are with us.

[p] This country (Camden obſerves) reaching into the more inland parts of Germany, at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, we muſt ſeek ſome other place where to ſeat our Angles; and Bede has directed us to look for them between the Saxons and Jutes. "The "Angles (ſays he) come out of that "country; which is called Angulus, "and is ſaid from that time to lie "waſte, between the countries of the "Jutes and Saxons." Seeing between Juitland

Saxons when they came out of the Cherſoneſus to make conqueſts in Germany, became in a manner but one nation with them. Though, doubtleſs from the major part, they were generally called Saxons, yet they had ſometimes the compound name of Anglo-Saxons given them. Great numbers of Goths mixed likewiſe with them, to ſhare in their conqueſts. Theſe are called Wites [q] by Bede, and commonly known by the name of Jutes, or (which is the ſame) Goths. It can hardly be doubted that theſe three nations were united before their coming into Britain, when we conſider the good underſtanding between them all the while they were employed in eſtabliſhipg themſelves in the iſland, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory. It will be found that they acted always in concert; that their intereſts were never different, and that the government ſettled by them is a clear evidence they looked upon themſelves as one and the ſame people.

Etymology of the name of the Saxons.

The true etymology of the name Saxon is as difficult to be diſcovered as their origin. They that derive them from the Sacæ of Aſia, are indeed at no great loſs in this point. But the moſt common opinion is, that the word Saxon comes from Seax, which in their language ſignifies a kind of weapon or ſword. They had two ſorts, a long one worn by their ſide, or at their back; and another ſhorter, ſerving for a bayonet or dagger. They were both in the ſhape of a cutlace [r].

Not

Jutland and Holſatia (the antient ſeat of the Saxons) there is a ſmall province in the kingdom of Denmark, under the city of Flemſburg, called at this day Angel, which Lindebergius in his epiſtles terms Little England, I am pretty well aſſured, ſays, Camden, that I have found the ancient ſeat of our forefathers; and that from this very place the Angles came into our iſland. "Old "Anglia (ſays Ethelwerd, an ancient "author) is ſituated between the Sax-"ons and Giots, the capital town "whereof is called in Saxen, Sleſwick, "but by the Danes, Haithby." In the very ſame place, Ptolemy ſeems to ſeat the Saxons. So that the middle-age poet is probably in the right.

——Saxonia protulit Anglos;
Hoc patet in linguâ, niveoque colore——

Their riſe to Saxony the Angles owe;
Their language this, and native whiteneſs ſhow.

[q] So it is in the old edition of Bede; but in Mr. Whelock's, inſtead of Vitis there is Jutis.

[r] This etymology gave occaſion to theſe verſes in Engelbuſius:

Quippe brevis gladius apud illos Saxa vocatur,
Unde ſibi Saxo nomen traxiſſe putatur.

The Saxon people did, as moſt believe,
Their name from Saxa, a ſhort ſword, receive.

Camden approves of the conjecture of thoſe learned Germans, who imagine that the Saxons are deſcended from the Sacæ, the moſt conſiderable people in Aſia

Not to dwell too long upon conjectures, I ſhall briefly ſpeak of their manners, government, and religion. It ſuffices to obſerve, that, in their cuſtoms and manners, they very much reſemble the antient Germans, as deſcribed by Tacitus. They were naturally brave and warlike both by land and ſea, witneſs their many conqueſts. But to their enemies they were ſevere and cruel, eſpecially to their priſoners of war, whom they ſacrificed to their gods. Manners and government of the Saxons.

Their dominions were divided into twelve governments or provinces, each of which had a chief or head, accountable to the general aſſembly of the nation. In time of war they choſe a general who commanded their armies, and was inveſted with almoſt ſovereign power: but at the end of the war, his authority, like that of the Roman dictator, ceaſed. The center of their empire was at Brunſwick. Their government. Verſtegan.

As for their religion, it was the ſame with that of the other northern nations, and ſome part of Germany. The Britiſh Saxons embrace chriſtianity about the end of the ſixth, or beginning of the ſeventh century. But thoſe that remained in Germany were not converted till the ninth, by the care or rather violence of Carlemain, by whom they were ſubdued. Their principal gods before their converſion were the Sun, Moon, Tuiſco, Woden, Thor, Friga or Fræa, and Seater. To theſe were conſecrated the ſeven days of the week, as appears by the preſent names of theſe days among the Germans, Flemings, and Engliſh. Tuiſco is ſaid to be the grandſon of Japhet, and to have peopled firſt the north of Europe. Teutch, as the Germans call themſelves, is probably derived from Tuiſco. The god Thor, from whence comes the word Thunder or Dunder, was the ſame among the Saxons as Jupiter among the Romans; that is to ſay, the Thunderer. Woden was the god of war, becauſe under his conduct the firſt Saxons came forth from their country, and made large Their religion.

Aſia; that they are ſo called, as if one ſhould ſay, Sacaſones, that is, Sons of the Sacæ; and that out of Scythia, or Sarmatia Aſiatica, they came by little and little into Europe along with the Getes, the Suevi, and the Daci: this in my judgment (ſays Camden) deſerves credit the beſt of any other. But his annotator obſerves, this original of the Saxons from the Sacæ of Aſia may be thought too far fetched, unleſs there were ſome fair hiſtorical account how the Saxons came to be propagated by thoſe Sacæ; and no ſuch account being given, it may ſeem to be little more than a poſſibility. Nor may that other original from the ſhort ſwords called Sachs, ſeem not altogether vain, when it is conſidered that the Quirites had their name from Quiris, a ſhort ſpear; and the Scythians from Scyton, to ſhoot with a bow. Tacitus alſo ſpeaking of ſome of the northern Germans, ſays, "That the common badges they "wear, are round ſhields and ſhort "ſwords;" and the arms of Saxony to this day, as Pontanus obſerves, are two ſhort ſwords acroſs. See Camd. vol. i, p. 156.

conqueſts

conqueſts. Their chief families conſidered him as their founder, and gloried in being deſcended from him. Probably however there were two of this name, that are often confounded; one more ancient, worſhipped as a god, another not ſo old, from whom ſprung the families of the Saxon leaders. There are ſtill in England ſome footſteps of the name of Woden in ſeveral places, as Wanſdike, Wanſborough, &c. which are contractions of Wodens-dike and Wodens-borough. Fræa, the wife of Woden, was the Venus of the Saxons. She was worſhipped in the ſhape of an hermaphrodite, as being goddeſs of both ſexes. Ermenſwol, the ſame as Mercury, was another of their gods, with others common to them with all the northern nations. This is the beſt and cleareſt account I could find of the Saxons, whom the Britons, by Vortigern's advice, called in to their aſſiſtance.

THE State of the Britiſh CHURCH FROM The Converſion of the BRITONS to the Calling in of the SAXONS.

State of the church.

AFTER chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed in the world, the civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs of kingdoms were ſo interwoven, that there was no knowing the one, without being acquainted with the other. It is neceſſary, therefore, to add to our hiſtory a general knowledge of the progreſs of the chriſtian religion in Great Britain. I intend to do this from time to time, by ſhort abſtracts, ſhewing the ſituation of the affairs of the church in every century, and withal their relation to thoſe of the ſtate. But as I ſhall not have occaſion to ſpeak of the Engliſh church before the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons, it will not be improper to repreſent firſt the ſtate of the Britiſh church under the Romans.

The ſtate of the Britiſh church.

Before the birth of our Saviour, the Britons, like the reſt of the world, the Jews only excepted, were groſs idolaters.

They not only worſhipped falſe gods, but, if their own hiſtorians are to be credited, had as many and as extravagant ones as the Egyptians themſelves. Andate, the goddeſs of victory, was one of their principal deities [s]. They had alſo gods, to whom they attributed the ſame powers the Greeks and Romans did to their Apollo and Diana. But ſeeing the druids, who had the ſole management of religious affairs, never committed any of their myſteries to writing, it is no wonder we know nothing more concerning their worſhip and ceremonies, than what has already been taken notice of in the Introduction. Gildas, n. x.

Though it be difficult to know the preciſe time, yet all agree the goſpel was preached in Great Britain ſoon after our Saviour's death. But thoſe who place this event in the reign of Tiberius, don't conſider the firſt Gentile, Cornelius, was not converted till the year of our Lord 40, that is, three years after the death of that emperor. Baronius, upon the queſtionable authority of Simeon Metaphraſtes [t], which he himſelf juſtly rejects on ſeveral other occaſions, ſays, St. Peter firſt preached to the Britons. This opinion is the more improbable, becauſe it is certain St. Peter performed the office of an apoſtle chiefly in the eaſtern countries. Others affirm, that Simon Zelotes, one of the twelve apoſtles, undertook the converſion of the Britons. Nicephorus Calliſtus [u], Dorotheus in his Synopſis, and the Greek Kalendar [w], ſay, this apoſtle was crucified and buried in Britain. At the ſame time we find in the Roman Martyrology, and in thoſe of Bede, Adon, and Uſuard, that St. Simon ſuffered martyrdom in Perſia. The converſion of the Britons. Uſher. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit.

The moſt current opinion for ſome time was, that Joſeph of Arimathea firſt preached to the Britons. Though this tradition, ſupported by the ſole teſtimony of William of Malmſbury, a writer of the XIIth century, ſtands upon no better foundation than thoſe above-mentioned, it has however been deemed inconteſtable. Malmſbury, in proof of the antiquity of the church of Glaſton or Glaſſenbury, ſays, after Freculphus, that, upon the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the apoſtles were diſperſed throughout the whole world. St. Philip (continues the hiſtorian) at his coming among the Francs, ſent twelve of his diſciples, with Joſeph of Arimathea as their head, to propogate the goſpel in Great Britain, where they Whether the Britons were converted by Joſeph of Arimathea. Malm. de Antiqui. Glaſton. Eccleſ.

[s] She had a famous temple at Camelodunum. Tyr. p. 24.

[t] A writer of the Xth century, ſo called from the writing the lives of the ſaints. He was a layman.

[u] A Greek hiſtorian of the XIVth century. He wrote an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, of which there is only extant to the year 610.

[w] Or martyrology.

arrived

arrived in the year of our Lord 61. After ſome oppoſition from the inhabitants, a certain king gave them a little ſpot of ground, ſurrounded with fens and buſhes, to dwell in. Not long after, two other neighbouring kings having allowed them twelve hides of land for their ſubſiſtence, the angel Gabriel commanded them, from God, to build a church in a place now called Glaſton, but at that time Inſwitrin [x]. This church was finiſhed in the year 63, and, as the hiſtorian adds, was dedicated by our Saviour himſelf, as a mark of diſtinction, to the virgin Mary. In proof of this relation, in the firſt place, is produced a manuſcript chronicle in the abbey of Glaſſenbury, in which it appears that the king's name, who made the firſt preſent to Joſeph, was Arviragus. To this may be anſwered, that indeed Juvenal mentions a Britiſh king by that name in the reign of Domitian. But this is nothing to the purpoſe, unleſs it can be proved that Arviragus lived in the time of Nero, ſince it is ſuppoſed the land the church ſtood upon was given to Joſeph in the year 61. In the next place is alledged St. Patrick's charter, wherein it is ſaid, that Glaſton church was founded by twelve diſciples of St. James and St. Philip the apoſtles. But beſides ſeveral marks of forgery, there is no mention in this charter of Joſeph of Arimathea. In the third place is produced a charter of Ina, king of the Weſt-Saxons, who lived in the VIIIth century, which makes the church of Glaſton the moſt antient of all the Britiſh churches. But neither in this charter, whoſe authenticneſs is ſtill more queſtionable, is there any mention of Joſeph. To ſtrengthen all theſe proofs, a charter of Henry II. king of England, is produced, wherein king Henry aſſures us, that upon examination he found it well atteſted, that the church of Glaſſenbury is founded by the diſciples of the apoſtles, and conſecrated to the virgin Mary by Jeſus Chriſt himſelf. But this aſſertion of king Henry, being grounded only upon the foregoing proofs, is not to be regarded. Moreover it is certain, that the Francs were unknown at the time St. Philip is ſaid to come into their country. Beſides, Euſebius and ſeveral others affirm, that this apoſtle went and preached in Phrygia, and ſuffered martyrdom at Hierapolis. Then for the hyde-lands given to the diſciples of the apoſtles, the word Hyde alone is a ſufficient confutation of that ſtory, ſince it is a Saxon term; and every one knows the Saxons came not to Britain 'till the year 449. I think it needleſs to dwell any longer upon this ſubject. Whoever has a mind to ſee the reaſons more at large

See Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt.

x That is, in the Britiſh language, the town of Glais. Glaſton or Glais-town means the ſame in Engliſh. Rapin.

large againſt this tradition of Joſeph of Arimathea, will find them in Collier's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

Though the exact time of the converſion of the Britons be uncertain, it is very probable the goſpel was preached in the iſland not long after the death of Chriſt. Theodoret aſſures us, the Britons were converted by the apoſtles. Euſebius, ſpeaking of the dangers the apoſtles were expoſed to in propagating the goſpel in the moſt remote countries, mentions among the reſt the Britiſh iſles. Now the likelieſt time to be aſſigned for the converſion of the Britons, if it was in the apoſtles days, is that between the victory of Claudius and the defeat of Boadicea. For at the time of the general revolt, there were in the iſland above 80,000 Romans, among whom very probably were ſome chriſtians; the goſpel having now got footing in many places, particularly at Rome. Upon this ſuppoſition, there is no abſurdity in aſſerting with ſeveral modern authors, that St. Paul firſt preached the goſpel in Britain. It is certain this apoſtle, in the eight years between his firſt impriſonment at Rome, and his return to Jeruſalem, propagated the chriſtian religion in ſeveral places, eſpecially in the weſtern countries. He informs us of his deſign of going to Spain; and it is not unlikely but his deſire of converting the Britons might carry him to their iſland. This opinion may be ſupported by the teſtimony of Venutius Fortunatus, in his poem upon the life of St. Martin, where he ſpeaks of the travels of St. Paul [y]. But, after all, theſe are only conjectures, and of no other uſe but to make it more credible that the goſpel was plainted in Britain ſoon after the death of our Lord.

The Britons were converted ſoon after the death of Chriſt. Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit.

But ſuppoſing this opinion were proved beyond all diſpute, it may be preſumed the chriſtian faith had taken no deep root in the iſland; ſince, according to ſeveral authors, Lucius, a Britiſh king, ſent ambaſſadors to pope Eleutherius, to deſire him to ſend over ſome miſſionaries to inſtruct him in the chriſtian religion. Now is it likely that Lucius ſhould ſend ſo far for what he might have had in his own country, had there been at that time any churches, or even any conſiderable number of chriſtians in Britain? However this be, Lucius having ſome knowledge of the chriſtian religion, and deſiring to be more fully inſtructed, ſends Elwan and Medwin to Eleutherius the twelfth biſhop of Rome, to crave the wanted aſſiſtance. Eleutherius very joyfully embraces the opportunity of replanting chriſtianity in Great Britain, where probably it had been

The converſion of king Ducius. Bede, lib. i. c. 4.

y Tranſit & Oceanum, vel quâ facit Inſula Portum,
Quaſque Britannus habet terras, quaſque ultima Thule. Rapin.

rooted out by the violence of perſecutions. He immediately ſets about inſtructing Elwan and Medwin, the two ambaſſadors; and after baptizing and conſecrating them biſhops, ſends them back to their own country. By their means the goſpel flouriſhed again in Britain, where it afterwards ſpread far and wide. I omit the many things that are ſaid of this Lucius, particularly his building great numbers of churches in London, becauſe it is not likely the Romans would ſuffer it. Neither ſhall I ſay any thing of his travels, wherein he is ſaid to convert ſeveral nations, eſpecially the Griſons, in whoſe country he was martyred, there being no grounds for theſe things. It is poſſible, however, ſome chriſtian named Lucius might preach the goſpel to the Griſons, and ſuffer martyrdom at Coire.

From the converſion of Lucius to the Diocleſian perſecution, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Britain is entirely unknown. It is very probable, however, that during that interval of eight years, the chriſtian religion made great progreſs in the iſland, as appears from Tertullian, Origen, Bede, and Gildas, But what puts the thing out of all diſpute, is, the multitude of Britiſh martyrs that ſuffered during the dreadful perſecution under Diocleſian and Maximinian his collegue. Among theſe martyrs, St. Alban, converted at Verulam [z] by a prieſt whom he had harboured in his houſe, is reckoned the firſt. He was followed by a great many more, as hiſtory informs us. How well inclined ſoever Conſtantius Chlorus might be to favour the Chriſtians, he could not, whilſt governor of Britain, diſpenſe with edicts of the emperors, having then the title of Cæſar only, which gave him no power to oppoſe their laws. But as ſoon as he came to the empire, he put a ſtop to this violent perſecution, and gave the Chriſtians ſome reſpite. Conſtantine his ſon did yet more; for under him the chriſtian religion flouriſhed throughout the Roman empire, particularly in Great Britain, where ſome pretend he was born.

St. Alban the firſt Britiſh martyr. Gildas, n. 8. Bede, lib. i. c. 7.

Progreſs of the chriſtian religion in Britain. Spelman. Conc. vol. i.

After this happy change the Chriſtians multiplied exceedingly, and the iſland abounded with churches. Some affirm there were Britiſh biſhops at the council of Nice in 325. But though this cannot be ſufficiently proved, it is not at all unlikely, ſince twenty-two years after there were for certain three Britiſh biſhops at the council of Arles [a]; as there were alſo

Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Ec. lib. ii.

[z] Called afterwards from him St. Albans. Rapin.

[a] The council of Arles was in 314, about twelve years before the council of Nice. The three biſhops are ſuppoſed to be thoſe of London, York, and probably Caerleon. They had with them a prieſt and a deacon.

ſome

ſome at the council of Ariminum in 359, but ſo poor that their charges were borne by their brethren [m]. Their ſigning at this council the Confeſſion of Faith, wherein the term Conſubſtantial was omitted, gave occaſion to ſome to imagine that Arianiſm was ſpread in Britain. But a modern author has made it appear that the faith of the Britiſh church was the ſame in this reſpect both before and after this council, which had not the effect the heretics promiſed themſelves.

The Britiſh biſhops falſly charged with Arianiſm. Stillingfleet.

The Britiſh church was much more juſtly accuſed of Pelagianiſm. Certain it is, ſeveral biſhops were ſeduced, not by Pelagius himſelf, who, though a native of Britain, never returned to propagate his errors, but by Agricola one of his diſciples. The orthodox biſhops perceiving the infection to ſpread, ſent to deſire their brethren in Gaul to aſſiſt them in confuting this hereſy. The Gauliſh prelates, touched with the danger of the Britiſh church, met in council, and deputed Germanus biſhop of Auxerre, and Lupus biſhop of Troye, to go and aſſiſt their brethren in Britain. At Verulam, in a conference with the Pelagians, they defended the truth with ſuch ſtrength and evidence, that they turned many from their errors. But after their departure, the heretics gaining ground again, Germanus was deſired once more to come over. Though he was now very old, he undertook a ſecond voyage into Britain, in company with Severus biſhop of Troye. Germanus deſpairing to convince the heretics by arguments, becauſe of their obſtinacy, cauſed the edict of Valentinian III. that condemns all heretics to baniſhment, to be put in execution againſt them. Before he left Britain, he erected ſchools, which produced afterwards many biſhops famous for their learning and piety.

Pelagianiſm in Britain. Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit.

Bede, lib. i. cap. 14.

Id. cap. 21.

From this time to the arrival of the Saxons we know but little of the affairs of the Britiſh church. No doubt the frequent wars with the Picts and Scots, by deſtroying their churches, and, what is worſe, by introducing a corruption of manners among the clergy as well as laity, were very prejudicial to the Chriſtians. However, if we may believe Gildas and Bede, it was not ſo much the wars as the exceſſive plenty immediately after the famine, that corrupted the manners of the Britons. The people, ſay theſe hiſtorians, from a ſtate of extreme want, being on a ſudden ſurrounded with plenty,

Corruptions of the Britons the cauſe of their miſeries.

Gildas, n. 10. Bede, lib. i. cap. 14.

[m] Du Pin ſays, the biſhops of France and Britain choſe rather to bear their own expences than accept of the emperor's allowance, which they thought was beneath them. But it is more likely they accepted of the emperor's allowance, ſince they were but poorly endowed under the Roman emperors. And this perhaps may be the reaſon why we find ſo few of them at any of thoſe councils that were held beyond the ſeas.

abandoned themſelves to all manner of wickedneſs. The quiet they enjoyed by their peace with the northern nations, was ſpent only in ſinking deeper into exceſs and debauchery. The clergy out-doing even the laity, became exceeding vicious. Gluttony, drunkenneſs, avarice, luxury, reigning among the eccleſiaſtics, they no longer preached to their flocks the precepts of the Goſpel, which they themſelves ſo little regarded. To this general corruption, according to theſe two hiſtorians, are to be aſcribed the calamities which fell upon the Britiſh nation, and which are the ſubject of the following book.

To be placed before the 2d. Book.

BRITANNIA SAXONICA

A Scale of English Miles. 5 10 15 20

Monasteries
Antient Bishoprick
Castle
Fields of Battle
Country Seat
City or Town

Coldingham
Lindisfarne
Bamburg
Brinamburg
Malvoisin
Hexham
Tine R.
Wall of Severus
Carlyle
Hagulstad
Tinmouth
Finkley
Durham
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
WEST MORLAND
IRELAND
ISLE OF MAN
Whitby
Rippon
York
Driffield
Stamford bridge
Beverly
Holderness
Humber
Lindsey
Whaley
Winedsfiel
Kolketh
Manchester
Rumcefn
Thelwel
Hatfield
The Peak
ANGLESEY
Griffin caſtle
FLINT
DENBIGH
CARNARVAN
CHESHIRE
Edeſtury
Chester
LINCOLN
Gainſborough
Toreſey
SHIRE
Bardney
Bakewel
Lincoln
MERIONETH
KINGDOM OF
Darby
Nottingham
Suadſtre
Stafford
Burton
Repton
Secandune
Riall
Croyland
NOREOLK
Elmham
Norwich
Dirham
Yarmouth
Wiſbich
Elm
Stanford
Sprowsbury
Buttington
Montgomery
Pontesbury
Churbury
Bridgnorth
Litchfield
Tamworth
Weſt Chester
Hundcou
Wedsboron
KINGDOM OF
Thetford
CARDIGAN SHIRE
MERCIA
Coventry
Undal
Willesmere
Thorney
Ely
EAST ANGLES
Northampton
Huntingdon
Dunwich
S. Edmondsbury
SUFFOLK
Ipſwich
Wigmore
Warwick
Worceſter
Evesham
Pershore
WORCESTER SHIRE
S. Edelbert
Tocester
Bamtawy
Bedford
Cambridge
Hameſford
Sudbery
Stour R.
PEMBROKE SHIRE
CARMARTHEN
S. Davids
Brecknock mere
GLOCESTER SHIRE
Glocester
Hochenorton
Buckingham
Aſpington
Midleton
Coſne
Colchester
the Naze
Kintington
Woodſtock
Aulcſbury
Charſley
Aſton
Hatfield
KINGDOM OF ESSEX
Witham
Marſey
St. Oſyth
Maldon
Burford
Cirencester
Enſham
Oxford
Lame
St. Albans
Frethem
Creekdole
Dorchester
Mereton
Barklay
Beverton
Durham
Coſtham
Farrington
Abbington
Benſington
Walingford
WILTSHIRE
Bredon Forest
Eſſedun
Calne
Marlbarough
Windſor
Brentford
Bamfleet
St. Shobery
Bath
Bradford
Kennet
Bedwin
Wodenſbery
Inglefield
Reading
Baſingſtoke
Weſtmond
Selwud Forest
Whitchurch
Vazaleage
Thames R.
Thanet I.

IRELAND
ISLE OF MAN
CUMBER-
LAND
WEST
MORLAND
KINGDOM OF NORTH
Finkley
Durham
Whitby
Rippon
York
Driffield
Stanford bridge
Whaley
Winedsfiel
Beverly
Holderness
Kelketh
Manchester
Runcefa
Thelwel
Hatfield
Humber
Lindsey
ANGLESEY
Griffin caſtle
FLINT
CHESHIRE
Edeſtury
Chester
The Peak
LINCOLN
Gainſborough
Loreſey
SHIRE
Bardney
Bakewel
CARNARVAN
DENBIGH
MERIO
NETH
KINGDOM OF
Darby
Nottingham
Suadſtre
Stafford
Burton
Repton
NOREOLK
Elmham
Norwich
Dirham
Yarmouth
Secandune
Croyland
Riall
Stanford
Wisbich
Elm
Shrowsbury
Litchfield
Tamworth
Buttington
Montgomery
Pontesbury
Churbury
Bridgnorth
Wedsforon
West Chester
Hundcou
KINGDOM OF
Thetford
CAR
DIGAN
SHIRE
Coventry
Undal
Willesmere
Thorney
Ely
EAST ANGLES
Wigmore
MERCIA
Northamton
Huntingdon
Dunnich
Warwick
Everham
Worceſter
Pershore
Tocester
S. Vaed
Cambridge
Iamesford
S. Edmondsbury
SUFFOLK
Ipſwich
Sudbery
Bedford
Bambury
Hochenorton
Buckingham
Abington
Middleton
Coſne
Stour R.
the Naze
Colchester
KINGDOM
Witham
Marſey
St Osyth
Maldon
OF ESSEX
Kinington
Woodſtock
Charldſey
Aiſbury
Aſton
Hatfield
Enſham
Oxford
Lame
St Albans
Dorchester
Mereton
Burford
Cirencester
Frethem
Greekdole
Barklay
Earrington
Abington
Walingford
Benſington
Beverton
Bredon Forest
Eſsedun
Durham
Caline
Marlborough
Ceſtion
Cipenham
Kennet
Ingleſield
Redin
Fincham
Bamfleet
St Shobery
Brentford
Weſtminſter
London
Thames R.
Bedwin
Bath
Bradford
Wodenſberg
Baſingſtoke
Whitchurch
Vazaleage
Vocing
Beckenham
Rochester
Feverſham
Thanet I.
Wippeds fleet
Sandrich
Canterbury
Folkſton
Dover
Hyde
Romney
Pevenſey
Hastings
Chichester
Arundel
Portſmouth
Cimenſhore
Hingeſford
Caris brook
WIGHI ISLE
Portland Iſle
Exeter
Exmouth
Charmouth
Axminſter
Frome R.
Fromouth
Waſham
Corfe
Winburn
Christchurch
Badbury
Sherborne
Cherſton
Kirton
Somerton
Shafteſbury
Athelney
Taunton
Wachet
Portlok
Paret R.
Wedmor
Glaſtenbury
Pen
Selwod Foreſt
Edington
Anderids
Bruxton
Amberſbury
Gillingham
Drevet
Alton
Iſley
Andrad
Rumſey
Winchester
Southampton
Swanwick
Ruthmore
Lydford
Hengſton
Camlen fort
Kirton
Lands end
St Michaels mount
Lamer R.
St Valery
FRANCE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

From the arrival of the SAXONS *to the retreat of the* BRITONS *into* WALES. *Containing about the ſpace of a hundred and thirty years.*

IN a deſperate diſeaſe, a deſperate remedy is uſed without ſcruple, becauſe the benefit only is conſidered that may be received by it. The Britons, though frequent ſufferers, by the incurſions of the Saxons, fixed their thoughts ſolely on the valour of that nation, believing them alone capable of freeing them from their preſent calamities. Had there been a choice to make, perhaps they would have weighed the inconveniencies as well as conveniencies of calling in the Saxons to their aid: but as they had no other courſe to take, they never attended to what a juſt fear might have ſuggeſted to them. Beſides Vortigern ſtrove to divert them from the conſiderations that might have induced them to alter their reſolution, by carefully diſplaying the advantages that would be procured by the aſſiſtance of the Saxons. By feeding their hopes with his flattering ſpeeches, he prevented them from maturely reflecting

The Britons unadviſedly call in the Saxons to their aid.

The ambaſſadors are ſent away.

on the conſequences of their proceedings. Every man therefore being wholly intent upon freeing himſelf from the preſent evils, the ambaſſadors were ſent away in all haſte, and the negociation ſtrongly recommended to their care, on the ſucceſs whereof entirely depended, as they imagined, the ſafety of their country. The dominion of the Saxons reached then to the German Ocean, and their conqueſts had been carried even into Zealand. Upon the arrival of the Britiſh ambaſſadors, Witigiſil, general of the Saxons, having called an aſſembly to hear what they had to propoſe, the head of the ambaſſy made the following ſpeech:

Their ſpeech to the Saxons.

"Illuſtrious and generous Saxons, the Britons, harraſſed "and oppreſſed by the continual inroads of the Picts and "Scots, their neighbours and enemies, ſent us to you to im- "plore your aſſiſtance. The fame of your victories has reach- "ed our ears. We are ſenſible your arms are irreſiſtable, and "therefore are come to ſue for your protection. Britain for "many years made a conſiderable part of the Roman empire; "but our maſters having abandoned us, we know no nation "more powerful than yourſelves, or better able to protect us. "Grant but our requeſt, and in return we offer all that a "rich and fertile country, ſuch as ours is, can afford. Put "what price you pleaſe on our protection; we ſhall ſubmit "to what terms you yourſelves ſhall judge reaſonable, pro- "vided by your aid we are enabled to drive the enemy out of "our country [a]."

The Britons having thus declared the cauſe of their coming, the Saxon general returned this ſhort anſwer: "Be aſ- "ſured the Saxons will ſtand by you in your preſſing neceſ- "ſities." So favourable an anſwer inſpiring the ambaſſadors with hopes of ſucceſs in their negociation, they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring it to a ſpeedy concluſion. At laſt they had the ſatisfaction to obtain an aid of nine thouſand men, on certain terms, the principal whereof was, that the Saxons ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the iſle of Thanet, adjacent to Kent, where they were to land, and their troops paid and maintained by the Britons.

Nenn. Malm. lib. i. De Reg. Huntingd. lib. ii. Bede, lib. i. cap. 15.

The Saxons form the

Britain was not unknown to the Saxons. They had long before begun to render themſelves formidable to the eaſtern

[a] Witechind, a Saxon hiſtorian, puts theſe words in the mouth of the Britiſh ambaſſadors, and it cannot be denied that they are very natural, conſidering the deplorable condition of the Britons. Rapin. Witechind lived in the ninth century. The abſolute ſubjection in this ſpeech is thought to be more than the Britons promiſed, it not being mentioned by Bede or Ethelwerd, both Saxons. Their quarrelling with the Britons afterwards about their pay, as Gildas expreſly ſays, ſhews they came over as mercenary ſoldiers. See note below from Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 19.

coaſts

coasts of the island, where they had even made several descents. If they had not yet attempted any conquests there, it was because those they had undertaken on the continent were thought to be of more importance. It may be too, as they were hitherto ignorant of the weakness of the Britons, they were afraid of engaging in any great enterprize. However this be, the present ambassy, at such a juncture, was extremely proper to raise a desire to settle in their country. The Britons were themselves the discoverers of their weakness. On the other hand, the Saxons were now seated along the coasts of the German Ocean, from whence they might always have an eye to what passed in Britain. It is no wonder therefore, if without much deliberation, they promised their assistance to the Britons, since they intended to improve so fair an opportunity of settling in the island. Hengist and Horsa [b], both sons of Witigisil, were appointed to command the troops designed for the aid of the Britons.

project of settling in Britain. Geoff. Mon. Malm.

Hengist and Horsa command the Saxon troops.

Hengist was about thirty years old. He first bore arms under his father Witigisil; after which, for his improvement in the art of war, he went and served in the Roman armies, where the emperors generally kept some Saxon troops in their pay. This young warrior was endowed with all the necessary qualifications for accomplishing the undertaking committed to his management. His valour and experience, the solidity of his judgment, his address, his easy and engaging behaviour, warranted in some measure his success. All these excellent qualities determined the Saxon general to procure for his son so fair an occasion to display his talents. As for his brother Horsa, nothing particular is said of him.

Hengist's character. Versteg.

The Saxons, notwithstanding their promise, did not think proper to send over at once so considerable a body of forces as nine thousand men, into a country but imperfectly known to them. Wherefore, pretending the rest were not ready by reason of their great distance from the place of imbarkation, they caused only a part to be put on board three vessels [c]. The very name of these vessels plainly enough demonstrates they could hold but a very inconsiderable number [d]. The historians

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c Geoffrey of Monmouth says, these three ships, full of armed men, happened to come to Kent by chance, and tha tthe generals Hengist and Horsa being brought before Vortigern, he retained them and their troops in his service, lib. vi. cap. 10.

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hiſtorians have not expreſly marked the place of this firſt imbarkation. It may very probably be conjectured to have been in Zealand, as that country was then in the poſſeſſion of the Saxons. Beſides it would have been difficult to chuſe a more convenient place, or one nearer the iſle of Thanet, where theſe forces were to land.

Evndius, Chron. Zel.

Vortigern, having his own, much more than the nation's intereſt at heart, was highly delighted with the ſucceſs of his ambaſſy. He was not ignorant how his ſubjects ſtood affected towards him. And this no leſs than the deſire of repulſing the common enemy had moved him to ſue for the aſſiſtance of the Saxons, flattering himſelf that he ſhould eaſily engage theſe foreigners to grant him a particular protection. With this view and expectation he goes to the ſea-ſide, and waits their coming, to prepoſſeſs them in his favour, by his civility and reſpect.

449. The Saxons arrive in Britain. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 309.

Mean while Hengiſt and Horſa ſetting ſail, arrive at Ebbesfleet in the iſle of Thanet. Theſe firſt Saxon troops are ſaid by moſt hiſtorians to land in the year 449, though by ſome this event is placed a few years ſooner or later. Vortigern receives his new friends with extraordinary careſſes, putting them immediately in poſſeſſion of the iſle according to agreement. When they had refreſhed themſelves a little, he led them againſt the Picts and Scots that were advanced as far as Stamford in Lincolnſhire. In the firſt battle, the iſlanders, according to cuſtom, began with throwing their darts, which made but little impreſſion on warlike troops that deſpiſed that way of fighting. The Saxons having ſtood this firſt charge without the leaſt motion, advanced in good order, and coming to cloſe fight, quickly routed enemies already terrified by their very looks. The northern men frighted at the ſight of theſe foreigners, and forced to engage in a different manner from what they were uſed to, made but a faint reſiſtance, and ſoon left their new enemies in poſſeſſion of the field of battle. Their future attempts had no better ſucceſs, and in all their encounters with the Saxons, they were continually worſted. Being quite diſcouraged by theſe frequent defeats, they abandon their conqueſts by degrees, and retire into their own country, dreading nothing ſo much as engaging with the Saxons.

First battle between the Saxons and northern people.

Malm. lib. 1.

Vortigern was overjoyed to ſee his projects ſucceed thus far ſo happily. But his main point, the winning the Saxons to

Vortigern gives Hengiſt ſome lands near Lincoln.

in Latin, Ciulæ: in Daniſh, Iols: in Engliſh, Keels. Rapin. It is ſaid in Camden, p. cxxii. that Kiulæ was a general name for their ſhips.—Ciulis, noſtra lingua, longis navibus—Gild. p. 7. Malm. p. 8. Bede, lib. i. cap. 15. It muſt be noted, that ce, ci, in Saxon, is pronounced like ke, ki.

his

his particular intereſt, was yet unexecuted. To that end, he preſents the two Saxon brothers with ſome lands in Lincolnſhire, where they gave the enemies the firſt repulſe [e]. But if Vortigern was purſuing his ends, Hengiſt was no leſs mindful of his own intereſt. The moment he perceives the weakneſs of the Britons, he entertains hopes of procuring a ſettlement in Britain, and begins to lay his meaſures accordingly. But he muſt proceed by degrees, and find means to execute his deſign, without diſcovering his intentions. The lands given him by Vortigern, furniſh him with an opportunity to cauſe the Britons to fall into the ſnare he intends to lay for them. He repreſents to the king, that the ſervice he was doing the Britons in the north, keeping him at a diſtance from the iſle of Thanet, he had no place to ſecure the booty taken from the enemies, and therefore had reaſon to fear that whilſt he was employed in the northern wars, he might be deprived of the fruits of his labours. For this cauſe, he deſires leave to build a little fort ſomewhere on the lands lately given him. Vortigern, who ſought all occaſions to pleaſe him, readily complies with his requeſt. If moſt of the hiſtorians may be credited, he only deſired to wall in as much land as an ox-hide could ſurround, which being granted, he cut the hide into ſmall thongs, and encloſing with them a ſpace large enough for his purpoſe, haſtily ran up a fort, before the Britons had time to oppoſe it. This circumſtance ſeems to be confirmed by the name of the fort itſelf, Thong-caſter [f], that is, the caſtle of Thongs [g]. It may indeed be objected, that the name of this caſtle gave occaſion to apply it to the ſtory Juſtin relates of Dido when going to build Carthage. But on the other hand, Hengiſt whilſt he ſerved in the Roman armies, might, very poſſibly, be informed of this artifice of Dido's, and practiſe it in Britain.

Nenn. G. Monm. lib. iii. cap. 2. Langh. Chron. Reg.

Hengiſt builds Thong-caſter.

Juſt. lib. xviii.

The Britons begin to murmur againſt their king, and ſuſpect him of ſecretly favouring the Saxons. Theſe murmurs gave Hengiſt opportunity, who had now dived into Vortigern's private intentions, to make an advantage of that prince's cir-

The Britons complain of Vortigern.

e Some ſay theſe lands were in Kent. But Geoffrey of Monmouth affirms, they were in Londeſia Regione, or rather Lindeſia in Lindſey. Lindum is Latin for Lincoln, Geoff. Mon. lib. vi. cap. 11. Rapin by miſtake quotes Nennius.

f Accepitque ſolum facti de nomine Thongum
Taurino quantum poterat circundare tergo.
Epit. of the Hiſt. of Eng. in Latin verſe. Rapin.

g Caſtor, (in Saxon Thuang-caſter, in Welſh Caer-Egarry, both ſignifying the ſame thing) lies about ſix miles from Grimſby in Lincolnſhire.

Hengiſt offers him aſſiſtance. Nenn. c. 37.

cumſtances. He repreſents to him, "That the Britons are "grown ſo inſolent ſince their deliverance from their enemies, "that they only wait an opportunity to rob him of his crown, "and give it to another. That this intimation, coming from "good hands, ought to make him ſenſible that the rebellion "of his ſubjects is no leſs to be feared, than the invaſion of "the Picts and Scots; and therefore adviſes him to ſecure "himſelf from the approaching ſtorm, by ſending for more "Saxons, and ſtrengthening himſelf with their aid againſt the "ill practices of his ſubjects. The reſt of the Saxons, (con-"tinues he) deſigned for the aſſiſtance of Britain, are all "ready, and only wait your orders." Vortigern gladly em-

Vortigern accepts it.

braces this advice, which ſuits ſo well with his projects. In-

Hengiſt inſtills a deſire into the Saxons to ſettle in Britain. Malm. lib. i.

ſtead of raiſing objections, he himſelf preſſes the Saxon general to execute a deſign which to him ſeems ſo advantageous. Hengiſt having thus obtained Vortigern's conſent, deſires his father Witigiſil to ſend over the reſt of the forces out of hand. He acquaints him with the fruitfulneſs of the country, and effeminacy of the inhabitants, aſſuring him, if the Saxons wiſely improved this opportunity, they might hope for a ſettlement in Britain, no leſs advantageous and glorious than what they enjoyed in Germany. Witigiſil, who had great expectations from his ſon's expedition, ſends the deſired ſup-

Arrival of a freſh body of Saxons with Eſcus and Rowena.

plies without delay. He equips ſixteen large veſſels to tranſ-

450. Malm. lib. i. cap. 1.

port the forces, and with them ſends Eſcus and Rowena, eldeſt ſon and niece[h] of Hengiſt. This ſecond body of Saxons arrived in Britain in 450, about a year after the firſt.

Vortigern and Hengiſt behave haughtily to the Britons. Fl. Wigorn.

As ſoon as the Britiſh monarch and the Saxon general ſaw themſelves thus ſtrengthened, they behaved in a very different manner to the Britons from what they had done before. Vortigern grown more powerful, renders himſelf more abſolute. He treats his ſubjects with great haughtineſs, and thereby more ſtrongly confirms their ſuſpicions of him. He even makes no ſcruple to aſſign habitations for the new-comers, without ever adviſing with his ſubjects. From that time a ſtrict union is formed between Vortigern and Hengiſt. They had need of each other for their mutual defence againſt the Britons who publickly expreſſed their diſcontent.

Hengiſt lays a ſnare for Vortigern. Malm. b.

Mean while, Hengiſt forgot nothing that could promote his deſigns. Above all, he ſtudies to know the humour and character of Vortigern, and eaſily perceives Love and Pleaſure

h Uſſerius, it ſeems, is the only one who affirms ſhe was Hengiſt's Niece. See Spe d. p. 283. But Malmſbury, p. 9. Matt. Weſtm. p. 156. Hunting. p. 310. Geoff. Mon. lib. vi. cap. 12. all agree in ſaying ſhe was Hengiſt's daughter.

to

to be his predominant paſſion. Accordingly he lays a ſnare, which he thinks, the monarch can hardly eſcape falling into. Having expreſſed, on ſeveral occaſions, his acknowledgments for the many favours received at his hands, he intreats him to honour him with his company at Thong-caſter, where he earneſtly deſires to entertain him, and ſhew him ſome marks of his reſpect and gratitude. Vortigern readily accepts of this invitation, conſidering it as a freſh means to ſtrengthen the friendſhip contracted with the heads of the Saxons, and which is ſo expedient for him. Hengiſt receives him with all the reſpect due to a great king, his friend and benefactor. A ſplendid and exquiſite banquet is prepared for him, but nothing pleaſes the royal gueſt ſo much as the young Rowena, the greateſt beauty of her time. Hengiſt her uncle, under colour of doing honour to Vortigern, but in reality that he might, during the feaſt, feed his eyes with ſo lovely an object, ordered her to place herſelf juſt before the king. The contrivance ſucceeded as Hengiſt expected. Vortigern keeps his eyes continually fixed on Rowena, who by her looks gives him to underſtand, ſhe is not inſenſible of the honour he does her. Hengiſt perceiving with joy the ſudden effect of Rowena's charms on the king, is unwilling to give his growing paſſion time to cool. He makes a ſign to his niece, who immediately going to the ſideboard, fills a gold cup with wine, and preſents it on her knees to the king, ſaying in her language, "Liever Kyning, waſs heil," that is, "Lord King, your "health." Vortigern agreeably ſurpriſed, turns to his interpreter, and aſks what ſhe ſaid, and how he muſt anſwer her after the Saxon manner. Being informed, he looks very amorouſly on Rowena, and anſwers in Saxon, "Drinck Heil," that is, "Do you yourſelf drink the health." Whereupon, Rowena juſt putting the cup to her lips, preſents it to the king, who taking it, riſes up immediately and gives her a ſalute. Rowena receives it in a very reſpectful manner, as ſenſible of the great honour done her, and making a profound reverence, withdraws, leaving the monarch full of love and deſire. This may be called a very fatal moment for Britain, as will be ſeen hereafter. So true it is, the greateſt events ſpring ſometimes from things that appear at firſt of very little conſequence.

He invites him to Thong-caſter.

Vortigern agrees to it,

and falls in love with Rowena.

Geoff. Mon. lib. vi. cap. 12.

From that time Vortigern's thoughts are wholly employed how to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Rowena. Though he has a wife, his paſſion cauſing him to overlook all obſtacles, he demands her in marriage. But Hengiſt, willing by difficulties to inflame the king's deſires, anſwers, he cannot contrary to

He demands her in marriage.

Hengiſt ſtarts difficulties.

to the cuſtom of the Saxons, give his niece to a prince already married, adding Rowena was not entirely in his diſpoſal; and the princes of his nation, and particularly his father, would not perhaps ever conſent ſhe ſhould be married to a Chriſtian prince, how honourable ſoever the alliance might be. But the amorous Vortigern, who burns with exceſſive deſire to enjoy Rowena, finds expedients to overcome all theſe difficulties. He begins with divorcing his wife, by whom he had ſeveral children. Then he promiſes Rowena the free exerciſe of her religion, and to ſtop the mouths of the Saxon princes, whoſe reproaches Hengiſt ſeems to fear, deviſes an expedient, (or perhaps it is ſuggeſted to him) by which, as he imagines he may reconcile love and policy. And this was to inveſt Hengiſt and Horſa with the ſovereignty of Kent, and give them leave to people it with Saxons. The moment he came to this reſolution, all obſtacles began to vaniſh, and the politick Saxon, who had ſeemed backward only to make the better bargain, thought it time to give his conſent. He delivers therefore his niece to the amorous monarch, and takes poſſeſſion of Kent, magnifying this proof of his reſpect and gratitude, as if the king were highly obliged to him. Vortigern was ſo blinded by his paſſion, that he thought himſelf a great gainer by the exchange [i]. This agreement was made ſo privately, that Gorongus [k], prince or governor of Kent, was diſpoſſeſſed before he could take any meaſures to oppoſe it. So impatient was Vortigern to conclude this fatal bargain! In vain did the Britons murmur againſt this marriage, and complain of the king's bounty. Hengiſt, regardleſs of their murmurs, ſtrenghtened himſelf as much as poſſible in his new ſovereignty, conſidering withal of freſh means to aggrandize himſelf. But before he diſcovered his intention, he wanted to be out of danger from the Britons, who plainly ſhewed how they ſtood affected towards him. Ever ſince it was known he intended to ſettle in the iſland they could no longer rely on him, or rather looked upon him as a profeſſed enemy.

Vortigern finds means to remove them all.

He promiſes Hengiſt the province of Kent.

Whereupon the marriage is concluded, and Hengiſt takes poſſeſſion. Nenn. Geoff. Mon. lib. iii. cap. 1.

The Britons murmur againſt Vortigern.

Hengiſt forms new projects. G. Mon. lib. iv. Malmsb.

Whilſt the Britons were venting their fruitleſs complaints againſt their monarch and the Saxons, Hengiſt was ſeriouſly thinking of his concerns. Though he had a good body of troops under his command, that was not ſufficient to enable him to execute his vaſt projects. He thought it properer therefore to conceal them till he was in condition to declare his in-

i This ſtory of Rowena is the leſs authentick, for not being mentioned by Bede or Gildas, and related by Malmsbury as a report only.

k Camden takes Gorongus to be the name of an office or employment. See Langhorn, Chron. Reg. Ang. Rapin.

tions.

tions. The ſituation Vortigern was in, made him hope it was not impoſſible to make that prince ſubſervient to his deſigns, whilſt he ſhould imagine he was labouring only for himſelf. To that end, he pretended to be more attached than ever to his perſon and intereſt, and endeavoured by ſundry means to perſuade him, he was entirely devoted to his ſervice. His aim was to induce him gradually by theſe marks of affection, to be wholly guided by his counſels. When he thought he had ſufficiently gained his confidence, he repreſented to him, "That his ſubjects were diſpleaſed with him, and in all appearance waited only for a favourable opportunity to execute the ill deſigns they had formed: That an opportunity would infallibly offer when the Saxon troops ſhould be employed in the northern wars; and then being deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of his friends he would be in danger of being expoſed to the inſults of thoſe that hated him: That he thought himſelf obliged to acquaint him, his ſubjects held intelligence with Ambroſius Aurelianus, who was at the court of Aldroen king of Armorica, and probably had conſpired to ſet that prince on the Throne." There was ſome ground for Hengiſt's thus artfully hinting the danger Vortigern was in from Ambroſius. That prince was of Roman extraction, and according to the general opinion, ſon of one of the monarchs elected by the Britons after the departure of the Romans [1]. As he was very young when his father died, his youth ſcreened him from the jealouſy of thoſe that aſcended the throne immediately, or ſhortly after. But it was otherwiſe when Vortigern came to the crown. A ſtrong party being formed in favour of Ambroſius, the new monarch was ſo filled with ſuſpicions, that he ſought means to deſtroy the young prince. The danger Ambroſius was expoſed to obliging him to quit Britain, he retired to Aldroen his relation, where he was waiting for a favourable opportunity to come and head his party. This being the caſe between Vortigern and Ambroſius, what the Saxon prince ſaid, could not but make deep impreſſion on his mind.

Ambroſius, who he was. Stillingfleet. Orig. p. 319. Gilda, p. 9.

By theſe continual marks of a ſeemingly diſintereſted friendſhip, Hengiſt led the Britiſh monarch by degrees to ſeek, of his own accord, the means he deſigned to furniſh him with, namely, the ſending for a greater number of Saxon troops. His aim was to put himſelf in condition to have nothing to fear from the Britons, and withal to be independent of the king; which he could not attain to but by the means he intended.

1 He is ſaid by ſeveral to be ſon of Conſtantine, beheaded by Honorius. Rapin.

tended. Vortigern, despairing ever to regain the affection of his subjects, and considering Ambrosius, though absent, as a very dangerous rival, saw his whole refuge lay in the Saxon prince, whom he deemed his best friend, and accordingly to him it was he applied for advice and assistance. Hengist tells him, "All the Saxons in Britain are at his devotion, but "their number is too inconsiderable to protect him." Adding, "The Britons, in all likelihood, will not fail to shew their "discontent, whilst the Saxons are in the north, and there- "fore he sees but one way to secure the king from their "plots, which is, to send for more Saxons to be commanded "by trusty leaders, who will implicitly follow his orders." This advice being agreeable to Vortigern's intentions, he immediately closes with it. Hengist promises to send the new troops into the north, against the Picts and Scots, whilst he stays himself in Kent to have an eye upon the male-contents. This precaution seemed very proper to prevent the insurrection of the Britons, who by that means would be hemmed in by the Saxon forces.

Brit. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 1.

452. Octa and Ebusa come and settle in the north with Saxon troops. Nenn. Geoff. Mon. Cam.

Hengist having obtained the king's consent, sent for a fleet of forty ships, conducted by Octa his brother, who brought with him his son Ebusa, and a great number of Saxon troops. These new-comers begin with ravaging the Orcades, then making a descent on the coasts of the Picts, oblige the inhabitants to retire northwards. As soon as the Picts had thus deserted part of their country, the Saxons seated themselves there so strongly, that it was not possible to dispossess them. At first they settled on the north side of the Tyne towards the east. Afterwards they advanced towards the south, and drove the Britons beyond the Humber; but this was done by degrees. This third body of Saxons arrived in 452, three years after the first. With these fresh supplies, Hengist found himself strong enough to be in no great fear of any attempt from the Britons: Nay, he began to shew less respect for Vortigern, and under colour of wanting frequent recruits to keep up the number of his forces, sent for continual supplies from Germany without asking his leave. At length he throws away the mask, and making bitter complaints that the Saxons were not duly paid according to agreement, boldly demands the arrears, threatening, without prompt and full payment, to do himself justice.

Gild. Bede. lib. I. cap. 15

453. Vortimer encourages the Britons to drive out the Saxons.

The Britons, surprised at these menaces, and greatly mortified to see Hengist in a condition to do as he proudly threatened, began to rouse themselves, and think of means to free themselves from these foreigners. Vortimer, eldest son of Vortigern,

Vortigern, had beheld with extreme regret, how the Saxons, by his father's fault, ſtrengthened themſelves daily, and had very much dreaded the conſequences thereof. As ſoon as he ſaw the Britons in emotion, he improved the opportunity, and repreſented to the leading men, that it was time to apply an effectual remedy to the evils they lay under. He told them, his father's cowardice, or perhaps treachery, had been the occaſion of the Saxons becoming ſo powerful; that it was neceſſary therefore to prevent Vortigern from heaping any more favours on theſe foreigners, to the prejudice of the Britiſh nation, which was in danger of being over-run, if meaſures were not taken to put a ſtop to their growing power. The Britons, convinced by theſe reaſons, awaked at laſt out of their lethargy, and by Vortimer's inſtigations, the moſt powerful of them, having entered into a private confederacy, of which Vortigern had not the leaſt notice, ſuddenly compelled him to make his ſon partner with him in the government, and to leave the adminiſtration of affairs to his care. The plot was ſo well laid that in an inſtant Vortigern ſaw himſelf without either fortreſs, or troops, or credit, and conſtrained to do whatever was deſired, he not having time to call the Saxons to his aid. As he had not miſtruſted his own ſon, he had taken no care to guard againſt him. Thus Vortimer was inveſted with the whole royal authority, leaving his father only the empty title of king without any power [m].

Malm. lib. i.

454. Vortigern is compelled to aſſociate his ſon.

The new monarch found no great difficulty to perſuade the Britons, that nothing but force could drive the Saxons out of their country. It was but too plain, from their proceedings, that they did not deſign to go away voluntarily. The war therefore being reſolved, the Britons made preparations to rid themſelves of their gueſts, whom they looked upon as their mortal enemies. Hengiſt, for his part, finding he was like to have a fierce war upon his hands, made haſte and concluded a peace with the Picts, who were proud of having for allies men ſo formidable for their arms. This precaution enabled him to make a powerful diverſion in the north by the help of the Picts, aſſiſted by the Saxons lately ſettled in thoſe parts. As for Kent, Hengiſt looked upon himſelf to be ſtrong enough there to make head againſt Vortimer, who was preparing to attack him.

The war againſt the Saxons reſolved upon.

I am now going to enter upon the recital of a war, which, after numberleſs engagements, render the Saxons maſters of Britain. An event, ſo remote from the expectations of the

m All hiſtorians agree not in this point. Some will have it that he voluntarily made his ſon partner with him. Rapin.

Britons

Britons when they ſent for the Saxons to aſſiſt them, affords matter of wonder and admiration at the ſhort-ſightedneſs of men, and the uncertainty of their counſels! But before I relate the iſſue of this war, it will be proper to acquaint the reader, that he is not to expect a full and particular account of matters. Hiſtorians have been contentented with relating ſome certain facts, which juſt ſerve to carry on the thread of the hiſtory, but hardly give us a general idea of that revolution which peopled Britain with new inhabitants, and introduced a new face of things over the whole iſland.

455. The battle of Egleſford. Aſſer. Gab. Athelwendus. Flor. Wigorn. Sax. Ann. Ranulph. Ceſt. Polychron. G. Malmsb. lib. i. c. 1.

The Britons and Saxons being prepared for war, were not long before they came to an engagement. In the firſt campaign, the two armies met at Egleſford [n] in Kent, the Saxons being commanded by Hengiſt and Horſa, and the Britons by Vortimer. The firſt battle, according to the hiſtorians, was very bloody. Hengiſt loſt Horſa [o], his brother, and with his own hand ſlew Catigern [p], youngeſt brother of Vortimer. If we may believe the Britiſh hiſtorians, Vortimer not only obtained a compleat victory over the Saxons, but driving Hengiſt as far as the iſle of Thanet, compelled him to embark and fly into Germay. But by what followed after this battle, it is evident, if the Saxons were not victorious, at leaſt they were not vanquiſhed [q], ſince all their hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm, that this very year 455, immediately after the battle, Hengiſt firſt took upon him the title of king of Kent, which doubtleſs he would not have done, had he been defeated and obliged to fly into Germany.

Hengiſt takes the title of king of Kent. Bede. Sax. Ann.

It muſt not be thought ſtrange to find ſo great contrariety among the hiſtorians concerning events ſo remote from our time; when even the authors that write of what has paſſed in our days, very rarely agree in facts which by their late date, might eaſily be known.

457. The battle of Crecanford. Gildas. Bede, lib. i. Huntingd. lib. ii. Sax. Ann.

Two years after, another battle was fought near Crecanford [r] in Kent, wherein Vortimer was entirely defeated, with the loſs of more than 4000 men and his beſt officers. Not being able to keep the field, he was forced to ſhut himſelf up in London, till he could draw another army together. Mean while Hengiſt, to ſtrike the greater terror into the Britons, ravaged the country in a mercileſs manner. They that were moſt expoſed to the fury of the Saxons quitted their houſes,

n Now Aylesford.

o He was buried at Horſted, ſo called from him.

p He was buried near Aylesford, where four great ſtones ſtand an end, with others a-croſs them, like Stonehenge. Camden.

q R. Higden expreſly ſays, that Hengiſt got the victory, p. 223.

r Now Cray ford, from the river Crecan now Creece, See Camden. Rapin.

and

and fled to she woods for refuge. Some abandoned their country, and retired into Armorica, where they were civilly received by king Aldroen. During theſe deveſtations, the very churches were not ſpared, but all that were in the neighbourhood of the Saxons, were reduced to aſhes. Theſe barbarous pagans, joining to their natural fierceneſs a religious zeal, thought they honoured their gods, by inhumanly treating the chriſtians, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtics, who were moſt cruelly dealt with.

The Britons being reduced to this extremity, their chiefs aſſembled themſelves to conſider of means to prevent their total ruin. Guithelin, archbiſhop of London, and head of Ambroſius's party, adviſed them to apply to the king of Armorica for aſſiſtance. He repreſented to them, "That as Aldroen "had always ſhewn great civilities to the Britons, there was "room to hope he would not abandon them in this their "preſſing neceſſity." Adding "that ſince Vortigern and "Vortimer were no longer to be depended upon. he thought "it neceſſary to invite over Ambroſius Aurelianus, who be-"ing ſprung from illuſtrious anceſtors, and having all the "qualifications to be deſired in a general, would, in all pro-"bability, by his valour and conduct, free them from their "preſent danger." As they had always hated Vortigern, and, ſince his laſt defeat, were diſſatisfied with Vortimer, the common, though unjuſt fate of vanquiſhed generals, they readily embraced the archbiſhop's advice, and deſired him to go himſelf and negotiate the affair; which he gladly undertook, as enabling him to accompliſh a deſign he had long been forming. He ſets out immediately for Armorica, and laying before Aldroen the deplorable condition of the Britons, obtained with eaſe the aid he demanded. Aldroen, who had ſo generouſly received all the fugitive Britons, was willing to give the nation a farther proof of his friendſhip by granting them an aid of ten thouſand men. He placed Ambroſius at their head, who conducted them ſafely to Totneſs. This general was received with great demonſtrations of joy, being looked upon as the only ſupport of the ſinking Britons. But this joy was not univerſal: Vortimer's party, ſtill powerful, conſidered Ambroſius as one come to uſurp the crown, under colour of defending it. And Vortimer himſelf threatened to puniſh ſeverely thoſe that ſhould join him. Thus the miſerable Britons, always a prey to their inteſtine diviſions, inſtead of uniting againſt the common enemy, prepared to deſtroy one another.

The Britons deſire the aſſiſtance of the king of Armorica, by the advice of the biſhop of London. G. Monm. M. Weſtm. Huntingd.

458. Ambroſius lands with 10,000men. G. Monm.

Mean while, Ambroſius and Guthelin perceiving the conjuncture to be favourable, conſpired the ruin of Vortigern and Vor-

Ambroſius and Guthelin conſpire the ruin of

the two Britiſh kings.

Vortimer. They began with repreſenting to their party, "that vain were the hopes of driving out the Saxons, under "the conduct of theſe two kings, the ſon being a prince without courage or experience, and the father an enemy to the "nation, as appeared by his ſtrict union with the enemies "of the ſtate; not to mention his exceſſive liberalities, which "obliged his ſubjects to take the adminiſtration out of his "hands. That in vain therefore were their preparations to "drive out the foreigners, if theſe two domeſtick enemies "were not firſt deſtroyed, who were in arms only to favour "and aſſiſt them." On the other hand, Vortigern and Vortimer told their friends, "that Ambroſius, under pretence of

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"aſſiſting, was come to ſubdue them: that the archbiſhop was "an ambitious man, who ſought to put the crown on the "head of Ambroſius, only to get the adminiſtration of the "government into his own hands, than which, ſuch was his "arrogance, nothing ſhould be more dreaded by the Britons: "that they muſt willfully ſhut their eyes not to ſee, that the "deſigns of theſe two heads of their party, were directly oppoſite to the good of the kingdom: that inſtead of marching their freſh troops againſt the Saxons, they had done "nothing ſince their arrival, but caballed with the people, and "taken meaſures to oppreſs thoſe that were in arms for the "defence of their country."

Civil war among the Britons.

The mutual animoſity of the two parties was ſo violent that they ſoon came to blows, each preferring his private to the public intereſt. The firſt battle was fought near Catgwaloph [s] in Carmarthenſhire. As it is difficult from the confuſed accounts of hiſtorians, to know on which ſide victory inclined in this and ſeveral other engagements, I ſhall only obſerve that the civil wars laſted till the year 465, to the great weakening of the Britons, whilſt the Saxons had time to ſtrengthen themſelves both in Kent and beyond the Humber. To ſo wretched a ſtate were the Britons at laſt reduced, that numbers of them, harraſſed one while by the civil war, another while by the Saxons, abandoned their native country, where they could no longer ſubſiſt.

458. Battle of Catgwaloph Bede, lib. i. cap. 22. Hunting. lib. ii.

A band of Britons flee into Holland Joh. Leyden

A Dutch writer informs us, that ſome of thoſe unfortunate wretches going on board of a galley, and rowing towards the mouth of the Rhine, landed at Catwick near Leyden, where they ſettled by the ſea-ſide in an old Roman camp, to which they gave they name of Brittenburg.

s Perhaps the town now called Kydwelly; Lat. Catguilia. Lambard's Dict. Topogr.

Thus

Thus Britain, for ſeven or eight years, ſuffered all the calamities of a civil war. At length the wiſeſt of both parties conſidering their diſſenſion would be the cauſe of their common ruin, made up the breach by parting the kingdom between the contending princes. The two Britiſh kings had the eaſtern, and Ambroſius the weſtern part, divided from one another by the Roman high-way, called afterwards Watling-ſtreet [t]. From hence may be dated the beginning of the reign of Ambroſius.

465. The end of the civil war. Nennius.

The Saxons, upon the union of the two parties, joined their forces alſo. In the firſt engagement, Hengiſt loſt Wipped, one of his principal officers, from whom the field of battle was called Wipped's-fleet [u]. Here the Britiſh and Saxon hiſtorians, according to cuſtom, give us contradictory accounts. The laſt ſay, their countrymen obtained that day a ſignal victory. Whereas the others affirm, that Vortimer, who commanded the army, routed the Saxons, and compelled Hengiſt a ſecond time to fly into Germany. But it appears by what followed, that the advantage was on the ſide of the Saxons. I will even venture to ſay, contrary to the opinion of ſome noted hiſtorians, that in all likelihood Hengiſt never returned to Germany. Not ſo much as one author marks either the time or place of his ſecond landing, though they were no leſs neceſſary to be obſerved than thoſe of his firſt.

466. The war again ſt the Saxons begins again. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Battle of Wipped's-Fleet. Nennius. G. Monm. Sax. Ann.

In this war it was, that the famous Arthur, at fourteen years of age, made his firſt appearance in the Britiſh armies, under Ambroſius. His inclination for war made him take upon him betimes the profeſſion of a ſoldier, which he never quitted during his life. He ſucceeded Gorlous his father in the kingdom of Danmonium [w] in 467. He was no ſooner on the throne, but he had a war to maintain againſt Howel king of Areclute [x], in the neighbourhood of Scotland. This prince is ſaid, out of envy to the glory Arthur had acquired, to enter

Arthur firſt appears. Langh. Chron. Reg. Ang.

t Ths Romans, for the more convenient going from colony to colony, had their publick highways called Viæ Conſulares, Prætoriæ, Regiæ, &c. but by Bede and the moderns Stratæ, or Streets. (Hence the many Strettons, i. e. Towns on thoſe Streets). There were four in England, Watling-ſtreet. Ikenild-ſtreet, Ermin-ſtreet, and Foſs-way. Two of theſe ways are extended croſs the breadth of the kingdom, the other two through the length of it. The tracts of theſe four ways, are, and have been, for many ages, very obſcure; and it is not yet ſufficiently cleared, where any of them diſtinctly went. Brady, p. 45. Hiſt. Eng,

u Wippedi fluentum See Gloſſar. Saxon In all probability Ipſwich in Suffolk. See Langhorn. Camden thinks it was in the iſle of Thanet, but that could not be. Rapin.

w Cornwall and Devon. There were ſeveral petty kings dependant on the chief monarch. Rapin.

x Or Alcluid. This kingdom contained part of Cumberland and Lenox. Dunbritton was afterwards the name of the capital. Camd. p. 918.

the two British kings.

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Thus Britain, for ſeven or eight years, ſuffered all the calamities of a civil war. At length the wiſeſt of both parties conſidering their diſſenſion would be the cauſe of their common ruin, made up the breach by parting the kingdom between the contending princes. The two Britiſh kings had the eaſtern, and Ambroſius the weſtern part, divided from one another by the Roman high-way, called afterwards Watling-ſtreet [t]. From hence may be dated the beginning of the reign of Ambroſius.

465. The end of the civil war. Nennius.

The Saxons, upon the union of the two parties, joined their forces alſo. In the firſt engagement, Hengiſt loſt Wipped, one of his principal officers, from whom the field of battle was called Wipped's-fleet [u]. Here the Britiſh and Saxon hiſtorians, according to cuſtom, give us contradictory accounts. The laſt ſay, their countrymen obtained that day a ſignal victory. Whereas the others affirm, that Vortimer, who commanded the army, routed the Saxons, and compelled Hengiſt a ſecond time to fly into Germany. But it appears by what followed, that the advantage was on the ſide of the Saxons. I will even venture to ſay, contrary to the opinion of ſome noted hiſtorians, that in all likelihood Hengiſt never returned to Germany. Not ſo much as one author marks either the time or place of his ſecond landing, though they were no leſs neceſſary to be obſerved than thoſe of his firſt.

466. The war againſt the Saxons begins again. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Battle of Wipped's-Fleet. Nennius. G. Monm. Sax. Ann.

In this war it was, that the famous Arthur, at fourteen years of age, made his firſt appearance in the Britiſh armies, under Ambroſius. His inclination for war made him take upon him betimes the profeſſion of a ſoldier, which he never quitted during his life. He ſucceeded Gorlous his father in the kingdom of Danmonium [w] in 467. He was no ſooner on the throne, but he had a war to maintain againſt Howel king of Areclute [x], in the neighbourhood of Scotland. This prince is ſaid, out of envy to the glory Arthur had acquired, to enter

Arthur firſt appears. Langh. Chron. Reg. Ang.

t The Romans, for the more convenient going from colony to colony, had their publick highways called Viæ Conſulares, Prætoriæ, Regiæ, &c. but by Bede and the moderns Stratæ, or Streets. (Hence the many Strettons, i. e. Towns on thoſe Streets). There were four in England, Watling-ſtreet, Ikenild-ſtreet, Ermin-ſtreet, and Foſs-way. Two of theſe ways are extended croſs the breadth of the kingdom, the other two through the length of it. The tracts of theſe four ways, are, and have been, for many ages, very obſcure; and it is not yet ſufficiently cleared, where any of them diſtinctly went. Brady, p. 45. Hiſt. Eng.

u Wippedi fluentum. See Gloſſar. Saxon. In all probability Ipſwich in Suffolk. See Langhorn. Camden thinks it was in the iſle of Thanet, but that could not be. Rapin.

w Cornwall and Devon. There were ſeveral petty kings dependant on the chief monarch. Rapin.

x Or Alcluid. This kingdom contained part of Cumberland and Lenox. Dunbritton was afterwards the name of the capital. Camd. p. 918.

into an alliance againſt him with the Saxons in the North. But inſtead of leſſening his reputation, he ſerved to increaſe it conſiderably. Arthur beating him back to the iſle of Mona, gave him battle, and ſlew him with his own hand. He gained this victory in 470, being then about eighteen years old. We ſhall ſee him hereafter ſignalizing himſelf by actions more glorious, as well as more beneficial to his country.

470. Priſcus Hiſt. Brit.

473. The fourth battle between the Saxons and Britons. Flor. Wigorn.

The war continuing between the two nations, a battle loſt by the Britons in 473, put their affairs in extreme diſorder, and gave the Saxon prince opportunity of enlarging his territories. At length Vortimer, the principal promoter of the war, died in 475, poiſoned, as ſome ſay, by Rowena his mother-in-law, through the ſuggeſtion of Hengiſt [y]. The Britiſh hiſtorians would fain make, at any rate, a hero of Vortimer, by attributing to him many ſignal victories over the Saxons. But the growth of theſe laſt in power and dominion, notwithſtanding their pretended defeats, is a clear evidence, that the advantages of Vortimer were neither conſiderable, nor even real. His death brought ſome quiet to Britain, if a deceitful calm, that proved the ruin of the Britons, may be ſo called.

Vortimer dies. Sax. Ann.

Treaty of peace between the Saxons and Britons.

After a twenty years war, both ſides began to ſhew an inclination for peace, which Vortimer had always ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, fearing when the war was over with the Saxons, he ſhould be obliged to begin another with Ambroſius, who had the hearts of the people, and could hardly bear to ſee Vortigern and his ſon on the throne, though deprived of half their dominions. The peace was concluded, on condition each party ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed. Hengiſt, who had entertained hopes of conquering all Britain, was not a little concerned to find himſelf ſo much diſappointed. He comforted himſelf however with the thoughts of doing by policy, what he could not effect by force.

Reflections on the reſiſtance of the Britons.

When we reflect on the weakneſs and diſpiritedneſs of the Britons before the arrival of Hengiſt, it muſt be ſurprizing to ſee them able to ſtand againſt the Saxons in the firſt war, which laſted ſo long. Thoſe very Britons, who after the departure of the Romans, ſcarce dared to look the Picts and Scots in the face, ſucceſsfully defended themſelves againſt both Saxons and Picts: nay, they even frequently ventured to attack the Saxons in the height of their ſtrength, and put them in fear of loſing the county of Kent, delivered to them by Vortigern. And if they could not wreſt it from them, at leaſt they prevented them from enlarging their conqueſts. A long war

[y] He was buried at Lincoln. Nennius, cap. 46.

teaches

teaches at length the moſt unwarlike nation the uſe of arms, and very often enables them to repair in the end the loſſes they ſuſtained in the beginning. Had the Saxons invaded Britain at firſt with a numerous army, in all appearance they would have conquered the whole in a very little time. But ſending over only a ſmall number of ſupplies, they ſpun the war out to a great length, and by that means taught the Britons a trade, which the Romans had done all they could to make them forget. Of this, there have been many other inſtances. It may be ſaid perhaps, that whilſt they defended themſelves in the South, they loſt ground in the North. But it muſt be conſidered, the country beyond the Humber was loſt to them, before the coming of Hengiſt, and that the Saxons took it from the Picts and Scots, and not from the Britons. We are ignorant of what Octa and Ebuſa did during this long war. It is to be ſuppoſed they aſſiſted Hengiſt by frequent diverſions, and even ſent him ſupplies by ſea, which they could not do by land, becauſe of marching through the enemy's country.

Hengiſt barbarouſly murders 300 Britons. G. Monm. Nennius. Malmsb. M. Weſtm.

Hengiſt, after all his hopes of becoming maſter of Britain, ſaw himſelf with extreme regret reduced to the kingdom of Kent. He had acquainted the Saxon princes in Germany, that, provided they ſent him ſupplies, he could eaſily procure them a laſting ſettlement in the iſland. And yet after twenty years war, he found there was but little appearance of his being as good as his word. The falling off of Vortigern, and the valour of Ambroſius, joined to a conduct which equalled him to the moſt famous generals, ſeemed to lay invincible obſtacles in his way. However, he was reſolved not to give over his deſign, but endeavour to do that by fraud which he could not accompliſh by force. To this end he contrived a plot, that by its blackneſs ſullied the glory of all his former actions. As ſoon as the peace was concluded, he pretended to be highly pleaſed with it, and behaved in ſuch a manner as ſhowed he had no deſign of enlarging his conqueſts. The Britons, charmed with this ſeeming moderation, were eaſily comforted for the loſs of Kent, imagining they knew the worſt, and, perhaps, hoping one day to meet with a favourable juncture to recover it again. In the mean time, not to provoke a prince whoſe valour they had ſo often experienced, they lived in an amicable manner with him. In ſhort, their animoſity againſt the Saxons by degrees entirely vaniſhed. Hengiſt omitted nothing to keep them in a ſecurity, which would lead them into the ſnare he was preparing for them. He let them know, his intention being to live in perfect union with them, he ſhould be glad from time to time to keep up the good underſtanding

between the two nations by parties of pleaſure. Vortigern, a paſſionate lover of ſuch diverſions, joyfully accepted his propoſal, and went ſo far as to pay him the firſt viſit, accompanied with 300 of his principal ſubjects. Hengiſt received them ſeemingly in a very reſpectful and cordial manner, which charmed the Britiſh lords. His entertainment was ſplendid, and nothing was wanting to divert them. But towards the end of the feaſt, the ſcene was changed. Hengiſt had ordered matters ſo, that having artfully raiſed ſome ſubject of diſpute, at a certain ſignal given, the Britiſh lords were all murthered [z]. Vortigern, becauſe Hengiſt had need of him, was only made priſoner. In vain did he complain of this baſe treachery; he could not obtain his liberty without delivering up to the Saxons a great tract of land bordering upon Kent, with which Hengiſt enlargeſt his narrow territories. This was afterwards divided into three provinces, called by the Saxons, Suſſex, Eſſex, and Middleſex; which names they retain to this day. Moreover, not content with this acquiſition, Hengiſt ravaged the neighbouring country in a mercileſs manner, and became maſter of London, Lincoln, and Wincheſter.

G. Malmsb. G. Monm.

Vortigern is forced to give up a large country to Hengiſt.

His ſubjects abandon him, and go over to Ambroſius.

The indignation of the Britons at this barbarous action was ſo great, that they could not look upon a Saxon without horror. But this fatal event was attended with farther conſequences. Vortigern, as he had given his ſubjects, more than once, cauſe to think him a friend to the Saxons, was reckoned an accomplice in the maſſacre, ſince he alone was ſpared. And therefore they all deſerted him, and acknowledged Ambroſius for their ſovereign, except a few friends, who were of little ſervice to him in his ſinking condition.

476. Ambroſius aſſumes the title of emperor.

Ambroſius, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf ſole monarch of the Britons, aſſumed the imperial purple, after the manner of the

z The ſignal was, Nimed eure Seaxes, (i. e.) Pull out your Daggers. Stillingfleet doubts the truth of this fact, becauſe Witechind relates one like it that happened in Germany. But it might be repeated in Britain. Rapin. This maſſacre was committed on the 1st of May. Higd. In memory of it, Ambroſius is ſaid to have built Stonehenge near Salisbury. G. Monm. lib. viii. As it has been juſtly wondered at how ſtones of twenty or thirty tons could be raiſed ſo high as they are, it will not be amiſs to give the reader Mr. Rowland's Hypotheſis in his Mona Antiqua. Small mounds were thrown up with ſloping ſides and level at the top. Upon theſe ſides, with great leavers and pullies by little and little, they rolled and heaved up the ſtones they deſigned to erect; then laying them along on the top of the hillock, they dug holes in the earth at the end of the ſtones, as deep as the ſtones were long, into which they let them ſlip ſtrait on ends with their tops level with the tops of the mount, then placing other ſtones upon them, and taking away the earth almoſt to the bottom of the ſupporters, there appeared what we call Stonehenge, Rollrick or Cromlech.

a Baronius confounds Ambroſius Aurelianus with another Aurelian. Rapin.

Roman

Roman emperors, creating at the ſame time Prince Arthur, who had ſignalized himſelf in the war by many brave actions, a Patrician [a]. Could Britain have been ſaved, it would doubtleſs have been ſo by theſe two great princes, who had all the qualities of the moſt celebrated heroes in an eminent degree. But its fate was determined. This noble country was deſtined to undergo an extraordinary revolution, and become a prey to the Saxons. All that Ambroſius and Arthur could do was to put off its ruin for a time.

Mean while, Hengiſt was not a little perplexed to ſee his country quite diſpeopled: for the inhabitants refuſing to live under a prince that had given ſuch evident proofs of his treachery and cruelty, retired in crowds into the other provinces; ſo that his new dominions were of no uſe to him, there not being hands enough to cultivate the lands. In this perplexity, he reſolved to ſend for Ella, a Saxon general, from Germany, promiſing part of the territories granted him by Vortigern. Ella received the offer with joy, and ſhortly after arrived in Britain, with his ſons Baldulphus, Colgrin, and Ciſſa an infant. He landed his troops at Whitering in Suſſex, but not without oppoſition. The inhabitants of the country riſing to prevent his entrance, he became not maſter of the ſhore till after a long battle. At length he drove the Britons as far as the foreſt of Andredſwald [b], at that time 65 miles in length, and 30 in breadth. The retreat of the Britons gave the Saxons opportunity to ſettle by degrees along the coaſt and towards the Thames. During the nine years they were employed in extending their conqueſts in thoſe parts, they had continual wars with the Britons, the particulars whereof are unknown. We are told, that the Saxons ſettled all along the ſouthern coaſt, were called Sud or South Saxons, and their country Suſſex. Hengiſt took care to ſtrengthen himſelf in the beſt manner he could, in the reſt of the country given him, and planted colonies of his own countrymen. Thoſe that were ſeated to the eaſt were called Eaſt Saxons, and their country Eſſex. The country between Eſſex and Suſſex, was termed Middleſex. As for Kent, it retained its ancient name, the only one perhaps the Saxons did not alter.

Hengiſt having thus ſettled matters, gave thoſe ſoldiers, that deſired it, leave to return into Germany. At their arrival on

Hengiſt invites over more Saxons.

477. Ella arrives in Britain. Fab. Æthelw. Flor. Wigorn. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Sax. Ann.

Suſſex.

Eſſex. Middleſex.

a P. Arthur muſt have been created a patrician by Ambroſius, ſince there was then no other emperor in the weſt. Odoacer king of the Heruli reigning then in Italy, had never any pretenſions to Britain. Rapin. See Nicholſon's Hiſtor. Library p. 35.

b Andredſwald, as Camdes ſays, was 120 miles long. It is now called Weald or Wild. Cam. p. 166.

the continent, they built the caſtle of Leyden, which is
Jo. Douſa. aſcribed to Hengiſt himſelf by a Dutch Poet, as well as by ſeveral others, who were of opinion that he went back into Germany [c].

Nine years reſt from war.

The Britons were not then in a condition to think of recovering the provinces uſurped by the Saxons. Harraſſed by almoſt continual wars for ſixty years together, it was time to breathe a while. However, they were grieved to ſee the Saxons ſo firmly ſettled in the country, and in a capacity of ſtrengthening themſelves, by the conveniency of ſending, whenever they pleaſed, for freſh ſupplies from Germany. But they were forced to be patient, 'till their almoſt quite exhauſted forces were repaired. Accordingly, without any previous truce or treaty of peace, both ſides lay quiet for nine years. Hengiſt, no leſs than the Britons, had need of ſome reſpite, to put the affairs of his kingdom in order. During this interval, Ella gained ground, the Britons not daring to oppoſe him, for fear of giving Hengiſt a pretence to renew the war, which it was their deſign to avoid.

The Britons follicit Ambroſius to take up arms. G. Monm.

The Britons having had time to recover their ſtrength, began to ſollicit Ambroſius to take up arms. They repreſented to him, "That the longer the Saxons were left in quiet, the "ſtronger they grew: That ſince the war ceaſed, Britain "abounded with young ſoldiers, fit to fight for their country; "if this opportunity therefore was let ſlip, they might perhaps expect another in vain." Ambroſius told them, "He "was convinced, as well as they, of the neceſſity to exert "their utmoſt to expel the foreigners, but there was no hopes "of ſucceeding as long as Vortigern was alive; that although "he was old, and in appearance incapable of acting, he had "a powerful party, that would not fail of raiſing new diſturbances as ſoon as the war broke out: That they had "found by fatal experience, ever ſince the arrival of the "Saxons, he had always favoured them." In fine, "He "put them in mind, that all their loſſes were owing to their "diviſions, and as theſe diviſions ſtill prevailed, it was to no "purpoſe to expect any better ſucceſs." He concluded with ſaying, "They had but one of theſe two ways to take, either "to let the Saxons remain in quiet till Vortigern's death, or "to rid themſelves of that domeſtick enemy, and unite their "forces againſt the foreigners." Such was the hatred of the

c The mighty Hengiſt, if we credit fame,
On circling Arches rais'd this ſtately pile;
O'er Britiſh ſeas, when he in triumph came,
And brought new laurels from the conquer'd iſle. Douſa.

generality

generality of the Britons againſt Vortigern, that they reſolved immediately upon the latter of the two methods, and with one conſent, prepared to put their reſolution in practice with all poſſible ſecrecy and expedition. Vortigern ſo little expected to be attacked, that he was like to have fallen into the hands of Ambroſius. He had but juſt time to throw himſelf into a caſtle in Wales, where he was not very ſecure. Ambroſius willing to complete his work, inſtantly went and beſieged him, being reſolved not to let him eſcape. During the ſiege, the caſtle, whether by accident, or the engines of the beſiegers, taking fire, was burnt to aſhes, and the unfortunate Vortigern periſhed in the flames. This was the end of that prince, advanced to a great age, after a troubleſome reign of forty years. He had, beſides a daughter, three ſons by his firſt wife, Vortimer, Catigern ſlain in a battle with the Saxons, and Paſcentius, of whom I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. By his daughter, whom he debauched, he had a ſon named Fauſtus, who paſſed his life in a monaſtery, where he was diſtinguiſhed for his piety.

The arms of the Britons are turned againſt Vortigern.

485. The death of Vortigern. G. Monm. Nennius. M. Weſtm.

Ambroſius being thus rid of a very formidable, as he ever thought, and hated rival, renewed the war againſt the Saxons, which had been interrupted by the weakneſs of both parties, and the diviſions of the Britons. The particulars of this war, after its renewal, are very imperfectly known: but conſidering the valour and activity of the two generals, it may be ſuppoſed to have been very ſharp. Hiſtorians relate but one remarkable event, namely, the ſignal victory obtained by Ambroſius, in the year 487, over Ella, and his two eldeſt ſons. This is properly the firſt victory the Britons could indiſputably boaſt of, whatever their hiſtorians ſay to the contrary. This defeat obliged the Saxon general to retire to his ſtrong holds, in expectation of freſh ſupplies, ſent for from Germany.

Ambroſius renews the war, and defeats Ella in 487. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

Hengiſt lived not to ſee the end of this war. He died in 488, aged about ſixty-nine, of which he had paſſed thirty-nine in Britain, and thirty-three on the throne of Kent[d]. He cannot be denied the glory of being one of the braveſt and moſt prudent generals of his time. It were to be wiſhed for the Engliſh, that the founder of their monarchy had not, as I may ſay, cemented his throne with the blood of ſo many Britiſh lords, whom he treacherouſly murdered. An action that muſt leave an indelible ſtain on his memory. Had it not been for this, his reputation would have been uncommon,

Hengiſt dies 488. Nennius. Flor. Wigorn. W. Malm. H Hunting. Ran. Ceſtrenſis.

d Some Britiſh or Welch writers tell us, Hengiſt was taken priſoner and beheaded by the Britons. G. Monm. M. Weſtm. But the Saxons unanimouſly aſſure us he died a natural death. Rapin.

ſince by his conduct and valour he happily accompliſhed a deſign, the execution whereof was extremely difficult. Beſides Kent, given him by Vortigern, and conſiderably enlarged by the acquiſition of Eſſex and Middleſex, he was in poſſeſſion of ſome lands in Lincolnſhire, where he built Thong Caſtor. The Saxons beyond the Humber acknowledged him for their ſovereign. He left two ſons, Eſcus who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Kent, and Andoacer who ſtaid in Germany.

His iſſue.

Eſcus king of Kent. Sax. Ann. G. Monm.

After the defeat of Ella, about a year before the death of Hengiſt, Eſcus was ſent into the north, to aſſiſt Octa and Ebuſa againſt the Britons. But as ſoon as he had notice of his father's death he haſtened to Kent to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. In the mean time Ambroſius improving his victory, retook London, Wincheſter, and Lincoln, ſeized by the Saxons, after the maſſacre of the Britiſh nobles. Eſcus, wanting the qualities of his father, never endeavoured to recover theſe places, but preferred his eaſe before the fatigues of war. In all probability he obtained a truce, ſince in the three following years, there is no mention of any hoſtilities on either ſide.

490. Arthur goes to Jeruſalem. Nennius. H. Hunting. lib. ii.

During this calm, Arthur, who had all along aſſiſted Ambroſius, finding his preſence was not abſolutely neceſſary in his own country, made a voyage to Jeruſalem. Ambroſius, in the mean while, by the aſſiſtance of Samſon biſhop of Dol, whom he had ſent for from Armorica, and made archbiſhop of York, regulated the affairs of the church, that were in extreme diſorder by reaſon of the foregoing wars.

491. Ella beſieges Andred-Cheſter. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Sax. Ann.

The truce or diſcontinuance of the war laſted but three years. The Northumbrian Saxons beginning to ſtir in 491, Arthur, who was returned from his voyage, marched againſt, and defeated them. At the ſame time Ella having received a ſtrong reinforcement from Germany, went and beſieged Andred-Cheſter [e], ſituated in the foreſt of Andredſwald. The reſiſtance of the beſieged, and an army of the enemy poſted on an advantageous ground, made him loſe a great deal of time. But at length, after a vigorous defence, the town was carried by ſtorm, and entirely deſtroyed. Immediately after this, Ella aſſumed the title of king of Suſſex, or of the South-Saxons, which he durſt not do whilſt Hengiſt was alive. This ſecond Saxon kingdom contained the preſent counties of Suſſex and Surrey. Ella was alſo elected monarch or general of the Saxons in the room of Hengiſt. For it muſt be ob-

He takes the title of king of Suſſex.

Is elected monarch.

e In Latin, Anderida. In the reign of Edw. I. a little town called Newenden was built in the ſame place. Rapin. Somner takes Anderida to be Pemſey or Haſtings in Suſſex. Hiſt. of Rom. Forts.

ſerved,

ſerved, although Hengiſt was only king of Kent, yet was he conſidered alſo as head of all the Saxons, according to the cuſtom of that nation in Germany, where, in time of war, they had always their general in chief, accountable only to the ſtates. This cuſtom the Saxons continued in Britain, and always elected a general, whom ſome writers ſtile Monarch, becauſe, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he was head over ſeveral kings. In all appearance, Hengiſt's ſon thought himſelf incapable to diſcharge this high office, ſince he ſuffered Ella to be inveſted with it.

About two years after, Arthur defeated the Northumbrian Saxons again, on the banks of the river Dugles [f], where he had routed them three years before. 494.

The year 495 was very remarkable for the arrival of Cerdic, a Saxon general, not only upon the account of his conqueſts, but chiefly becauſe from him the kings of England are deſcended, in the male line, down to Edward the Confeſſor, and in the female, down to the illuſtrious prince who now ſits on the throne. If we trace him higher, we find, by the Saxon Annals, that he ſprung from Woden, the root of all the principal families of the Saxons. He was famous alſo for founding a kingdom to which all the reſt in the end became ſubject, and conſequently, he is to be looked upon, if not as the firſt, at leaſt as one of the principal founders of the Engliſh monarchy. This warlike prince having acquired great reputation in Germany, and finding no farther employment there, reſolved to ſeek his fortune in Britain, where he knew many families of his nation had already eſtabliſhed themſelves. To that purpoſe he equipped five veſſels, and taking his ſon Cenric, advanced to man's eſtate, with him, now ſailed for Britain. 495. Cerdic arrives in Britain. Flor. Wor. Polychron. lib. v. cap. 4. G. Malmsb. Huntingd. Sax. Ann.

Ella, as I ſaid, brought with him his three ſons Baldulph, Colgrin, and Ciſſa, who was very young; and the two eldeſt treading in their father's ſteps, bravely aſſiſted him. They are called by ſome Ciſmenius and Plentigus [g]. Octa, commander of the Saxons in the north, having been frequently defeated by Arthur, and perceiving himſelf too weak to guard all his conqueſts, had divided them into two parts, of which the ſouthern was called Deira, and the northern, Bernicia. He had committed the care of the firſt to Baldulphus and Colgrin, reſerving Bernicia to himſelf to defend it againſt the continual attacks of the northern nations. Colgrin, after the laſt Northumberland divided into Bernicia, and Deira. M. Weſt.

[f] In Lancaſhire near Wiggin.

[g] So called by Britiſh writers, but by the Engliſh ones, Cymen and Pleting, from whom Cyminſhore in Suſſex. Rapin.

deſeat

defeat of the Northumbrians, by Arthur, had ſhut himſelf up in York, where Arthur immediately went and beſieged him.

Arthur beſieges York.

Nevertheleſs Baldulphus having been informed of Cerdic's deſign of coming to Britain, was gone into Norfolk to expect his arrival, and favour his landing. But Cerdic's arrival being delayed by ſome accident, Baldulphus marched back towards York, with intent to relieve it. He was met upon the way by Cador, nephew to Arthur, who defeated him, and diſperſed his army in ſuch a manner, that he was forced to make his eſcape all alone, diſguiſed like a peaſant [h]. In that dreſs he ſafely reached the walls of York, and making himſelf known, was drawn up by a rope. The news he brought of Cerdic's being about to arrive from Germany with powerful ſupplies, inſtilling new life into the beſieged, they continued to make a vigorous defence. Arthur puſhed the ſiege briſkly, in expectation of taking the town before the arrival of the Saxon prince. All this while Cador was in Norfolk, ready to oppoſe the landing of the Saxons. But before Arthur had made any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege, he received the ill news of Cerdic's landing at Yarmouth [i], and beating the forces ſent againſt him. Upon which he raiſes the ſiege, and retires to a place of ſecurity, till he could learn the exact number of the Saxons, which fame had greatly multiplied. Baldulph and Colgrin marching out of York, committed great devaſtations in Lancaſhire, whilſt the Britons were diſmayed and terrified at the arrival of Cerdic. So great was their terror, that Arthur thought fit to keep at a diſtance from the Saxons for ſome time, for fear of not being able to inſpire his troops with reſolution enough to face theſe formidable enemies. But this was not all that followed upon the arrival of Cerdic.

Geoff. Mon.

Cerdic arrives and defeats Cador.

Arthur raiſes the ſiege of York.

406. Paſcentius, ſon of Vortigern, having long concealed his ſecret diſguſt at not having any of his father's dominions aſſigned him, laid hold of this juncture to obtain what he thought his due. With the aſſiſtance of thoſe that, like him, were diſpleaſed with the advancement of Ambroſius, he drew ſome forces together, and being joined by Baldulph and Colgrin, was reinforced by many of his friends in Wales. Ambroſius being grown ſick and old, Arthur, took upon him to chaſtiſe the rebel, and marching againſt him,

Paſcentius revolts. Geoff. Mon. Nenn.

But is defeated by Arthur. Mat. Weſt.

h Like a harper, ſays Geoff. Mon. lib. ix. cap. 1.

i Firſt landed at a place called Cerdic's Ora. Sax. Ann. which, according to Camden, was near Yarmouth in Norfolk; but according to others, near Southampton. See Bp. Gib. Gloſſ. at the end of Sax. Ann.

gave

gave him battle, and entirely routed him near the little river Dugles [k].

The next year, Arthur in the ſame place gained another victory, and ſo warmly purſued the Britiſh prince, that he forced him to ſubmit and ſue for pardon. Paſcentius got more by his ſubmiſſion, than by his arms. For beſides his pardon, it procured him the poſſeſſion of Brecknock and Radnor [l] in Wales, which being erected into a kingdom, his poſterity enjoyed it for many years. I imagine that his father Vortigern's private demeſns lay in thoſe parts, and that Ambroſius did but give him the lands belonging to his family before Vortigern was king. If he inveſted him with ſovereignty, it was only to give him ſome ſatisfaction concerning his pretenſions to the crown of Britain.

497. He is beaten again, and pardoned. Nennius.

About this time the Saxons in the north conquered the little kingdom of Galway [m] from Galvan, nephew of Arthur. This country, now part of Scotland, had remained in the hands of the Britons, and withſtood the continual attacks, as well of the Saxons as Picts. Galvan having loſt his dominions, retired to his uncle Arthur, to whom he was very ſerviceable in his wars.

Galway conquered by the Saxons.

501. The arrival of Porta. Hunting. Camden. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig. M. Weſtm.

Shortly after, Porta lands at Portland [n], ſo called from him, with freſh ſupplies of Saxons from Germany. This at a time the Saxons began to be ſuperior, obliged Arthur to quit the field and retire to London. Though he had generally the better of the Saxons in all the encounters, yet his troops were conſiderably diminiſhed; whereas the enemy's forces were continually increaſing by freſh recruits from Germany. Nay, whole bodies, under the conduct of famous leaders, came over to Britain, in order to procure a ſettlement, or for the ſake of plunder only. Arthur, who had not the ſame ſupplies, would have been reduced to extremity, without the aſſiſtance of Hoel, king of Armorica, his nephew. This young prince, greedy of glory, and glad of an occaſion to ſignalize himſelf in the ſervice of his uncle, put himſelf at the head of 15000 men, and landed at Southampton. With this aid, Arthur went and attacked the Northumbrians, grown formidable by the valour of Baldulph and Colgrin, their leaders, and meeting them in Deira, obtained a complete

Arthur is aſſiſted by the king of Armorica. M. Weſtm.

Argentre. Hiſt. de Bret. ch. 33

He defeats the Saxons.

victory

k Near Wiggin in Lancaſhire, or by the river Dug or Due in Lincolnſhire. Tyr. p. 135.

l In Britiſh Bwelt, and Vortigern Maur.

m In Latin, Gallovidia, G. Malm. calls it Walvitha and Walvertha.

n The Sax. Ann. and Huntingdon, p. 312. and Mat. Weſtm. p. 182. ſay, he landed at Portſmouth with his two ſons, Bieda and Mægla. It does not appear that any writer ſays he landed at Portland. See Tyrrel.

victory over them. The two Saxon brothers, not being in condition to withſtand him after their defeat, had no other courſe to take, but with the remains of their army, to join Cerdic, then beſieging Lincoln. But Arthur, fearing the loſs of that place, followed them with ſpeed, and ſurpriſed Cerdic in ſo ſudden a manner, that not being able to continue the ſiege, or raiſe it, without danger, he was conſtrained to hazard a battle [o], which proved fatal to the Saxons. Cerdic being defeated, was forced to betake himſelf to the foreſt of Celidon, where having ſuffered great hardſhips, he at length found means, though with great difficulty, to retire towards the weſtern coaſts. Some hiſtorians aſſure us, that ſeeing he muſt inevitably periſh if he ſtaid in a place where he could neither have proviſions, nor hope for aſſiſtance, obliged himſelf by a treaty with Arthur, to return into Germany with the remains of his troops. They add, that being embarked with intent to perform his promiſe, he altered his mind at ſea, and came and landed at Toſton [p] in the weſt. However this be, Cerdic certainly remained in the iſland, and lay quiet for ſome time, having loſt in the battle above 6000 men.

And beats Cerdic.

G. Malmsb. Nennius. H. Huntin. lib. ii. Polychr. lib. v. cap. 6. Gal. Mon.

H. Hunt. lib. ii. Polychr. lib. v. cap. 6.

Great preparations on the ſide of the Saxons,

After Cerdic's defeat, all the Saxons were equally concerned to oppoſe the progreſs of Arthur, who, like an able general, wiſely improved his victories to the utmoſt. The dread he ſtruck them with, made them reſolve to unite all their forces, and endeavour to retrieve their affairs. They were ſenſible that by diſperſing their forces in ſeveral parts, they endangered in one place what they had got in another, which was never the way to procure a laſting ſettlement. Wherefore Eſcus king of Kent, Ella, king of Suſſex, Cerdic, Porta, the northern Saxons aſſembled all their troops, and conferred the command in chief on Cerdic. The infirmities and old age of Ella, who had been monarch ever ſince 492, were probably the cauſe of his not heading the army at this time. Cerdic having divided his troops into two bodies, gave the command of the leaſt to Baldulph and Colgrin, and headed the other himſelf with his ſon Cenric. While the Saxons were employed in making preparations, the Britons were exerting their utmoſt to raiſe an army capable of withſtanding ſo powerful enemies. In this ſo preſſing an occaſion, where they had need of all their forces, thoſe that could bear arms

and Britons.

Neninus. H. Hunting.

[o] By the river Baſſas, which is ſuppoſed to run by Boſton. Tyrr. p. 135.

[p] Probably Totneſs, for Geoff. Monm. ſays, lib. ix. cap. 3. "Totonenſium Littus adiverunt." And "in Totoneſio littore appliçuerunt" ſays Mat Weſtm. p. 186.

came

came in crouds, and liſted themſelves under their generals: ſo that it was thought on both ſides a deciſive battle would quickly enſue. Ambroſius, called here by hiſtorians Nazaleod, though very old, and almoſt paſt the time of action, could not ſee all theſe preparations without having his courage rouzed, which age ſeemed to have laid aſleep. He put himſelf at the head of his army, and detached Arthur to follow Baldulph and Colgrin, who were marching towards the weſt, reſolved to go in queſt of Cerdic. Arthur, every where victorious, coming to an engagement with the Saxon brothers in Cornwal, obtained a ſignal victory over them [q].

Ambroſius heads the Britons.

Whilſt this great general was cauſing the arms of the Britons to triumph in thoſe parts, Ambroſius advanced towards Cerdic, who had no thought of retiring. The two armies being engaged, Ambroſius broke through the right wing of the Saxons, commanded by Cerdic, and put them to rout. But whilſt he was eagerly purſuing his victory againſt a body that made but a faint reſiſtance, Cenric had the ſame advantage over the right wing of the Britons, which he more wiſely improved: inſtead of loſing time in purſuing the runaways, he flies to the aſſiſtance of his father, and falling upon Ambroſius in flank, puts him in irreparable diſorder. By this prudent conduct, he gave Cerdic time to rally his troops, and complete the victory by an entire defeat of the Britons.

580. The Britons are defeated, and Ambroſius ſlain. H. Hunt. lib. ii.

Ambroſius, enraged to ſee the victory ſnatched out of his hands, did all he could to renew the fight: in ſpite of age and infirmities, he threw himſelf among his enemies in order to animate his troops by his example. But all his efforts ſerved only to crown his glorious life with an honourable death. The fall of Ambroſius cauſed an univerſal rout among the Britons, who precipitately abandoned the field of battle to their enemies. The ſucceſs of that day was, by the public acknowledgement of his father, attributed to Cenric. This battle was fought in 568, near a place called by the Saxons, Cerdic's Ford [r].

Before I proceed any farther, it will be proper to obſerve, that the name of Nazaleod, given by hiſtorians to the Britiſh monarch ſlain in this battle, has made ſome imagine it was not Ambroſius. But the opinion of Camden and ſeveral other good writers, who aſſert the contrary, is doubtleſs to be preferred. All the hiſtorians agree that Ambroſius fell in battle. Now after the beginning of this prince's reign, there was no

Nazaleod and Ambroſius the ſame perſon. Camden. H. Hunting.

[q] Near Gainsford, ſays Dr. Gale, in his notes upon Nennius, p. 131.

[r] Charford in Hampſhire. There were five thouſand Britons ſlain with him. Sax. Annal.

other

other battle except this, wherein a Britiſh monarch was ſlain. Beſides, hiſtorians would not have omitted to mark the time of the death of ſo famous a prince, had it happened in ſome other action.

Arthur elected monarch.

Arthur was elected monarch in the room of Ambroſius. He was doubtleſs the fitteſt perſon to command the army, his very name being a terror to the Saxons [s]. Between Ambroſius and Arthur, ſome writers place Uther Pendragon, who, they affirm, was Arthur's eldeſt brother, and both of them ſons of Ambroſius. Others ſay, Arthur was the ſon and ſucceſſor of Uther. But they that are moſt verſed in the Engliſh hiſtory, maintain that Uther was only a ſirname given to the great Arthur on account of his victories, the word being capable of that ſenſe in the old Britiſh language.

Uſher de Prim. c. 13 G. Monm.

Uſher. Stillingfleet Langhorn.

He beats the Northumbrians. Camden.

Arthur, after his coronation at Caerleon, which he had retaken from the Saxons, marched againſt the Northumbrians, and defeated them on the banks of the little river Ribroyt that runs through Lancaſhire. This is reckoned his tenth victory over the Saxons. In the mean time Baldulph and Colgrin, invading the weſtern parts, made ſuch devaſtations, that he was obliged to leave Northumberland, and march againſt the two brothers. However, he left Hoel his nephew in Bernicia, to oppoſe the Saxons there, who, though often beaten, were ſtill formidable. His uſual ſucceſs attended him: the Saxon brothers being compelled by him to come to an engagement, were routed near Cadbury in Somerſetſhire.

And gains a victory at Cadbury.

511. The battle of Badon hill.

Bede. Langhorne.

Mean while, Cerdic having received freſh ſupplies from the Saxon princes in Britain, as well as from Germany, laid ſiege to Bath. Baldulph and Colgrin having joined him alſo with what troops they could draw together, his army was ſo ſtrong, that he wiſhed the Britons would attempt to raiſe the ſiege. His wiſhes were accompliſhed: Arthur, reſolving to hazard all to ſave that place, came and gave him battle, which proved the bloodieſt that had ever been fought between the two nations. It laſted from noon till night, without any viſible advantage on either ſide. Both armies kept the field, waiting for day to renew the fight. The Saxons, during the night, poſted themſelves on a little hill, called Banneſdown, which was of great importance, though it had been neglected by both ſides the day before. As ſoon as it was light, Arthur perceiving the advantage the Saxons had gained by ſeizing that poſt, was reſolved to diſlodge them, which he effected after a long and obſtinate fight. The Britons, animated by the pre-

[s] Arthur ſignifies a Horrible Bear, or an Iron Hammer, from the Britiſh word Arth, a Bear. Still. Orig. Brit.

fence

fence and valour of their king, perceiving the Saxons in retreating down the hill had put themſelves in ſome diſorder preſſed them ſtill more vigorouſly, and at laſt entirely routed them [t]. They gained on this occaſion a moſt complete victory. Balnulph and Colgrin, were both ſlain, and Cerdic, with the remains of his army, retired into an inacceſſible poſt.

The Picts make a diverſion in the north. G. Monm. lib. vii. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Argent lib. ii.

An unexpected event gave the Saxons time to breathe, and prevented Arthur from improving his victory. The Picts, who were in alliance with the Saxons, knowing Arthur to be at a diſtance, and his nephew Hoel ſick at Areclute, reſolved to beſiege that town, in expectation of taking it before it could be relieved. But Arthur was too quick for them. Inſtead of purſuing his advantage upon Cerdic, he flew to the aſſiſtance of the king of Armorica, and compelled the Picts to raiſe the ſiege. The Britiſh monarch was ſo provoked with the Picts for this diverſion, which came ſo opportunely for the Saxons, that he ravaged their country from one end to the other, and would have entirely deſtroyed it, had not the biſhops by their interceſſion diverted him from his purpoſe.

Arthur ravages their country. G. Monm. lib. vii.

Arthur's wife dies. G. Malm. b. Fl. Wig. Hect. Boeth G. Monm. lib. vii.

During this expedition died Gueniver, wife of Arthur, who was buried in the county of Angus [u]. As ſhe had no children, the women of the country fancied all that walked over her grave, would, like her, be barren; for which reaſon great care was taken to hinder the young damſels from approaching it. Hoel, after this expedition, returned to his own country, the victory of Badon having ſecured Arthur, for ſome time, from any attempts of the Saxons. Arthur, in his return from the country of the Picts, made ſome ſtay at York, which the Saxons had abandoned after the battle of Badon. His chief intent was to regulate the affairs of the church, which were, from the time the Saxons had been maſters of that city, in great confuſion.

512. Octa king of Kent. G. Malm. lib. i.

Eſcus king of Kent died in 512, memorable only for leaving his name to all his ſucceſſors, kings of Kent, who from him were called Eſcingians. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Octa.

514. The death of Ella. M. Weſtm. Bede, lib. ii. H. Hunting.

Two years after died Ella king of Suſſex, and monarch of the Saxons, having enlarged his narrow territories at the expence of the Britons, during a reign of twenty-three years. His two eldeſt ſons having been ſlain at Badon, Ciſſa the youngeſt ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Suſſex; but the monarchy of the Saxons was conferred on Cerdic.

t Malmsbury ſays Arthur ſlew four hundred with his own hand, p. 7. Uſher places the battle of Badon in 520; but Langhorne's opinion, who places it in 511, ſeems to be beſt ſupported. See Langh. p. 62.

u In Scotland.

514. Hunting. Cerdic, ever ſince the battle of Badon, had lain quiet in his own country, expecting a ſupply from Germany, which arrived in 514, under the conduct of Stuff and Withgar his nephews [w]. Upon this he took the field again, and committed great devaſtations in the country of the Britons. Arthur, though weakened by his own victories, not having the ſame recruits as the Saxons, made however powerful ſtruggles to oppoſe the progreſs of theſe formidable enemies. The many and bloody battles between the two nations did not decide the quarrel, ſince victory inclined ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other.

519. Cerdic gains a great victory. But at length, in 519, Cerdic defeated the Britons in ſuch a manner, as made them deſpair of ever driving out the Saxons [x]. Whereupon Arthur ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of taking other meaſures. As he found his army irreparably deſtroyed, he thought it more prudent to conclude a peace with Cerdic, and grant him a part, rather than hazard the whole, by endeavouring to deprive him of all. This conſideration moved him to ſurrender by treaty a certain tract of land, containing the preſent counties of Hampſhire and Somerſetſhire. The Saxon prince was pleaſed with theſe terms, being deſirous, after ſo long a war, of enjoying ſome repoſe in his declining age. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of his new territories, he founded the kingdom of Weſſex, or of the Weſt-Saxons, ſo called becauſe it lay weſt of Kent and Suſſex. He was crowned at Wincheſter, twenty-three years after his arrival in Britain. Thus by his valour and perſeverance he procured himſelf a ſettlement in the iſland, as well as his countrymen Hengiſt and Ella.

Higden.

Cerdic crowned king of Weſſex.

Chron. Rudborn. lib. ii.

Arthur took this opportunity to rebuild ſome of the churches deſtroyed by the preceding wars, and to repair, as far as lay in his power, the damages religion had hitherto ſuſtained.

527. Erchenwin firſt king of Eſſex. Huntingd. lib. ii.

From the time Hengiſt had peopled Eſſex and Middleſex with Saxons and Jutes, they had been governed by a deputy under the king of Kent. But in 527, Erchenwin, deſcended from Woden, aſſumed the title of king of Eſſex, or of the Eaſt-Saxons. This kingdom lying eaſtward of the other three, contained the two counties of Eſſex and Middleſex, of which London was the capital. Who Erchenwin was, how long he had been in Britain, and what right he had to this new kingdom, hiſtorians inform us not. I ſuppoſe he was governor under Octa king of Kent, and taking advantage of his weakneſs, engaged the people to acknowledge him for king.

[w] They landed at Cerdic's Ora, with three ſhips. Sax. Ann. "In occidentali parte Britanniæ," with two ſhips, ſays Mat. Weſtm. p. 184. So that Cerdic's Ora was probably Calſhot, or near it, in Hampſhire.

[x] At Charford in Hampſhire. Sax. Annal.

About

About this time, multitudes of Angles, under the conduct of twelve chiefs, all of equal authority, but whose names, except Uffa (of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter) are unknown, landed at a port on the eastern coast of Britain, where, without much difficulty, they possessed themselves of some post, those parts being ill guarded by the Britons. In time as they were continually enlarging their conquests towards the west, they compelled the Britons at length to abandon the country along the eastern shore. The Angles, thus situated, had an opportunity of sending from time to time for fresh colonies from Germany, with which they founded a fifth kingdom, by the name of the kingdom of East-Anglia, or of the East-Angles. But as the first chiefs assumed not the title of king, the beginning of this kingdom is generally brought down to the year 571.

The arrival of the Angles. Bede. G. Malm. M. West.

They settle on the eastern coast M. Westm.

During the eight years peace between Arthur and Cerdic, the king of Armorica being disturbed by the rebellion of Frollon, one of his subjects, sent to his uncle Arthur for aid. As Britain was then in a state of tranquillity, Arthur would go in person, and assist the king his nephew. To that end he passes into Armorica, where he revenges Hoel, by slaying Frollon with his own hand in the first battle they fought.

G. Moum.

Arthur was still with Hoel when the Angles arrived in Britain. His absence very probably gave them an opportunity of making greater progress than they would have done, had he been in the country. Cerdic also taking advantage of Arthur's absence, and of the Angles, broke the peace, and made some farther conquests. He was constantly attended by his son Cenric, who bravely seconded him in his undertakings, and by his valour and conduct caused him to gain a signal victory in Buckinghamshire, at a place called Cerdic's Lega, now Cherdsley [y].

527. The battle of Cherdsley Hunting. lib. ii. Sax. Annal.

Arthur at his return found his affairs in extreme disorder, by reason of Cerdic's new conquests. and the arrival of the Angles. However, perceiving himself unable to renew the war with his enemies, whose number was continually increasing, he chose to make a new treaty with Cerdic. Immediately after this treaty, Arthur is said to assume the title of emperor, of which his seal found at Westminster, is pretended to be a proof. Leland says, he saw the impression of it on red wax, with these words round it: PATR. ARTHVRIVS. BRITANN. GALL. GERM. DAC. IMPER. that is, "Patri-"cius Arthurius, Britannicus, Gallicus, Germanicus, Daci-

528. Arthur renews the treaty with Cerdic

Asser. Arthur.

[y] Milton confounds this with the battle of Badon-hill. Rapin.

"cus, imperator." These proud titles perhaps were the occasion of ascribing to him so many pretended victories in foreign countries, and of styling him conqueror of the Gauls, Germans, and Dacians. But whether this seal be genuine or not [z], there is foundation enough for these titles from the exploits now related of this prince. He might be called Britannicus from his being monarch of the Britons: the title of Gallicus might be owing to his expedition into Gaul: the firname of Germanicus was no less proper, since he frequently defeated the Saxons who came from Germany; lastly, his being styled Dacicus might be founded on his victory over the Jutes, who were mixed with the Saxons, and by some have been confounded with the Danes and Dacians. Be this as it will, if he assumed the title of Emperor, as it is very likely, since Ambrosius did the same, the four different times of his attaining to the four several dignities, must be carefully distinguished: 1. He mounted the throne of Danmonium in 467, at fifteen years of age: 2. In 476, he was created patrician by Ambrosius: 3. In 508, he was elected monarch of Britain: 4. In 528, he assumed the imperial purple. These epochas thus distinguished, remove in a great measure, the confusion in the history of this great prince with respect to chronology.

Four epochas of the reign of Arthur.

Arthur returns into Armorica. G. Monm. lib. vii. Ann. Sax. Lugdorm. p. 78.

Hoel, king of Armorica, was enjoying the repose procured him by Arthur, when he heard that the Wisigoths, then in possession of part of Gaul, were preparing to invade his dominions. Wherefore he desired Arthur to come once more in person, to assist him against so formidable enemies, that were already masters of part of Gaul. How necessary soever Arthur's presence might be in his own kingdom, he readily gave Hoel this full proof of his affection and gratitude. As he was like to be detained abroad some time by the affairs of Armorica, he left Modred his nephew, whom he designed for his successor, regent in his absence, at the same time entrusting him with the care of the queen his wife.

530. Cerdic takes the Isle of Wight.

Arthur was no sooner gone, but Cerdic, taking advantage of his absence, attacks and subdues the Isle of Wight, destroying almost all the inhabitants in a cruel manner. But this loss was nothing to Arthur, in comparison of what shortly after followed by the treachery of Modred, to whose care he had committed what he held most dear. This traitor, finding the

Treachery of Modred. G. Monm.

z There is great reason to suspect its genuineness; very probably it was the invention of some monk of Glastenbury. See Nicolson's Hist. Librar. p. 31.

wife

wife and kingdom of Arthur in his power, falls in love with both, and not ſatisfied with debauching the queen in private, publicly marries her. In order to avoid by a ſecond crime the puniſhment of the firſt, he reſolves moreover to ſeize the crown of his uncle, his king, and benefactor. The more eaſily to accompliſh his deſign, he judges it neceſſary to make Cerdic his friend, and by his means to gain all the reſt of the Saxon princes to his intereſt. He was ſenſible it would be very difficult to ſupport himſelf in his uſurpation, if he were immediately forced to engage in a war with the foreigners: beſides he could not find a readier or more powerful protection. But the Saxon prince not being of a humour to neglect his own, for the ſake of another's affairs, Modred could not poſſibly obtain this protection without paying dear for it. However, as he had no other way to ſupport himſelf, he reſigns to Cerdic one part of the dominions uſurped upon his uncle, and enters into a league offenſive and defenſive with him. What the Saxon prince got by this treaty, lay extremely convenient for him, and greatly exceeded what was before given him by Arthur: it contained, beſides part of Danmonium or Cornwal, the preſent counties of Berkſhire, Wiltſhire, Devonſhire, and Dorſetſhire; this, with Hampſhire and Somerſetſhire, which he was before poſſeſſed of, rendered his kingdom much larger and more conſiderable than the three other Saxon kingdoms already eſtabliſhed. The treaty being executed, Modred was crowned at London, thoſe who privately abhorred his treacherous practices not daring to oppoſe it, for fear of being oppreſſed, before the return of their lawful prince.

Modred leagues with Cerdic.

Ran. Ceſtr. G. Malm. b. Antiq. Glaſt. Polychr. Ricard. Diviſion.

He is crowned at London

Mean time, Cerdic, after having much enlarged his dominions, was incumbred with his greatneſs. As moſt of his ſubjects were Britons, on whoſe loyalty he could not wholly rely, he believed it neceſſary, in order to preſerve his new dominions, to people them with Saxon colonies: to that end he ſent word into Germany, that all who were willing to come and ſettle in his kingdom, ſhould meet with encouragement. This invitation induces many of the Saxons and Jutes to embrace the preſent opportunity. Soon after above eight hundred veſſels are ſeen to arrive, freighted with families, in queſt of ſettlements in Cerdic's new kingdom. Theſe colonies were joyfully received, and planted in habitations, from whence Cerdic took care to drive ſuch Britons as he moſt ſuſpected, eſpecially from the frontiers. Thus Briton was filled by degrees with new inhabitants, and began to loſe the ſuperiority in number ſhe had hitherto had above the foreigners.

Cerdic invites over more Saxons.

G. Malm. b. Antiq. Glaſt

Many Saxons and Jutes come and ſettle in Britain.

Cerdwic crowned again.

Cerdic having ſettled theſe new-comers, was crowned a ſecond time at Wincheſter, the metropolis of his dominions, by the ſame title of king of Weſſex, or of the Weſt-Saxons, that he had before aſſumed. This ceremony was thought neceſſary, by reaſon of the great number of his new ſubjects, Saxons and Jutes, that were lately added to the old.

Advantageous ſituation of the kingdom of Weſſex.

This kingdom was very advantageouſly ſituated, being bounded on the north by the Thames, on the weſt by the Severn, on the ſouth by the ſea, and on the eaſt, by the kingdom of Suſſex. As for the Britons, that were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Danmonium, they could not be very formidable to Cerdic, being divided from the reſt of their nation by this new kingdom and the Severn.

Cerdic provides againſt Arthur.

Cerdic was but too well acquainted with the valour and activity of Arthur, to imagine he would ſit ſtill at his return, and therefore uſed all his endeavours to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. To that end he repairs all his ſtrong holds, adds new works, and takes all other precautions his prudence ſuggeſts to him, not to be ſurprized when he comes to defend his dominions.

He gives the Iſle of Wight to his nephews Sax. Annal.

Every thing being put in order, he rewarded his nephews Stuff and Withgar, who had faithfully ſerved him ever ſince their arrival, with the iſle of Wight. As in all likelihood they were Jutes, Cerdic, in the deſtribution of his new colonies, had taken care beforehand to people that little iſland with their own countrymen [a].

534. The death of Cerdic. W. Malm. lib. i. cap. 6. Sax. Ann.

Thus Cerdic was prepared againſt the attacks of Arthur, when death took him out of the world in the year 534, ſixteen years after his firſt coronation, and thirty-nine after his arrival in Britain. He muſt have been of a great age when he died; for thirty-nine years before, Cenric his ſon was able to aſſiſt him in his wars. The time this prince paſſed in Britain was a continued ſcene of good and bad ſucceſs, which ſerved equally to ſhew his ability to improve his advantages, and to repair with a wonderful readineſs, the diſorder his affairs were frequently thrown into by the fortune of war.

He is ſucceeded by Cenric.

Cenric, his ſon, the faithful companion of all his labours, ſucceeded him, in both in the kingdom of Weſſex, and alſo in the monarchy or generaliſſimſhip of the Saxons and Angles. Cerdic's ſucceſſors were ſurnamed Gewiſhians, from Gewiſh, one of their anceſtors, famous no doubt in his generation.

Polychr. lib. v. c. 4.

The ſame year died Oeta, king of Kent, after a reign of twenty-two years; wherein nothing remarkable occurs but

[a] There were many Jutes alſo in Kent, Eſſex and Suſſex. Rapin. Withgarsburgh, now contracted into Carſt[illegible] was ſo named from Withgar, who was buried there. Sax. Ann.

the

the dismembring of the kingdom of Essex, which he, for some unknown reason, did not think fit to oppose. He was succeeded by his son Hermenrick.

Arthur, after a four years absence, at length quitted Armorica. We are ignorant of the cause of his long stay there, so very prejudicial to his affairs, which at his arrival were in a desperate condition. Modred was in possession of his throne, and moreover in strict alliance with the Saxons. On the other hand, the Saxons being now masters of a good part of the island, were led by their own interest to support the usurper, and maintain him on the throne. However, Arthur, though broken with age, and almost destitute of friends, resolved to undertake the recovery of his kingdom, and to punish the treacherous Modred. This bold resolution rouzed the courage of those that dared not at first to declare for him. A great number of officers and soldiers, who could not bear the thoughts of fighting against him that had taught them to conquer, deserted the usurper, and listed themselves under the banner of their lawful prince. Thus Arthur saw himself on a sudden at the head of an army capable of making Modred uneasy, if not by number, at least by the bravery of the troops, and the valour and experience of the leader. Modred, on his part, omitted nothing for his defence. As he was not ignorant of the people's inclination to his uncle, he had reason to apprehend a general revolt; and therefore had strengthened himself with the assistance of the Saxons; and upon the same account made an alliance with the Picts [b]. He easily engaged the Picts to his interest, since they passionately desired to be revenged of Arthur, who had formerly carried fire and sword into their country. Thus Arthur, with a few friends, was forced to stand against the Saxons and Picts, in conjunction with the Britons that sided with Modred. But the want of numbers was supplied by his courage and experience. Though his troops were much inferior to those of his enemy, he found means however to engage him in a very disadvantageous post, and obtain a signal victory. In this action he lost Galvan and Angusel, two princes of his blood, who had faithfully served him both in prosperity and adversity.

535. Arthur returns,

and defeats Modred.

Though Modred was defeated, the supplies he received from the Picts and Saxons, soon enabled him to give his uncle a second battle, but with no better success. As the particulars of this war are confusedly delivered, and besides contain no-

537. Arthur wins a second victory over Modred.

b He engaged in his party the Scots, Picts, and Irish; so that there was an army of 80,000 men to oppose Arthur's landing, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. xi. cap. 5.

thing material, it will ſuffice, I believe, to relate the iſſue. Modred, though conſtantly worſted, found means to prolong the war ſeven years, without Arthur's being able to deſtroy the uſurper, much leſs retake from the Saxons, what had been ſurrendered to them. During this war, there happened two eclipſes of the ſun, which credulous hiſtorians have expreſly remarked, fancying they were preſages of the utter ruin of the Britons, which fell out ſoon after.

542. The laſt battle, wherein Arthur and Modred were ſlain. G. Monm. H. Hunt.

The ſuperiority of Modred's forces being balanced by the valour and experience of Arthur, the war had now laſted ſeven years without any thing deciſive. Modred, though ſeveral times vanquiſhed, was ſtill at the head of a very numerous army. On the other hand, Arthur, though extreme old, and with an army weakened by the ſeveral battles he had given his enemy, ſupported himſelf by his great experience in the art of war. At laſt the fatal blow was given in the year 542. Arthur purſuing his enemy from place to place, drove him to the extremity of Danmonium, where he could not avoid fighting. This laſt battle was fought by the river Cambalon [c], near Camelford. It proved fatal to the two leaders, as well as to all the Britons, who having loſt their beſt troops, were never after able to ſtand againſt the Saxons. During this bloody battle, the uncle and nephew happening to meet, ruſhed upon one another ſo furiouſly, that nothing but death could part them. Modred was ſlain upon the ſpot, and Arthur, mortally wounded, was carried to Glaſſenbury, where he died, aged 90 years, 76 of which he ſpent in the continual exerciſe of arms. Tho' he had reigned but 34 years, yet before he mounted the throne, he had long commanded the Britiſh armies under Ambroſius. Some have put an interval of ſeveral years between Ambroſius and Arthur, becauſe they were at a loſs where to place there Uther Pendragon, whom they will have, at any rate, to be a king different from Arthur. But the beſt authors are of opinion, that the name Uther, ſignifying in Britiſh a Club, was given to the great Arthur, for the ſame reaſon that Charlemain's grandfather was called Martel, or Hammer. As to the ſirname of Pendragon, it owes its origin, as it is pretended, to Arthur's wearing a dragon on the creſt of his helmet.

Arthur's encomium.

Arthur was undoubtedly a great general. It is pity his actions have ſerved for foundation to numberleſs fables that have been publiſhed concerning him: whereas his life was worthy of being recorded by the graveſt and moſt able pen. He is ſaid to have inſtituted the order of the Knights of the Round

[c] Cam ſignifies Winding in Saxon. It is called alſo Camel.

Table,

Table, ſo famous in romances. Though this inſtitution has given occaſion for many fabulous relations, it is not therefore to be deemed altogether chimerical. For where is the improbability that Arthur ſhould inſtitute an order of knighthood in Britain, when we learn from the letters of Caſſiodorus, that Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths, inſtituted one in Italy in the ſame century?

Such was the love and eſteem of the Britons for this hero, that many would never believe he was dead. Nay, there were ſome for ſeveral ages after, who, imagining he was travelled into foreign parts, expected his return [d]. This would ſeem incredible, had there not been, in the ſixteenth century, an inſtance of the like folly with regard to Don Sebaſtian king of Portugal. It is this perhaps that gave occaſion to ſome writers, deſirous of pleaſing the Britons to invent Arthur's travels and numberleſs victories in foreign countries. The titles of Germanicus, Gallicus, Dacicus, aſſumed by that prince, might ſerve for foundation to ſuch fictions. Theſe pretended voyages and imaginary victories, have proved an inexhauſtible fountain of abſurd and ridiculous things, aſcribed to him by the writers of romances. Hence it is, that his hiſtory has been ſo disfigured, as to cauſe many to doubt, whether there was ever ſuch a man as Arthur in the world; and no wonder, for it is impoſſible to reconcile all the contradictions that occur, in his fabulous hiſtory. But if we diſtinguiſh truth from falſhood, and reject what ſavours too much of the romance, we meet with nothing in the life of this hero, unbecoming the character of a great prince. The times of his life and reign are ſo confounded by theſe fabulous writers, that they are very difficult to be cleared, and therefore recourſe muſt be had to the four ſeveral epocha's before-mentioned. He was born at Tindagol in Cornwall in 452, or 453, and died in 542. He was buried in the monaſtery of Glaſſenbury, by Gueniver, his ſecond wife. He had too others of the ſame name, the firſt died in the country of the Picts, and the third proved falſe to him. By this laſt he had a ſon called Noem, who died an infant. Arthur, when he was about to expire, ſent his crown to Conſtantine his couſin, ſon of Cador, and grandſon of Ambroſius, declaring him his ſucceſſor; which muſt be underſtood only of

d Hiſtorians aſſure us, this notion was not entirely rooted out till his tomb was found in the reign of Henry II. 600 years after his death. Rapin. "Occultavit ſe rex moribundus ne caſui "tanto inſultarent inimici, amicique "moleſtarentur. Unde quoniam de "morte Arthuri vel ejus ſepultura ni- "hil referunt hiſtoriæ, gens Britonum "ipſum adhuc vivere præ magnitudine "dilectionis contendunt." M. Weſt. p. 192.

Uſher de Prim. &c. Giral. Spec. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 11.

Dammonium, for the monarchy of Britain was extinct by his death. It is pretended, that his body was found whole and entire in Glaſſenbury monaſtery in the reign of Henry II. with the viſible marks of ten wounds, one whereof only ſeemed mortal. But what is ſaid of his ſtature is unqueſtionablely fabulous, namely, that the diſtance between his eye-brows was a ſpan, and the reſt of his body in proportion. We have the particular names of his arms in the ancient romances. His ſhield was called Pridwin, his lance Ron, and his ſword Cali-

Rog. de Hov. bron. This laſt was preſented in 1191 to Tancred king of Sicily, by Richard I. king of England.

Cauſes of the weakneſs of the Britons.

After Arthur's death, by whoſe valour and experience the affairs of the Britons had been ſupported, they were no longer able to reſiſt the Saxons. Indeed, the Saxons had been great ſufferers too in the frequent battles between the two nations: but the circumſtances of the two parties were unlike. Whatever loſs the Saxons ſuſtained, it was ſoon retrieved by means of their continual ſupplies from Germany. But it is eaſy to perceive, the Britons, being deſtitute of foreign aid, muſt have been drained by the inceſſant wars they had maintained ſince the departure of the Romans. Nay, they could not make uſe of all the ſoldiers Britain might have ſupplied them with; for many of their countrymen ſeeing no end of their miſeries, were fled for refuge to the Picts, or into Armorica. Such numbers retired to Armorica, that by their junction with the Britiſh families long before ſettled there, they became more numerous at laſt than the natives. Hence it is pretended, that this province of Gaul, called Armorica, that is, Maritime, by reaſon of its ſituation, took the name of Bretagne from the great number of Britons that fled thither. Argentre, who wrote the hiſtory of that country, pretends, Armorica was anciently called Bretagne, and that the inhabitants ſending colonies into Albion, gave that iſland the name of their own country[e]. It is probable indeed, the Armoricans peopled ſome part of Great Britain; but in all that this author alledges in proof of his aſſertion, there is no ſufficient reaſon to ſhew, that, before theſe colonies, Armorica was called Bretagne, much leſs, that the Armoricans altered the old name of the iſland of Albion.

The Britons give the name of Bretagne to Armorica. Mezerai, Abr. Chron. Tom. VII.

537. The arrival of Idi. G. Mon. Sax. Ann. Flo. Wig. H. Hunt. M. Weſtm.

As ſoon as it was rumoured in Germany that Arthur was dead, and the diſmayed Britons had neither power nor courage

[e] The firſt time we find the name of Bretagne given to Armorica is in the ſubſcription of Victorius to the Council of Tours in 461, where he is named Epiſcopus Britannorum. After which time it was frequently called Britannia Ciſmarina, Minor, Celtica, &c. See Concil. Gall. tom. i. p. 126.

to

to defend themſelves, great numbers of people reſolved to go over and ſettle in Britain. Ida, by nation an Angle, and deſcended from Woden, having embarked on board forty veſſels many families of his own countrymen, landed at Flamborough in Yorkſhire, then in poſſeſſion of the Northumberland Saxons, who received them as friends. The Northumbrians, ſo called from inhabiting north of the Humber, had maintained themſelves in that country ever ſince the time of Hengiſt, and had all along been in ſome dependence on the kings of Kent. They had often favoured the enterprizes of their countrymen in the ſouthern parts, by frequent diverſions, which had ſeveral times drawn into the north the arms of Ambroſius and Arthur: but, though frequently defeated, they had however kept poſſeſſion of theſe northern countries, without its appearing how they were governed, from the death of Octa and Ebuſa, to the year 547. Ida, when he firſt arrived in their country, (whether he had made an agreement with them before he left Germany, or they were tired with being in ſubjection to the kings of Kent, from whom, by reaſon of their diſtance, they could expect no aſſiſtance) found them ready and willing to obey him. It may be, they were not in a condition to oppoſe Ida, who had brought with him a ſtrong army. However this be, Ida was acknowledged for ſovereign of the Northumbrians, as well as of the Angles his followers, under the title of king of Northumberland [f]. The readineſs of the Saxons to mix with the Angles, and obey a king of that nation, confirms what I have elſewhere obſerved, that the Saxons and Angles were in Germany but one and the ſame people. The name of the Saxons ſtill remains in Germany, whilſt that of the Angles is entirely loſt; and on the contrary, this latter is perpetuated in Britain, where the former is almoſt forgotten. Northumberland was the fifth kingdom founded by the Anglo-Saxons. Ida, the firſt king, was a prince of great fame; and yet, as he eſtabliſhed himſelf without any obſtacle, there is but one particular recorded of him in hiſtory, and that is, his building the city of Bebbanburgh, ſo called from his queen Bebba. This city, after many years, was deſtroyed; however, there ſtill remains the caſtle of Bamborough.

Ida firſt king of Northumberland.

Sax. Annal. Huntingd. G. Monm. Flor. Wigr. M. Weſt.

The memoirs concerning the ſettlement of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, are ſo ſhort and imperfect, that it is impoſſible to frame from thence a regular hiſtory. We muſt therefore be ſatisfied with a certain number of facts tranſmitted to

f This Ida was the firſt that took upon him the title of king; yet there were Saxon printes in that country many years before. Tyr. p. 142. Malm. p. 16.

us;

us; by the help whereof, the thread of the hiſtory may, in ſome meaſure, be purſued.

552. Cenric repulſes the Britons. Sax. Annal.

In the year 552, notwithſtanding their weak eſtate, the Britons made an effort to recover part of their lands from Cenric king of the Weſt Saxons, but were repulſed with great loſs near Saliſbury.

555. G. Monm. lib. viii. cap. 1.

We find alſo [g] that three years after two ſons of Modred, by the aſſiſtance of the Saxons, attempted to dethrone Conſtantine, to whom Arthur had bequeathed the kingdom of Danmonium. But Conſtantine, being better prepared than they expected, not only put them to the rout, but purſued them to Glaſſenbury, and ſtabbed them himſelf in the arms of the abbot, who interceded for them in vain [h].

559. Ida dies. Sax. Ann.

Ida, king of Northumberland died in 559, having reigned twelve years. Though the profound peace he enjoyed during his whole reign, gave him no opportunity of ſhewing his valour, yet all the hiſtorians agree, he was a moſt accompliſhed prince [i]. It is pity we have not a fuller account of his life. After his death, Northumberland, for ſome unknown reaſon, was divided into two kingdoms. Adda, ſon of Ida, was king of Bernicia, or the northern part, and Alla, deſcended from Woden, of Deïra, or the ſouthern part. Ida left twelve ſons, ſix by wives and ſix by concubines, who formed ſeveral branches, as may be ſeen in the genealogy of the kings of Northumberland, which the reader ſhould now and then take a view of, if he deſires to underſtand fully the hiſtory of theſe Saxon kingdoms.

560. Death of Cenric. Bede. lib. ii. c. 5.

The next year Cenric king of Weſſex, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, died, after a reign of twenty-ſix years. The reputation he had gained during his father's life, made it believed he would puſh his conqueſts farther. But when he was on the throne, he ſhewed no ſigns of ambition, and employed himſelf wholly in promoting peace and good order in his dominions. He took up arms but once to repel the Britons, who came and attacked him. Of the four ſons he left,

g It is not (as Rapin ſays) in the Saxon Annals, but Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. x. cap. 3, 4. and M. Weſtm. p. 192.

h Matthew of Weſtminſter ſays, one of them fled to Wincheſter, where taking ſhelter in the church of St. Amphibalus, he was ſlain before the altar. The other took refuge in a monaſtery in London; but being found near the altar was killed. M. Weſtm. p. 1, 2. Geoff. Monm. lib. xi. cap. 4.

i "Ida ætate & moribus integer, "puris & defœcatis moribus, multum "ſplendoris generoſis contulit natali- "bus, adeo bello invictus, domi ſeve- "ritatem regiam genuina animi magni- "tudine temperabat." Malm. lib. i. cap. 3.

Ceaulin,

Ceaulin, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him both in the kingdom of Weſſex, and the dignity of monarch of the Saxons.

Ceaulin was no ſooner on the throne, but he formed vaſt projects to enlarge his dominions by new conqueſts. He was an ambitious prince, who, not content with the prerogatives he was veſted with as monarch, conſidered the other Saxon kings as his vaſſals, pretending to keep them in a rigorous dependence. As he was ſenſible it would be very difficult to obtain the ſubmiſſion he expected from them, he made extraordinary preparations, which alarmed both the Saxon and Britiſh princes. The laſt eſpecially could not but be in extreme conſternation, by reaſon of their deplorable ſtate. After the death of Arthur, they lived in a ſort of anarchy. What remained of their country, was cantled out into little independent ſtates, which weakened one another by the diſcord that reigned among their reſpective princes. The Britiſh hiſtorians give ſuch a character of theſe petty ſovereigns, that the nation in general could have but ſmall hopes of aſſiſtance from any one, or all of them together. Conſtantine king of Cornwall, was a cruel and bloody prince, polluted alſo with abominable luſts. Aurelius Conanus, whoſe kingdom lay eaſtward of the Severn, was guilty of parricide, and reigned with unheard of tyranny. Vortipore king of Demetia [or South-Wales] was overgrown with pride; he gloried alſo in having no religion, and perſecuting the clergy. Cuneglas, whoſe dominions were north of Cambria (ſo the country was called between the Severn and the weſtern ſea) was grown old in vice, and famous for his wicked deeds. Maglocun or Malgo [k] king of Mona or Angleſey, thought of nothing but pillaging his neighbours and ſubjects, and heaping up riches by rapine and violence. In a word, Britain was in a terrible confuſion. After Arthur's deceaſe, every one lived as he pleaſed, and the authority of the tyrants was in proportion to the licenſe their ſubjects were ſuffered to take. Theſe ſovereigns were divided among themſelves, and, as they had no confidence in one another, could not agree upon proper means to free themſelves from the impending calamities. Each therefore purſuing only his own intereſt, the Saxons were left at liberty to eſtabliſh themſelves upon their ruins.

Ceaulin ſucceeds him. He forms the deſign of aggrandizing himſelf.

Gildas.

Ceaulin's preparations, however, rouſed them a little out of their lethargy, and obliged them to think of their defence. To that end they choſe Malgo to command them, purely for the ſake of his giant-like ſtature. But what could this unexpe-

k Arthur's ſiſter's ſon, who ſided with Modred againſt his uncle. Gild.

rienced

rienced general have done, if the Saxons had united their forces againſt him? He would have loſt, perhaps, in a ſingle battle, what the great Arthur had taken ſo much pains to preſerve. But happily for him and the Britons, the Saxon monarch was poſſeſſed with the project of ſubduing his countrymen firſt, ſo turned againſt the Saxons the arms he ſhould have employed againſt the common enemy. He could not diſcover his deſigns, without incurring the enmity and jealouſy of the neighbouring princes. But as no one of them in particular was able to withſtand him, his kingdom being much ſtronger than any of the reſt, each dreaded being oppreſſed, ſhould he declare againſt him ſingly. They were therefore by degrees forced to ſubmit to a much greater dependence on their monarch or general, than their laws and cuſtoms required. Mean while, they grieved in private to be thus kept under, fearing withal that Ceaulin's deſigns would extend farther.

564. Ethelbert becomes king of Kent. G. Malmsb. lib. i.

At length, Hermenric king of Kent, dying in 564, Ethelbert, his ſon and ſucceſſor, could not bear the proud and haughty proceedings of the Weſt-Saxons, which were the more grievous to Ethelbert, as being a deſcendant of Hengiſt, he thought he had a better right to the dignity of monarch than any other prince. Prepoſſeſſed with this notion, he reſolves to revive

567. the pretenſions of the kings of Kent, neglected by his predeceſſors, and declares war with Ceaulin, not conſidering the diſproportion between his forces and thoſe of his enemy. Ceaulin, diſdaining to be attacked by a young prince of no reputution, marched towards Kent with deſign to prevent him, and meeting him at Wibbandune [1], entirely routed him. Ethelbert being defeated a ſecond time, was totally diſabled, and forced to ſue for peace. His vexation at ſo unexpected a diſappointment, was increaſed by the jeſts of the other princes, who rallied him for his preſumption. He had occaſion for this leſſon, to teach him that courage alone is not ſufficient for war, but muſt be joined with prudence and ſtrength. He improved ſo much by it, that he afterwards became one of the wiſeſt and moſt illuſtrious princes of his nation. This was the firſt civil war among the Saxons, which was followed by many more, cauſed by the reſtleſs ambition of their princes. As ſoon as they were out of danger from the Britons, they quarrelled among themſelves, with ſuch animoſity, that if another Arthur had appeared, the Britons might have recovered all they had loſt. But divine providence had otherwiſe decreed.

Flor. Wigorn. Malmsb.

[1] Wimb'eton in Surry.

Uffa,

Uffa, the only ſurvivor of the twelve chiefs of the Angles before-mentioned, aſſumed in 571 the title of king of the Eaſt-Angles, and his kingdom was called Eaſt-Anglia. As this was forty years after his arrival in Britain, he muſt have been of a great age when crowned. This was the ſixth kingdom founded by the Anglo-Saxons [m].

571. Uffa firſt king of the Eaſt-Angles

Ceaulin was ſo elated with his ſucceſs againſt Ethelbert, that he looked upon the neighbouring Saxon princes as his ſubjects and vaſſals. Indeed the king of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, being ſeparated from him by a large tract of land poſſeſſed by the Britons, had not much to fear from his ambition. But the kings of Kent, Eſſex and Suſſex were forced to ſubmit to him, as ſuperior to each of them in extent of dominions. After this he turned his arms againſt the Britons, with deſign to make new conqueſts. I can't poſſibly relate the particulars of this war, being very ſlightly paſſed over by the hiſtorians. They only tell us, that Cutha, brother of Ceaulin, frequently defeated the Britons, and would, in all probability, have very much enlarged his brother's dominions, had not death ſeized him in the midſt of his victories [n].

The ambition of Ceaulin.

He attacks the Britons. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wigorn. H. Hunt. lib. ii.

Before this war was ended, Uffa, firſt king of the Eaſt-Angles, died in 578, leaving his crown to his ſon Titilus.

578. Titilus. Flor. Wig.

Such was the deplorable condition of the Britons, that the time of their utter deſtruction ſeemed to approach. Preſſed on the ſouth by the Saxons of Weſſex, Suſſex and Kent, on the eaſt by thoſe of Eſſex or Eaſt-Anglia, and on the north by the Northumbrians, they were, in a manner, ſurrounded by their enemies. There was, however, one refuge left, which helped to keep alive, for a while, their faint expectation of being able to withſtand ſo many misfortunes. As the neceſſity of their affairs had formerly obliged them to ſend for the Saxons to defend them againſt the Scots, a no leſs preſſing occaſion compelled them at this time, to implore the aſſiſtance of the Scots againſt the Saxons. This reſolution being unanimouſly

The Britons ſend to the Scots for aſſiſtance. Huntingd. Fordun.

m The kings his ſucceſſors were from him called Uffings. Hig. p. 224.

n Anno 572, Cutha defeated the Britons at Bedicanford (Bedford) and took from them the towns of Lygeanburh (Layton Buzzard in Bedfordſhire) Aylesbury in Buckinghamſhire, and Benſington and Eynſham in Oxfordſhire. Anno 587, Ceaulin and Cutha defeated the three Britiſh kings, Commail, Condidan, and Farinmail at Deerham in Gloceſterſhire, and took from them Gloceſter, Cirenceſter and Bath. Again, Anno 584, there was another battle between the Britons and Saxons at Fethanleagh (Frethorne in Gloceſterſhire) wherein Cutha was ſlain; but however the Saxons got the victory. Camd. p. 291. 238. Anno 591, there was another battle between them, wherein the Saxons were beat: it was fought at Wodnesbirne, (Wodensburge or Wandſdike in Wiltſhire. Camd. p. 85, 100.) Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 315. Malmsb. p. 12. M. Weſtm. p. 197, 198.

taken,

taken, ambaſſadors were ſent to Aidan king of Scotland, to engage him in their quarrel. "They repreſented to him, that "their ruin would infallibly draw on his; for the Saxons had "in view no leſs than the conqueſt of the whole iſland, great "part whereof was now in their poſſeſſion: that if theſe foreigners ſhould at length over-run what remained in the "hands of the Britons, the Scots were to expect no better "quarter than the Picts, who were already diſpoſſeſſed of "part of their country." To which they added, "That "the Saxon monarch was an active and ambitious prince, capable of forming deſigns, the conſequences whereof were to "be equally dreaded by all his neighbours, if care were not "taken in time to put a ſtop to his progreſs." Aidan, prevailed upon by theſe conſiderations, puts himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and joins the Britons, in order to attack the common enemy. Ceaulin having notice of his march, made all poſſible ſpeed to meet him, with what troops he could aſſemble. But as the neighbouring kings, his countrymen, were not very forward to lend him aſſiſtance, his forces were far from being equal to thoſe of the Britons and Scots. How great ſoever the ſuperiority of his enemies might be, he courageouſly attacks them: but, after long diſputing the victory, his army, overpowered by numbers, is cut in pieces, his ſon Cuthwin ſlain, and himſelf narrowly eſcapes. The Britons were ſo elevated with their ſucceſs, that they began now to form projects to drive the Saxons entirely out of that iſland; but they were far from being able to put them in practice. The Saxon princes, though well enough pleaſed to ſee Ceaulin humbled, thought it not for their intereſt to let the Britons and Scots enjoy the advantage they had gained by their victory; and therefore ſoon put their monarch at the head of a much more numerous army than the former. Upon which, impatient to be revenged, he goes in queſt of his enemies, and meets them without delay. In a ſecond battle, he repaired, by a ſignal victory, his former diſgrace, and convinced the Britons of the vanity of their projects. Aidan retiring into Scotland after his defeat [o], the Britons who ſaw all their meaſures broken, thought only of preſerving what they had left, content with dividing their country with the Saxons, ſince they were unable to expell them. But divine juſtice that had long purſued them, was not yet ſatisfied. They were ſtill to be reduced to greater diſtreſs, and behold the beſt and richeſt part of the iſland taken from them by a nation whom God had choſen for the inſtrument of his vengeance.

Aidan marches to their aſſiſtance,

and defeats Ceaulin. H. Hunting. lib. ii.

Aidan is vanquiſhed, and retires into Scotland.

o Some ſay he was ſlain in the battle. Scot. Chr. Buchan. lib. v.

Scarce

Scarce were the unfortunate Britons recovered from their late conſternation, when a great fleet appearing on their coaſts, quite ſunk their courage. This fleet, the moſt conſiderable of any that had come from Germany, brought great numbers of Angles, conducted by Crida a leader of the ſame nation, of the race of Woden. I have not not been able to learn where they landed, but probably it was in Eaſt-Anglia, and having marched croſs that kingdom, they advanced towards the middle of the iſland, upon the territories of the Britons, who were unable to oppoſe their arms. As Crida advanced in their country, diſorder and conſternation increaſed among the miſerable Britons. Some vainly projected to defend themſelves, whilſt others ſought only to ſave their goods, their wives and children, abandoning their lands to the Angles. Crida taking advantage of their terror, ſpread himſelf far and wide, and becoming maſter of the field, drove his frighted enemies before him. In vain did they fly to their walled towns; the want of proviſions for ſuch multitudes, ſoon compelled them to ſurrender at diſcretion.

584. The arrival of Crida, Huntingd. Fl. Wig. who makes great conqueſts.

The Britons being unable to defend themſelves againſt theſe new invaders ſupported by their countrymen already ſettled in the iſland, took the only courſe left them, and retired into Cambria beyond the Severn. They had no other retreat, being preſſed on all other ſides by the Saxons and Angles. Their flight put Crida in poſſeſſion of all the country lying between the Humber, the Severn, and Thames, by which he was bounded on the north, weſt, and ſouth. To the eaſt of him lay the kingdoms of Eſſex and Eaſt-Anglia.

The Britons retire into Wales.

Out of all theſe conqueſts, Crida formed a kingdom larger and more conſiderable than any of the other ſix, by the name of the kingdom of the Middle-Angles. This kingdom was afterwards more generally called Mercia. Crida the firſt king was crowned in 584.

The founding of the kingdom of Mercia.

Cambria not being ſufficient to contain ſo many families, multitudes of miſerable Britons fled into Armorica, where great numbers of their countrymen were already ſettled. Others ſubmitted to the Saxons or Angles, content to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for a wretched ſubſiſtence. Thoſe that remained in Cambria, a country defended by nature, kept their ground againſt all the power of the conquerors, who could not, till long after, extend their conqueſts beyond the mountains. This little corner of the iſland, where the Britons were cooped up, was afterwards divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which were one while ſeparated, another while united, according to the ambition or power of their

The State of the Britons.

their kings [p]. Here I ſhall leave the Britons for the future, as making a ſtate by themſelves, and having no relation to the hiſtory of England, but what is commonly found between two neighbouring nations. It is true, they made from time to time ſeveral attempts to recover what they had loſt: but their efforts proved ineffectual, as did the endeavours of the Anglo-Saxons to force them in theſe retreats.

The Saxons change the name of Cambria into Wales,

The Saxons gave the Britons the name of Gwalliſh, or Walliſh, that is, Gauls; taking them to be, as in all appearance they were, of Gauliſh extraction. For this reaſon Cambria was by them termed Walliſh Land; from whence came the name of Wales, uſed by the Engliſh at this day, and changed by the French into Galles, upon account of their being derived from the Gauls. The Walloons alſo, and Wallachians, have ſtill kept theſe names, and in ſome places in Germany, the Italian tongue is called Welſh, becauſe of Gallia Ciſalpina inhabited by the Gauls. As for the name of Cambria given by the native Britons to Wales, I ſuppoſe, that before the arrival of the Saxons, the Britons, who call themſelves Cumri, or Cumbri, named their country Cambria; and that after their retreat beyond the Severn, the ſame name which before was common to all Britain, became peculiar to Wales.

and of Britain into England. Jo. Saliſb. in Polychr. Lib. v. c. 17.

About the ſame time, the Anglo-Saxons unanimouſly agreed to call the ſeven kingdoms in general by the name of England, that is, the country of the Angles. Whether this was done becauſe the Angles were more numerous than the Saxons and Jutes, and poſſeſſed the largeſt and moſt conſiderable of the ſeven kingdoms, or for ſome other reaſon, is uncertain. Perhaps Engle-land is only a contraction of Engle-Saxe-land, a name derived from the two principal nations that were ſettled in Great Britain. But the Picts, Scots, and Iriſh, were not fond of this change of names. They continued to call the new poſſeſſors of Britain, Saxenag, or Saxons, and their country Saxeneage. I ſuppoſe, as the Saxons were firſt known in Britain, the neighbouring nations, accuſtomed to that name, did not think fit to receive the alteration introduced by the conquerors.

I am very ſenſible, that the changing of the name of Britain into that of England, is generally aſcribed to Egbert king of Weſſex, about two hundred and fifty years after the time I am ſpeaking of. But this opinion is founded on the authority of an hiſtorian that is far from being infalli-

[p] The Angles poſſeſſed the kingdoms of Northumberland, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia; as the Saxons the other four kingdoms on both ſides the Thames.

ble.

ble [q]. Others, who ſeem to go on much better grounds, poſitively affirm, the name of England was given to that part of Britain conquered by the Saxons, a little after their arrival in the iſland; which may very well be underſtood of the time immediately following the arrival and conqueſts of Cerdic. But how is it poſſible to extend this "little after" to the reign of Egbert, who began not till the year 800 [r]?

After the death of Ida, and the diviſion of Northumberland before-mentioned, Alla reigned in Deira, and Adda, eldeſt ſon of Ida, in Bernicia; who dying in 563, four kings, all ſons or brothers of Ida, ſucceſſively filled the throne of Bernicia till the year 586, when Athelric, Ida's youngeſt brother, was placed thereon. But as he was very old, Adelfrid his ſon held the reins of the government by his father's authority. Succeſſion of the kings of Bernicia. G. Malmſb. lib. i. cap. 3.

In the year 587, Ercenwin, firſt king of Eſſex, died, after a reign of ſixty years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Sledda. Sledda king of Eſſex.

Thus we have run through, in this ſecond book, the moſt remarkable events that happened in Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons to their eſtabliſhment in the iſland, during a war of 130 years. We have ſeen the efforts of the Britons, who, after a reſolute defence, were forced at laſt to give up their country to the very people they called to their aſſiſtance. In the following book, we ſhall ſee what paſſed in the Heptarchy, the name given to the ſeven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, when conſidered as making but one body under the ſame government. The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, who conquered the beſt part of Britain, looking upon themſelves as one and the ſame people, as they had been in Germany, eſtabliſhed a form of government, as like as poſſible to what they had lived under in their own country. They formed their Wittena-Gemot, or aſſembly of wiſe-men, to ſettle the common affairs of the ſeven kingdoms, and conferred the command of their armies upon one choſen out of the ſeven kings, to whom, for that reaſon, no doubt, ſome have given the title of monarch, on pretence of his having the precedence and ſome ſuperiority over the reſt. But to me that dignity ſeems rather to have been like that of ſtadtholder

q Geoffrey of Monmouth, ...

r John biſhop of Chartres ſays, England was ſo called from the firſt coming of the Angles; others from the name Hengiſt, (a notion probable enough, ſays Selden) whoſe reputation, wars, and government, being firſt inveſted by Vortigern in Kent, are above all the other Germans moſt notable in the Britiſh ſtories, and Harding.

. . . . He called it Engalle's Land. . . .
Which afterwards was ſhorted, and called England.

As for the word Engliſhman, 'tis uſed long before Egbert's time, as may be ſeen in the Saxon laws. And Bede, lib. ii. cap. 4. and lib. iv. cap. 1.

of the United Provinces of the Low Countries. There was however ſome difference between the Saxon government in Britain, and that in Germany. For inſtance, in Germany, the governor of each province entirely depended on the general aſſembly, where the ſupreme power was lodged; whereas in Britain, each king was ſovereign in his own dominions. But notwithſtanding this, all the kingdoms together were, in ſome reſpects, conſidered as the ſame ſtate, and every one ſubmitted to the reſolutions of the general aſſembly of the ſeven kingdoms, to which he gave his conſent by himſelf or repreſentative. And therefore this form of government may be very juſtly compared to that of the United Provinces, each whereof is ſovereign and independent, though they ſubmit to the determination of the ſtates-general. A free election, and ſometimes force, gave the Heptarchy a chief or monarch, whoſe authority was more or leſs, according to their ſtrength. For though the perſon inveſted with this office, had no right to an unlimited authority, there was ſcarce one of theſe monarchs, as will be ſeen hereafter, but what aſpired to an abſolute power.

Cauſes of the revolution that happened in Great Britain.

If we enquire into the cauſes of the revolution that happened in Great Britain by the conqueſts of the Saxons, it muſt be owned, in the firſt place, that God was pleaſed by a juſt judgment to puniſh the Britons for their enormous crimes, from which, according to their own hiſtorians, neither people, nor kings, nor clergy were free. Though the divine juſtice does not always puniſh, in a viſible manner, every nation guilty of the like crimes, yet we muſt perceive the hand of God, when it manifeſts itſelf upon a particular nation, by ſuch terrible effects. But as the divine juſtice generally makes uſe of natural means to execute its deſigns, it is theſe chiefly we may and ought to look after. And firſt, it is plain, that the diſſention of the Britons was the principal cauſe of their deſtruction. Had they been more united, they would have better defended themſelves againſt the firſt Saxons, and thereby, no doubt, diſcouraged others from attempting to ſettle in their iſland. In the next place, their long ſubjection to the Romans had enervated their courage, and extinguiſhed their natural inclination for war. Laſtly, they long wanted a general capable of conducting them, and making them ſenſible they were no leſs brave than other nations. For how different a people did they ſeem to be under the conduct of Ambroſius and the great Arthur, from what they were when unable to defend themſelves againſt the Picts and Scots? So great an influence has the good or bad qualities of princes upon the publick affairs,

affairs, and the very manners of their ſubjects, as is evident from the hiſtories of all nations. We ſhall find in the ſequel, that the civil wars of the Anglo-Saxons were no leſs fatal to them, than inteſtine diviſions had been to the Britons. They gave occaſion to the ſtrong to oppreſs the weak, and at length made way for one to ſubdue all the reſt[s].

THE State of the Britiſh CHURCH FROM The Arrival of the SAXONS, to the Retreat of the BRITONS into WALES.

The hiſtory of the Britiſh church little known.

AFTER having ſeen what calamities Britain was expoſed to by the Saxon wars for a hundred and thirty years, a regular account of the Britiſh church is not to be expected during that ſpace. It is eaſy to perceive that the eccleſiaſtics, who were then the only writers, were otherwiſe employed than in penning hiſtories. And though ſome might have found leiſure, it would have been difficult for their writings to deſcend to us: we muſt therefore be ſatisfied with a few traditional events, without order or connexion, ſince there is no exact hiſtory of the affairs of the Britiſh church, whilſt it was thus grievouſly afflicted.

Several ſchools erected. Bede. lib. i. c. 17.---21.

Before the arrival of the Saxons, Germanus, biſhop of Auxerre, came twice into Britain, as we have ſaid, to extirpate the Pelagian hereſy, that had taken deep root. This prelate perceived, in theſe his two voyages, that the clergy

[s] It is to be obſerved here once for all, that Rapin (with almoſt all other hiſtorians) is often guilty of the ſuperſtitious weakneſs and folly of imputing to the judgment of God revolutions and events, of which the natural cauſes are as viſible as the ſun at noon-day, as he himſelf ſhows in the preſent inſtance of the Britons. Short-ſighted mortals ſhould not preſume to aſcribe any thing to a divine interpoſition without a palpable miracle, or an expreſs declaration from heaven. Beſides, every one knows that the ſame fact is frequently repreſented as an effect of God's mercy by one, and by another as an act of his vengeance.

were no leſs ignorant than corrupted, and that their corruption was chiefly owing to their ignorance. To apply ſome remedy to this evil, he believed the moſt beneficial thing he could do for Britain, would be to erect ſchools for the inſtruction of youth, and particularly for thoſe that were deſigned for the ſervice of the church. Purſuant to this pious reſolution he founded ſeveral, among which thoſe of Dubricius and Iltutus were the moſt famous. Dubricius, biſhop of Llandaff, was made archbiſhop of Caerleon, and metropolitan of all Cambria. He had two ſchools where he taught himſelf, one at Henland, and another at Mockroſt. Iltutus taught at Llan-twit, that is, the Church of Iltutus. There was alſo at Bangor, in Cambria, a famous monaſtery, where youth were educated. It is not to be doubted teat theſe ſchools of Germanus were of great benefit to Britain, ſince they afterwards produced many illuſtrious men, that governed the Britiſh churches in the moſt perilous times. Amongſt the advantages the Britons received from the preſence of Germanus, ſome reckon alſo the change he made in the public ſervice of the church, by introducing the Gauliſh rites and ceremonies. This is almoſt all we know concerning the Britiſh church, during the time the Saxons were employed in their conqueſts. I can only add a few particulars relating to ſome eccleſiaſtics famous for their ſanctity, who flouriſhed then in the iſland; with which I ſhall cloſe my account of the church of Britain, till the converſion of the Saxons give me occaſion to ſpeak of the church of England.

Schools of Dubricius and Iltutus. Spelm. Conc. vol. i. p. 24.

St. Patrick. Patrick was one of the moſt remarkable for the converſion of the Iriſh, which is generally aſcribed to him, though Anatolius and Palladius preached in Ireland before him. In all probability Patrick made the greateſt progreſs, and therefore the Iriſh did, and ſtill do, reverence him as their apoſtle and protector. It is proper to obſerve, that there were three noted men of this name: Patrick the Elder, who died in 449, and is mentioned in the Chronicle of Glaſſenbury Church; Patrick the Great, the converter of the Iriſh, who died in 493, having governed the church of Ireland ſixty years; Patrick the younger his nephew, who ſurvived his uncle ſome years.

Dubricius. Dubricius, biſhop or rather archbiſhop of Caerlon, was illuſtrious for his piety, learning, and the above-mentioned ſchools; and laſtly, for his ſynod at Brevi in Cardiganſhire, againſt the Pelagians [a].

a Dubricius died in the iſle of Bardſey, in 522.

David,

David, ſon of a Britiſh prince, and ſucceſſor of Dubricius, removed the archiepiſcopal ſeat from Caerleon to Menevia, from him called St. David's. He was noted for his auſtere life, and his ſynod at Vittoria, where the canons of Brévi were confirmed. Several miracles are attributed to him, particularly his giving to the Bath-waters the virtues they ſtill retain. He is ſaid to have lived one hundred and forty-ſix years. St. David. 529.

Sampſon the Elder and Sampſon the Younger. The firſt being biſhop of Dol in Armorica, was ſent for into Britain by Ambroſius, and made archbiſhop of York. The ſecond, of royal race, was made an archbiſhop, without any particular ſee aſſigned him, with power to perform the archiepiſcopal functions wherever he came. The Saxon wars forced him to return home, where he was made archbiſhop of Dol. He is ſaid, when he left Great Britain, to carry with him ſeveral memoirs, that would have given us a more perfect knowledge of the affairs of the Britiſh church, had they been carefully preſerved. Sampſon Elder and Younger.

Cadoc, abbot of Lancarvan, ſpent his whole income, which was very conſiderable, in maintaining three hundred prieſts. He lived to the year 570. Cadoc.

Patern, of a noble family in Armorica, having ſtudied twenty years in Ireland, came and ſettled in Cambria, where he uſefully employed his time in promoting peace among the ſeveral princes. He generally reſided at Cardigan, where is ſtill to be ſeen Llan-Badarn-vawr, that is, the Church of the great St. Patern, which for ſome time was a biſhop's ſeat. Patern died in his native country, where he was ſo diſtinguiſhed for holineſs of life, that no leſs than three feſtival-days were dedicated to his memory. Patern.

Petroc, a native of Cornwal, was famous for his piety, and gave name to Petroc-ſtow, or Padſtow, in the ſame county [b]. Petroc.

Kentigern, ſon to a princeſs of the Picts, was abbot of Glaſgow, from whence he went into Cambria, and founding a religious ſociety, returned to his monaſtery [c]. His auſterities are mightily extolled, and particularly his ſtrict abſtinence from fleſh. Kentigern.

Aſaph, the diſciple of Kentigern, wrote his maſter's life, by whom he was made abbot of the monaſtery founded in Cambria: he lived to the year 590, and left his name to the city of St. Aſaph. Aſaph.

b He was buried at Bodmin. c And there died in 560. Harpſ. cap. 28.

Columba. Columba, nobly deſcended in Ireland, founded there a monaſtery, called Dearmach, that is, the Field of Oaks, be-
522. cauſe ſituated in a foreſt. Some time after he came into Bri-
Uſher Brit. Antiq. c. 15. tain, to preach the Goſpel to the Highland Picts, of which they were yet ignorant. God was pleaſed ſo to bleſs his labours, that he had the ſatisfaction to ſee thoſe ſavages converted to the Chriſtian religion, with their king Bridius, who gave him the little iſland of Jona, or Hy, called ſince Colchil, where he founded another monaſtery that afterwards became
Sax. Annal. very famous [d]. Theſe two monaſteries for a long time ſupplied the Scotch churches, both in Ireland and Great Britain, with biſhops and prieſts. It is obſervable, that according to the inſtitution of Columba, the abbot of Jona retained a juriſdiction not only over ſeveral monaſteries which branched forth from that, but alſo over the monks that went from thence to
Lib. iii. c. 4. be prieſts or biſhops. Bede's reaſon for this is, becauſe Columba the founder was himſelf but a prieſt. It might be added, that the monks who had vowed obedience to the abbot of Jona, when they came to be biſhops, did not think the epiſcopal character freed them from their vow. This inſtance ſomewhat perplexes the friends of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, who endeavour to get over it, by alledging it was an ill cuſtom crept into that country, againſt the general practice of the church throughout Chriſtendom [e].

Gildas

[d] Jona, Hu, Hii, or Columb-cylle, one of the Hebrides, two miles in length, and one in breath. Camden. "This iſland was given by the Picts "to the Scotiſh monks, becauſe they "had received Chriſtianity through "their preaching, about A. D. 565. "The monaſtery here, was for a long "time the chief of almoſt all thoſe of "the northern Scots, and all thoſe of "the Picts, and had the direction of "their people." Bede, lib. iii. cap. 3, 4. There were in it two monaſteries, one of monks, dedicated to St. Columba, the apoſtle of the Picts (from whom this iſland was called Columb-cylle) that was the ſee of the biſhop of the Iſles; and the other of nuns. Camd. p. 3071. Buchan. lib. i. This iſland is famous for the burial of the ancient kings of Scotland, forty-four of whom are ſaid to have been buried there. Buchan ibid. This account ſeems more authentic than that given by Hector Boetius. According to him, this monaſtery was founded A. D. 379. when Maximus, or Maximin, baniſhed the Scots out of Britain.

[e] Bede ſays (ſpeaking of Jona, or Hy) "This iſland is always wont to "have for its governor the abbot or "presbyter, to whoſe authority all the "province, and even the biſhops them-"ſelves, after an unuſual order, ought "to be ſubject, according to the ex-"ample of their firſt teacher, who "was never a biſhop, but a monk." Bede, lib. iii. cap. 4. The Saxon Chronicle is more expreſs and ſays, "There "muſt be always in Hy an abbot, "and not a biſhop, and that all the "biſhops of Scotland ought to be ſub-"ject to him." Hence ſome have inferred, that biſhops were not then thought ſo neceſſary, ſince the abbot of Hy, without being ordained biſhop, exerciſed epiſcopal authority over thoſe that were biſhops. To this Uſher anſwers, "That this authority of the "abbots of Hy, their exerciſing juriſ-"diction over the biſhops of Scotland, "was a ſuperiority of mere juriſdiction,

"and

Gildas of Badon, or Bath, was ſcholar to Iltutus, and a monk of Bangor monaſtery. He was born in the year of the battle of Badon, according to Uſher, in 520, but according to my calculation, built upon reaſons too long to be inſerted, in 511. Gildas wrote a treatiſe, entitled De excidio Britanniæ, Of the Deſtruction of Britain, wherein he boldly cenſures the Britiſh princes of his time, that is, thoſe who, after the death of Arthur, divided the country into ſeveral petty ſtates. From him chiefly it is that we know what paſſed among the Britons about the time he wrote, in 564. There is another hiſtory, or rather romance, under the name of Gildas, who is by ſome called Albanian, and ſuppoſed to be different from him I am ſpeaking of. But the learned Stillingfleet aſſerts, they are both the works of one author, and that there was no other Gildas but he of Badon. Gildas. Orig. Brit.

Columbanus, an Iriſhman, diſciple of Congal, abbot of Bangor in Ireland, paſſed great part of his life in Britain[f]. From thence going into Burgundy, he founded the abbey of Luxeuil, of which he was the firſt abbot. Twenty years after, Thierri, king of Auſtraſia and alſo of Burgundy, baniſhed him his dominions, for too freely cenſuring his conduct, and forced him to fly to Agilulph king of the Lombards. At length he founded, near Naples, the monaſtery of Cobio, where he died[g]. Columbanus. Fechet. Antiq. Gaul.

Theſe were the moſt noted eccleſiaſtics in the Britiſh church, from the arrival of the Saxons to the retreat of the Britons into Cambria. It is obvious we have the names only of thoſe that flouriſhed in Cambria, Ireland, or Scotland. As for the other parts of Britain, we know nothing of what paſſed with reſpect to church-affairs: we have not ſo much as the names of the biſhops, except Theon and Thadiock, archbiſhops of London and York, who were forced alſo in the end to fly into Cambria. It is very likely all the monuments of the Britiſh churches were deſtroyed, wherever the Saxons became maſters, and that it was not poſſible to preſerve any but thoſe of the churches of Wales, where the Saxons could never penetrate. It is eaſy to imagine, that the church was in a very mournful ſtate whilſt the Saxons were exerciſing their fury. Theſe mercileſs idolaters, as well out of duty as wantonneſs, not only trampled upon every thing relating to the Chriſtian Uſher. Brit. Antiq.

" and not of order; and cites the An-
" nals of Uſſer to prove that a biſhop
" always reſided in Hy." De Brit. Eccleſ. Ant. cap. 16. Lloyd proves, that Columba was ordained by Finean biſhop of Meath, cap. 5.

f He came into Britain in the year 580.

g To theſe may be added Taliaſſin, the famous Britiſh poet, whoſe verſes are preſerved to this day. Tyr. p. 144.

religion, but let loose their rage againſt the Chriſtians themſelves. Gildas and Bede have painted their inhuman proceedings in ſuch colours, as ſhows their barbarities were carried to the higheſt degree imaginable. "From the eaſt to
Gildas, § 24. "the weſt (ſays Gildas) nothing was to be ſeen but churches "burnt and deſtroyed to their very foundations. The in-"habitants were extirpated by the ſword, and buried under "the ruins of their own houſes. The altars were daily pro-"faned by the blood of thoſe ſlain thereon." Bede, who was a Saxon, and therefore not to be ſuppoſed to aggravate
Bede, Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 15. the cruelties of his countrymen, expreſſes himſelf thus: "By "the hands of the Saxons a fire was lighted up in Britain, "that ſerved to execute the juſt vengeance of God upon the "wicked Britons, as he had formerly burnt Jeruſalem by the "Chaldeans. The iſland was ſo ravaged by the conquerors, "or rather by the hand of God making uſe of them as in-"ſtruments, that there ſeemed to be a continued flame from "ſea to ſea, which burnt up the cities, and covered the ſur-"face of the whole iſle. Public and private buildings fell in "one common ruin. The prieſts were murdered on the al-"tars; the biſhop with his flock periſhed by fire and ſword, "without any diſtinction, no one daring to give their ſcat-"tered bodies an honourable burial."

To theſe mournful deſcriptions may be added, that the Britons, who eſcaped the fury of their enemies, not finding wherewithal to ſubſiſt in the woods and mountains, were forced at length to ſurrender to the conquerors, deeming themſelves happy in being able to purchaſe their lives with the loſs of their liberty. Some fled into foreign parts, and thoſe whom the love of their native country kept at home, and the dread of ſlavery prevented from ſubmitting to the Saxons, dragged on a wretched life, in miſerable want and perpetual fear. It is therefore no wonder that the accounts of the Britiſh church are ſo imperfect, ſince the Saxons uſed their utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy all the monuments that might have been preſerved.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

Concerning the moſt remarkable events during the HEPTARCHY *of the* ANGLO-SAXONS, *to its diſſolution, and the union of the ſeven kingdoms. Containing the ſpace of two hundred and forty-three years.*

THE revolution cauſed by the conqueſt of the Anglo-Saxons, introduced a new face of things in Great Britain. The country formerly inhabited by the Britons was now poſſeſſed by ſtrangers. The very names of the towns and provinces were changed, and the country divided in a very different manner from what it was by the Romans. It will therefore be requiſite, before we proceed to the affairs of the Anglo-Saxons (which are to be the ſubject of this third book), briefly to ſhow the ſtate of Great Britain after this revolution.

The ſtate of Great Britain.

Great Britain, divided into ſeveral kingdoms, was ſhared among four different nations, namely, the Britons or Welch, the Scots, the Picts, and the Anglo-Saxons. Under the Britons were comprized all thoſe foreigners, Romans or others, ſettled in the iſland ever ſince the reign of Claudius, who, being

being incorporated with the natives, became one people with them. The deſcendents of theſe foreigners were undoubtedly very numerous, it being the conſtant policy of the Romans to diminiſh, as far as lay in their power, the natives of a conquered country, and to ſend thither large colonies either of veterans, or of people taken from their other conqueſts. As Britain had been in their poſſeſſion four hundred years, very probably they had not neglected, with regard to that iſland, a cuſtom they practiſed every-where elſe. Before they left Britain, their colonies were diſtinct from the natives. But the war, carried by the Picts and Scots into the Roman province, after Honorius had renounced his right, and that of the Britons and Romans ſettled in the iſland, with the Anglo-Saxons, ſo confounded them, that we don't find from thenceforward in any hiſtory the leaſt ſigns of diſtinction between the Roman colonies and Britiſh natives. The Britons therefore, now retired beyond the Severn, are to be conſidered as a people compoſed of the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain and the Roman colonies. The Vandals ſettled about Cambridge were alſo reckoned as Britons, and involved in the ſame ruin with them. After the eſtabliſhment of the ſeven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, the Britons had nothing left but Cambria, and the weſtern part of Danmonium. Cambria (the name formerly of all Britain) was changed by the Saxons into Wales. As for Danmonium, it was, in all appearance, a Roman name. The Britons called that country Kernaw, from Kern, that is, in their language, Horns, becauſe of the many promontories that ſhoot out into the ſea like horns. Hence doubtleſs the Saxons gave it the name of Cornwall, that is to ſay, the country of Kernaw, inhabited by Gauls or Britons. They ſeemed to ſtudy to leave neither to the inhabitants nor countries any ſign of the Roman names, ſince they even ſtiled Welſh a people the Romans had called Britons above four hundred years. The natives kept their ground a good while in that corner of the iſland, as well as in Wales, till at length they were entirely ſubdued, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

The north part of Great Britain was in poſſeſſion of the Picts and Scots, ſeparated from the Engliſh by the Eſk and Tweed, and the mountains between theſe two rivers. The Picts were on the eaſt, and the Scots on the weſt ſide. The Grampian mountains ſerved them for a common boundary, from the mouth of the Nid to the lake of Lomond. Abernethy, now a ſmall town in the county of Strathern, was the capital of the Picts, from whence the biſhop's ſeat was removed to St. Andrews. Edinburgh belonged alſo to the Picts, and

what-

whatever the Engliſh poſſeſſed beyond Severus's wall was taken from the ſame nation. The territories of the Scots extended towards the north and weſt, as far as the ſea that bounds the iſland on theſe two ſides.

The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, who are all to be conſidered as one people, and comprehended under the name of Engliſh, had conquered all the ſouthern part of the iſland, from the channel to the wall of Severus, and a little beyond, towards the eaſt. This part of Great Britain, poſſeſſed by theſe three nations, was divided into ſeven kingdoms, whereof the Saxons and Jutes had four, namely, Kent, Eſſex, Suſſex, and Weſſex; the Angles alone had two, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia; but in Northumberland they were mixed with the deſcendants of the Saxons that firſt took poſſeſſion of the country beyond the Humber, under Octa and Ebuſa.

The hiſtory of theſe ſeven kingdoms is what I am now to give a general knowledge of. I ſay general, becauſe it is impoſſible to be very particular, by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the authors that have writ on this ſubject. As the greateſt part intended only to write bare annals, they have omitted what might contribute moſt to the compoſing a regular and connected hiſtory of each kingdom, or of all together. Some, particularly intent upon the hiſtory of one of the ſeven kingdoms, ſcarce make any mention of what paſſed in the reſt. Hence it is, that hardly any thing is known of the affairs of ſome of theſe kingdoms, the hiſtories whereof have been neglected, or, it may be, loſt by ſome accident.

Another and greater difficulty occurs, in the choice of a method. If the hiſtory of the ſeven kingdoms be given at once, by placing the events, that happened in each, according to the order of time, the thread of the narration muſt be continually broken, and confuſion introduced, which will be farther increaſed by the difficulty of remembring names now grown barbarous. On the other hand, if the hiſtory of each kingdom be given apart by itſelf, it will hardly be poſſible to avoid a tedious repetition of facts common to two, and ſometimes three of the kingdoms, by reaſon of their wars with one another. Beſides, in this method, the reader will loſe the benefit of ſeeing a perpetual ſynchroniſm of the affairs of the ſeven kingdoms, which is no little help to the giving a diſtinct idea of the ſtate of England, during the heptarchy.

After weighing the conveniencies with the inconveniencies of theſe two methods, I am reſolved in ſome meaſure to follow both. To that end, I ſhall firſt make ſome remarks on the Anglo-Saxons in general. In the next place, I ſhall give a brief

a brief ſummary of the hiſtory of each of the ſeven kingdoms in particular. Laſtly, I ſhall repreſent, in ſynchronical tables, the principal events which happened in each kingdom, that the hiſtory of all the kingdoms together may be ſeen at one view. I hope by this means to give a compleat idea, if not of all the affairs of the heptarchy, at leaſt of what is moſt material.

Of the HEPTARCHY in general.

BY the Heptarchy is meant the government of the ſeven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, conſidered as making but one body and one ſtate. The Anglo Saxons, as I ſaid before, eſtabliſhed in England, a form of government not unlike what they had lived under in Germany; that is, conſidering themſelves as brethren and countrymen, and being equally concerned to ſupport themſelves in their conqueſts, they conceived it neceſſary to aſſiſt one another, and act in common for the good of all. To that end they judge it proper to appoint a general in chief, or, if you pleaſe, a monarch, inveſted with certain prerogatives; the nature and number of which we are not fully informed of. Upon the death of this general or monarch, another was choſen by the unanimous conſent of the ſeven kingdoms. But there were ſometimes pretty long interregnums, cauſed by the wars or diviſions between the ſovereigns, who could not meet or agree upon a choice.

Beſides this monarch, they had alſo, as the center of the heptarchical government, an aſſembly-general, conſiſting of the principal members of the ſeven kingdoms, or their deputies. This is what was called the Wittenagemot, or general parliament, where the concerns of the whole nation only were conſidered. But each kingdom had a particular parliament, much after the manner practiſed in the United Provinces of the Low Countries. Each kingdom was ſovereign, and yet they conſulted in common, upon the affairs that concerned the heptarchy; and the acts and reſolutions of the aſſembly-general were to be punctually obſerved, ſince every king and kingdom had aſſented thereto. Such was the form of the heptarchical government, on which I ſhall no farther inſiſt, deſigning to ſpeak more fully of it in another place.

But

But as time and circumſtances often cauſe alterations in the beſt conſtitutions, it happened that the ambition or reſtleſſneſs of their kings did not ſuffer the Anglo-Saxons to remain long in that union the form of their government ſuppoſed. The moſt powerful often took advantage of the weakneſs of the reſt to aggrandize themſelves at their coſt. Hence their frequent wars with one another, which ended in the deſtruction of ſome of the ſeven kingdoms that were annexed to others, and at laſt in the union of all under the government of a ſingle prince. Herein chiefly conſiſts what is tranſmitted to us of the hiſtory of the ſeven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, I mean their continual wars from the beginning to the end of the heptarchy.

Another cauſe of their wars was the ambition of their monarchs, who, not content with the prerogatives annexed to their dignity, were for ſtretching their rights. Had the hiſtorians that writ of the heptarchy been pleaſed to have given us an exact account of the prerogatives of the monarch, we ſhould have been able to judge, in ſome meaſure, of the cauſes of the wars, ſo frequently occaſioned by the diſputes on that head. But as they have only marked the time and ſucceſs of theſe wars, without letting us know the reaſons and motives of them, the hiſtory is rendered very imperfect, and incapable of being ſo coherent as one would wiſh, ſince the annals give us only a bare relation of facts, without any manner of connexion. All we can gather from them is, that the Anglo-Saxon kings were naturally very reſtleſs, and enemies to peace. But this character is not peculiar to them, ſince in the following ages there has been no greater union among the princes of Europe.

Beſides theſe wars, to which the hiſtorians and annaliſts have chiefly confined themſelves, there were, no doubt, many more agreeable and affecting events, that would have embelliſhed and enlivened their hiſtories. But unhappily theſe writers being all monks, had not judgment enough to make choice of ſuch matters as would have rendered their works entertaining. The affairs of religion, and eſpecially the founding of the monaſteries, and the privileges of the monks and clergy, were the only things they enlarged upon. As their ſole view was to ſhow the origin of theſe foundations, and the endowments of monaſteries, in doing this, they could not help informing poſterity that there were in England ſeven different kingdoms, whoſe kings founded ſuch and ſuch monaſteries, and granted them ſuch revenues and immunities. By this they were induced to write a kind of hiſtory of the heptarchy,

heptarchy, otherwiſe the ground of their rights would not have appeared. But on the other hand, as their deſign required nothing more, they were ſatisfied with relating the ſucceſſion of the kings in the ſeveral kingdoms, with ſome of their principal actions. This is properly all the aſſiſtance we have for the hiſtory of the heptarchy, the chief ſubject whereof conſiſts of religious affairs. Of which, therefore, it will be neceſſary to ſay a few words.

When the Saxons arrived in England, they were all pagans and idolaters. It was one hundred and fifty years after their arrival, before they were inſtructed in the chriſtian religion. Their converſion began in 597, with the kingdom of Kent, by Auſtin, a Benedictine monk, ſent by pope Gregory I. and ended in 653 with the kingdom of Mercia, by the miniſtry of certain miſſionaries from Northumberland. During theſe 56 years ſpent in propagating the goſpel, revolutions happened in ſome of the ſeven kingdoms, whereby chriſtianity was ſo rooted out, that it was again to be planted, as if it had never been heard of. This was the caſe of the kingdom of Eſſex, Northumberland, and Eaſt-Anglia. So from the beginning of theſe converſions to the end, there was in England a mixture of chriſtians and idolaters; ſome of the kingdoms being converted, whilſt others remained in paganiſm; neither were all of the ſame kingdom converted at once.

Auſtin preached to the Saxons of Kent, Mellitus to the Eaſt-Saxons, Paulinus to the Northumbrians, Birinus to the Weſt-Saxons, Wilfrid to the South-Saxons, Felix to the Eaſt-Saxons, and the northern monks to the Mercians. But all theſe preached not with the ſame ſucceſs, becauſe the conjunctures were not every where alike favourable. However, in the ſpace of about 60 years after the coming of Auſtin, all England was converted. But no more of this at preſent, as I intend to ſpeak more largely of the church of each kingdom.

I have another, and no inconſiderable remark to make, and that is, the monks, in converting the Anglo-Saxons, took care to inſpire them with reverence for monaſteries and the monaſtick life. They wrought ſo upon the minds of the kings and great men, that it is aſtoniſhing what number of monaſteries, from the converſion of the Engliſh to the diſſolution of the heptarchy, that is, in 200 years, were founded in England, and what immenſe riches the monks had acquired in that time. Religion ſeemed to conſiſt in enriching the monks, and the higheſt perfection in embracing a monaſtick life. For this cauſe kings and queens, princes and princeſſes, ſtript themſelves of all their worldly grandeur, to paſs the

reſidue

reſidue of their days in a monaſtery; ſome to expatiate their enormous crimes, others as believing it the readieſt way to heaven. The monks did not neglect to cheriſh the fervour of this ſort of devotion, extolling to the ſkies thoſe that reſolved to offer ſuch ſacrifices to God, and ſainting all that died in theſe pious diſpoſitions. Hence the great number of ſaints of both ſexes, recorded in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England, among whom are ſeveral kings, as being of all the others the beſt able to purchaſe a Saintſhip this way.

After theſe general remarks, I proceed now to the particular hiſtory of each of the ſeven kingdoms, of which I ſhall relate only what is material, to avoid as much as poſſible, the dryneſs which uſually attends ſuch kind of ſummaries.

SUMMARY of the HISTORY

OF

NORTHUMBERLAND.

THE kingdom of Northumberland was ſituated on the north of the Humber, as its name imports. It was bounded on the ſouth, and parted from Mercia by that river, on the weſt by the Iriſh ſea, on the north by the country of the Picts and Scots, and on the eaſt by the German ocean. It contained the preſent counties of Lancaſhire, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Northumberland, York and Durham. The principal cities were York, Dunelm, (ſince called Durham) Carliſle, (named by the Romans, Lugubalia) Hexham or Hagulſtadt, Lancaſter, and ſome others of leſs note. This country was divided into two parts, Deïra and Bernicia, each, for ſome time, a diſtinct kingdom of itſelf. Bernicia was partly ſituated on the north of Severus's wall, and ended in a point at the mouth of the Tweed. Deïra contained the ſouthern part of Northumberland, as far as the Humber. The greateſt length of the whole kingdom, including both parts, was 160 miles, and its greateſt breadth 100.

Northumberland, its bounds.

IDA.

IDA.

547. Sax. Ann. Ida, the first king, began his reign in 547, and died in 559. After his death Northumberland was divided into two kingdoms, namely Bernicia and Deïra. Adda, son of Ida, was king of Bernicia, and Alla of Deïra, but the occasion of this division is unknown.

In Bernicia.	In Deïra.
559. ADDA.	559. ALLA.
566. GLAPPA.	died in 588.
572. FRIDULPH.	
579. THEODORIC.	
586. ATHELRIC.	

Of all these kings there is nothing known but the time of their death.

Athelric being very old when he came to the crown, his son Adelfrid governed the kingdom in his name, without the title of king; and having espoused Acca, daughter of Alla king of Deïra, who died in 588, got possession of that kingdom, though Alla left a son of three years old, named Edwin.

ADELFRID.

590. Ann. Sax. Adelfrid [a], succeeding his father in 590, became very powerful and formidable to his neighbours, particularly to the Welsh, as well as to the Scots and Picts. But of his wars,

613. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 2. historians have related only this remarkable particular. Adelfrid preparing to lay siege to Chester, then in the hands of the Welsh, these last were bent to give him battle, and to procure the blessing of God on their arms, twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monastery of Bangor, were ordered to pray near the field of battle, during the fight. The monks making too much haste to the place appointed, were met by Adelfrid, who being told the reason of their leaving their monastery, put them all to the sword. This massacre was followed with a signal victory over the Welsh; after which Adelfrid entered Wales, and entirely demolished the monastery of Bangor, where were still above a thousand monks, since Bede assures us, they were divided into seven classes, the

[a] Adel, Athel, Ethel, signify Famous or Noble: Fred, Frid, Freth, Frith, signify Peace: Adelfrid or Ethelfrid (i.e.) Famous for Peace: Athelric, Nobly Strong; Ric signifying, Strong or Powerful.

least

leaſt of which conſiſted of above three hundred. Two of the gates of this immenſe edifice were above a mile aſunder. As this was a very antient and famous monaſtery, in all probability the monks driven out of Britain by the Saxons had taken refuge there [b]. Malmſb.

Whilſt Adelfrid was aggrandizing himſelf by his conqueſts, and growing formidable to all his neighbours, Edwin, ſon of Alla, king of Deïra, wandered from place to place, deſtitute of the neceſſary aſſiſtance to recover his father's dominions. Nay, it was even difficult for him to find where to remain in ſafety. Adelfrid his enemy, was ſo powerful and ſo dreaded, that not one of the Engliſh princes cared to hazard his dominions in defence of a diſtreſſed orphan. At length Redowald, king of the Eaſt-Angles, pitying his condition, afforded him a retreat at his court. He was then about thirty years old, of a noble preſence, and withal poſſeſſed of ſuch good qualities, as gained him the love and eſteem of Redowald and his queen. Scarce had he begun to enjoy the ſweets of his retreat, when he ſaw himſelf on the brink of deſtruction by Adelfrid's enmity, and Redowald's timorous conduct. Adelfrid fearing the king of Eaſt-Anglia was forming ſome project for the reſtoration of Edwin to the throne of Deïra, ſent ambaſſadors to him, to deſire him to deliver up Edwin, or put him to death; and in caſe of refuſal, to proclaim war againſt him. Redowald, ſurprized at this demand, was ſome time before he could reſolve what to do. As his forces were not equal to the king of Northumberland's, he dreaded the expoſing his dominions to the ravages of that incenſed prince, ſhould he afford him a pretence for a war. On the other hand, honour, honeſty, the laws of hoſpitality, Edwin's innocence pleaded againſt his being delivered to an enemy that demanded him only to take away his life. Redowald conſidered likewiſe what a diſparagement it would be to ſubmit to the orders of one that had no right to command him. Theſe various reflections made him extremely uneaſy, and cauſed him to incline ſometimes to the ſide of generoſity, and ſometimes to that of political intereſt. Bede, lib. iii cap. 12,

Whilſt Redowald was thus in ſuſpence, Edwin informed by the queen of the king's irreſolution, was in great perplexity.

b This monaſtery was in Flintſhire, near the river Dee. Camden, p. 556. Tyrr. p. 164. One may judge of the magnificence of this monaſtery, by Malmsbury's deſcription of it: "Quorum incredibilem noſtra ætate nu- "merum fuiſſe, indicio ſunt in vicino "cœnobio tot ſemiruti Parietes Eccle- "ſiarum, tot anfractus porticuum; "tanta turba ruderum, quantum vix "alibi cernas."

For twenty-ſeven years he had wandered through divers kingdoms, without meeting with other ſanctuary than what the king of Eaſt-Anglia had generouſly granted him, but which now, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Northumberland, was like to prove fatal to him. He ſaw his ruin unavoidable, if Redowald delivered him to his enemy; but on the other hand, that prince's irreſolution made him hope for ſome advantageous change in his fortune. He conſidered, if Redowald reſolved to protect him, the war that would infallibly attend his refuſal, might prove a means to raiſe him to his father's throne. Beſides, he was not ſure of avoiding by flight the danger that threatened him, or of finding another retreat. He determined therefore to wait the event, and truſt to the generoſity of Redowald, who as yet ſeemed unreſolved. Redowald was naturally generous; but the fear of engaging in ſo dangerous a war, made him at laſt reſolve to ſacrifice Edwin to the intereſt of the ſtate. Edwin informed of this by the queen, gave himſelf over for loſt; and the more, becauſe the very moment Redowald reſolved to make this ſacrifice to the king of Northumberland, he took all poſſible care to prevent the victim's eſcape.

Hitherto nothing but what is natural has been related of Edwin. But in the days of Bede, who hath given us a large account of this prince's adventures, miracles were ſo much in vogue, that there was ſcarce any remarkable event, in hiſtory, but what was ſeaſoned with ſome prodigy or apparition. Accordingly, that writer, who ſeems a little too credulous in this point, would not neglect to embelliſh his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory with a miraculous event told him, as he ſays, by ſome old men of his time. Beſides, being himſelf a Saxon, and born in Northumberland, a miracle wrought in favour of the firſt Chriſtian king of that kingdom, could not but redound to the honour of his country. He has related many more, which he was not ſo much concerned in, and are no better ſupported than this on the preſent occaſion. I would willingly have paſſed it over in ſilence, as I have many others that occur in his hiſtory, if I had not obſerved the later hiſtorians have affected to copy it; ſo leaving the reader to believe as he pleaſes, I ſhall continue the hiſtory of Edwin, as related by Bede.

Edwin, after his melancholy news from the queen, went and walked in the palace-garden during the night, to conſider of his affairs. Whilſt he was deeply buried in thought, he ſaw a man, in a very ſtrange dreſs, coming towards him, who aſked him, "What kept him thus awake, when all the

"world

"world was aſleep?" The prince anſwered, "He was ſur-
"prized to ſee a ſtranger ſo inquiſitive about the affairs of
"one that was unknown to him." "Think not, replied the
"ſtranger, that I am ignorant of what employs your thoughts:
"I know all that has befallen you to this hour, and am come
"to bring you conſolation in your misfortunes. What now
"will you give to him that ſhall aſſure you of, one day,
"mounting the throne, and becoming the moſt powerful and
"glorious king that has hitherto reigned in England?" "If
"ever that happens, anſwered Edwin, I will liberally reward
"all that ſhall have done me any ſervice, as well as the
"perſon that foretells my good fortune." "He who is
"able and willing to raiſe you to this height of grandeur,
"continued the ſtranger, requires nothing of you but to em-
"brace his doctrine and obey his precepts." "I ſhould be
"a wretch indeed, replied Edwin, ſhould I refuſe to be ruled
"by ſo true a friend." Then the ſtranger laying his hand on the prince's head, told him, "Remember what I am now
"doing, and when the like ſhall happen to you, think then
"of performing your promiſe without delay." Upon theſe words, the ſtranger diſappeared in an extraordinary manner, to convince Edwin there was ſomething ſupernatural in this adventure.

Edwin's ſurpriſe was farther increaſed by the coming of a meſſenger from the queen, to let him know Redowald had altered his mind. She had ſo ſtrongly repreſented to him the horror of the action he was about to committ, that he reſolved to hazard all, rather than be inſtrumental in deſtroying the innocent. Redowald having taken this generous reſolution, ſent back the ambaſſadors, declaring he could not think of delivering up Edwin, much leſs of putting an innocent prince to death, that had fled for refuge to his palace. He did not queſtion but this refuſal would kindle a bloody war. Adelfrid was fierce and powerful, and as he could not but be provoked, the king of Eaſt-Anglia rightly judged he would do his utmoſt to be revenged. But as uſually the party that thinks himſelf injured, is apt to imagine the injurer ſtands only upon the defenſive, Redowald believed Adelfrid, not expecting to be attacked, might be eaſily ſurprized before he could draw his forces together. For this reaſon, he reſolves to prevent him, and carry the war into Northumberland. Huntingd. lay. 3.

This reſolution being taken, an army was levied with all expedition, and divided into three bodies, that were to march at ſome diſtance from each other. The command of the firſt was given to Reyner his eldeſt ſon, with orders to march be-

fore and ſecure a certain paſs. He followed himſelf at the head of the ſecond, leaving Edwin in the rear with the third. Reyner, deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by ſome brave action, before the arrival of the other two bodies, advanced with more ſpeed than his orders required. He hoped to ſurprize the king of Northumberland, who did not expect to be attacked. And indeed, Adelfrid had not yet aſſembled all his forces; but finding Reyner too far advanced to be ſupported, took advantage of his raſhneſs, and attacked him before it was in the power of Redowald to join him. As Reyner's conduct was entirely owing to his exceſs of ambition and courage, he ſuſtained the efforts of Adelfrid with great bravery; but having too much expoſed himſelf to danger, was ſlain, and his army put to flight.

Redowald, extremely concerned for the loſs of his ſon, thought of nothing but revenge. Having joined Edwin, he marched with all expedition to attack the enemy, who, being now too far advanced, had not time to retreat. Nay, he could not think of retiring, after his proud threats, had it been in his power; and therefore, inſtead of retreating, he fiercely marched towards the Eaſt-Angles. The two armies ſoon coming to an engagement [c], Adelfrid performed wonders to preſerve his reputation; but finding he was overpowered by numbers, choſe rather to die than out-live the ſhame of his defeat. With this reſolution he threw himſelf among the thickeſt of his enemies, and fell in the midſt of their ranks, covered with wounds. The Northumbrians immediately threw down their arms, and betaking themſelves to flight, left their enemies maſters of the field.

Bede.
G. Malmſb.
617.
Sax. Ann.

After this great victory, to which Edwin had not a little contributed, Redowald marched into Northumberland without oppoſition. Adelfrid had left three ſons, Anfrid, Oſwald, and Oſwy, who finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the conqueror, fled into Scotland. The Northumbrians thus abandoned, without general or army, and in the uſual confuſion on ſuch occaſions, choſe to ſubmit to Redowald. This generous prince would neither puniſh them for the inſolence of their king, nor improve for himſelf the advantage acquired by his victory. From an uncommon greatneſs of ſoul, he not only gave Edwin the kingdom of Deïra, to which he had ſome pretenſions, but likewiſe that of Bernicia, reſerving to himſelf only the glory of ſo heroical an action; for which,

[c] Near the river Idel in Nottinghamſhire.

and

and upon account of his late victory, he obtained the dignity of monarch, then vacant.

EDWIN.

Edwin[d], who a little before was an object of pity, by one of those surprising revolutions that are beyond the reach and foresight of man, but are ever subservient to the designs of providence, saw himself on a sudden at the head of a powerful kingdom. One can't help seeing in the advancement of this prince the hand of God, disposing all things, by degrees for the execution of his purposes. It appeared in the sequel, that God was pleased to make use of Edwin to lead the Northumbrians to the knowledge of the gospel, as he had already made use of Ethelbert for the conversion of the Saxons of Kent. This is what we shall see more fully in the history of the church. Sax. Ann. Bede. G. Malmsb. Huntingd.

Upon the death of Redowald, in 624, Edwin openly aspired to the monarchy; and indeed there was then no Saxon or English prince able to dispute that honour with him, except Cinigisil and Quicelm, joint kings of the West-Saxons. Quicelm especially opposed him to the utmost of his power, and thereby drew upon himself from that prince, then in league with the king of Mercia, a war that put him in danger of losing his dominions, and obliged him humbly to sue for peace. The war being thus ended, Edwin met with no farther opposition, and saw himself at length invested with the so much desired dignity of monarch. The very Welsh, to prevent an invasion, threatened by Edwin, consented to pay him tribute.

This prince carried the prerogatives of the monarchy higher than any of his predecessors. He claimed an absolute power over the other kings, and treated them with little or no respect. He showed the most regard for Ebald king of Kent, whose sister Ethelburga, a princess of great worth, he designed to espouse. He imagined, his being monarch would cause his proposal to be gladly received; but he met with more difficulty in his courtship than he expected. Ethelburga, being a zealous christian, would not hear of marrying an idolatrous prince, though otherwise never so much to her advantage. Her brother was no less averse to the match, and when proposed to him, refused to give his consent, unless his sister had free liberty publickly to profess her religion. Though this 624 Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9.

[d] Ed or Ead, (i. e.) Happy, Blessed. Win or Wine, War, or Beloved.

condition was by no means pleaſing to the monarch, yet the deſire of poſſeſſing a princeſs, whoſe worth was univerſally known, induced him to agree to whatever was required. On the other hand, Ethelburga was prevailed with to conſent, in expectation that after the example of Bertha of France, her mother, who had procured the converſion of the Saxons of Kent, ſhe ſhould be able likewiſe to lead her ſpouſe, and his
625. ſubjects, to the knowledge of the truth. Every thing being ſettled to the king of Kent's ſatisfaction, Ethelburga ſet out for Northumberland, accompanied with ſome eccleſiaſticks, and particularly Paulinus, conſecrated biſhop by Juſtus archbiſhop of York. This was the ſame Paulinus that converted Edwin and the Northumbrians to the chriſtian religion, as will be more fully related in the hiſtory of the church.

Edwin lived ſeveral years in profound peace, both feared and eſteemed by all the kings of the heptarchy. He improved theſe favourable junctures, not only in maintaining his dominion over the other kings, but alſo in eſtabliſhing good order in the ſtate, and enacting wholſome laws, which he cauſed to be ſtrictly obſerved. Hiſtorians remark, that in his reign juſtice was adminiſtered with that impartiality and rigour, that a child might have gone over the whole kingdom of Northumberland with a purſe of gold in his hand, without danger of robbing. But Edwin's chief care, after his converſion, was to ſpread the chriſtian religion where it was yet unknown, and replant it, where it had been aboliſhed. By his inſtigation, perhaps by his abſolute order, it was, that Erpwald, king of Eaſt-Anglia, permitted the goſpel to be preached again in his dominions, and at length turned chriſtian himſelf. Edwin, who could but ill brook the leaſt oppoſition to his will, pretended to have an authority over the reſt of the kings, of which he was extremely jealous. By an enſign carried before him in the form of a globe [e], as a ſymbol of the union of the heptarchical government in his perſon, he gave them to underſtand, he would be conſidered not only as their head, but their maſter.

Bede. Malmsb. Huntingd.

633. Of all the Anglo-Saxon princes, Penda king of Mercia was
Bede, lib. ii. cap. 2. the moſt uneaſy at Edwin's greatneſs. This prince being naturally reſtleſs and proud, and looking upon his dependence on the king of Northumberland as diſhonourable, was extremely deſirous to caſt off that badge of ſlavery. But as he did not
Malmsb. dare to undertake alone ſo great an enterprize, he impatiently waited for a favourable opportunity to act. At that very time

e In Latin, Tuffa; Lipſius on Vegetius ſpeaks of it.

there

there was another prince in the iſland, who, being in the ſame caſe, no leſs ardently deſired to throw off the Engliſh monarch's yoke. This was Cadwallo king of Wales, who deemed it a diſhonour to him and his country, to pay tribute to a foreign prince. Theſe two princes knowing at length each other's thoughts [f], enter into a league againſt Edwin, and make preparations, which as they could not be concealed, cauſed Edwin to reſolve to prevent them if poſſible. Accordingly he advances as far as Heathfield [g], where meeting the confederate kings, the two armies came to an engagement. The battle was fought on both ſides with deſperate fury. The Mercians and Welſh confided in their numbers, and the Northumbrians in the valour and prudence of their king. Edwin, though inferior in number of troops, ſupplied that defect by his courage and conduct, and kept the balance even, which made him hope victory would at laſt incline to his ſide. But a fatal accident robbed him of that preſence of mind he had all along preſerved, and which was then more than ever neceſſary. Offrid, his eldeſt ſon, bravely ſeconding him, was ſlain at his feet with an arrow, which threw him into ſuch a rage, that he ruſhed among the thickeſt of his enemies, without minding whether he was followed by his ſoldiers. He was immediately run through in many places, and with his life loſt the victory. Upon Edwin's diſappearing, the diſmayed Northumbrians begin to fall into diſorder, and at laſt relinquiſh the field of battle, and take to flight. Sax. Ann.

Thus fell Edwin, in the forty-eighth year of his age, the ſixteenth of his reign, and the ninth of his monarchy. By his firſt wife, daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia, he had two ſons, Offrid and Edfrid. By his ſecond, Ethelburga of Kent, he had two other ſons, and two daughters, who all died in their infancy, except Anfleda, wife of Oſwy king of Northumberland. Edwin reſided at Derventio, now Auldby [h] in Yorkſhire.

INTERREGNUM.

The two conquering kings behaved upon their victory with all imaginable cruelty. As the Northumbrians, after the loſs of their king and army, were unable to reſiſt them, they Bede, lib. ii. cap 20

f Cadwallo (ſays Geoffrey of Monmouth) being forced by king Edwin to fly into Ireland, ſoon after returned with a great army of Iriſh, and overcoming Penda king of the Mercians, obliged him to join his forces againſt Edwin.

g Now called Hatfield, in the Weſt-Riding of Yorſhire. Camden.

h Six miles from York.

entered Northumberland, and ravaged the country in a terrible manner. Cadwallo, though a chriſtian, carried his barbarity to that height, that Edfrid, ſon of Edwin, dreading to fall into his hands, ſurrendered himſelf to Penda, from whom he expected more favour. He was received at firſt with ſome civility; but was afterwards, by Penda's command, murdered in his preſence. Queen Ethelburga and Paulinus fled to the king of Kent, who gave his ſiſter ſome lands to found a monaſtery, where ſhe paſſed the reſidue of her days. As for Paulinus, he was by the ſame king's means made biſhop of Rocheſter.

Bede. Thorn. Hiſt. Abb. Canterb. Cam. in Kent.

The Northumbrians were ſo weakened by their defeat, and the cruelty, or rather fury, of the two victorious kings, that they remained a long time before they recovered themſelves. At length, ſeeing no end to their misfortunes, they judged it more honourable to die with their ſwords in their hands, than periſh by the barbarity of the two tyrants, who breathed nothing but blood and ſlaughter. Accordingly, being reſolved to ſell their lives dear, they conſidered of chuſing a leader. But when they came to the election, the old jealouſies between the Bernicians and Deïrians reviving, they could not agree upon chuſing a king in common. The men of Deïra choſe Oſric, a relation of Edwin; and the Bernicians ſet Anfrid on the throne. This laſt, after the defeat and death of his father, retired into Scotland with Oſwald and Oſwy, his brothers, where they were all three baptized.

Sax. Ann. Bede. Malmsb.

OSRIC in Deïra. ANFRID in Bernicia.

633. Bede, lib. i. cap. 1.

Theſe two kings were no ſooner on the throne, but they abjured the chriſtian religion, which they had before profeſſed. But if their rebellion againſt God was ſudden, their puniſhment was no leſs ſo, being both ſlain in the firſt year of their reign. Oſric raſhly beſieging Cadwallo in York, with an army of undiſciplined troops, the Welſh king, diſdaining to be thus braved, ſallies out and attacks him ſo briſkly, that his army is routed, and himſelf ſlain on the ſpot. After which he marched againſt the king of Bernicia, who was at the head of twelve thouſand men, and amuſing him ſome time with propoſitions of peace, till he was within diſtance, fell upon him unexpectedly, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the Northumbrians, Anfrid himſelf being killed in the battle.

634. G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 3.

INTER-

INTERREGNUM.

It is eaſy to conceive the wretched condition of Northumberland, after ſo many ſucceſſive loſſes. Cadwallo's rage being inflamed by the efforts of the Northumbrians, ſeemed incapable of being appeaſed with leſs than the entire deſtruction of the miſerable nation. His barbarities at length obliged Oſwald, brother of Anfrid, to reſolve to hazard all, in order to relieve a people ſo cruelly oppreſſed. In this generous reſolution, he aſſembles a ſmall body of forces, with which he boldly oppoſes the uſurper. Though the king of Mercia was now returned to his kingdom, Cadwallo looking upon Oſwald's army with the utmoſt contempt, marched againſt him; not doubting of ſucceſs[i]. Oſwald being informed of his approach, intrenched himſelf in an advantageous poſt, where he reſolutely expected him. But as he relied more on the aſſiſtance of heaven than his own ſtrength, he erected a croſs before the camp, and falling down on his knees with the whole army, humbly implored a bleſſing on his arms. Mean time Cadwallo advanced full of confidence, not queſtioning in the leaſt but the ſuperiority of his forces would procure him the victory. In this belief, to encourage his men by his example, he attempts in perſon to force the enemy's intrenchments, wholly intent upon ſatisfying his furious rage. But whilſt he is endeavouring to open a paſſage to join his enemies, he is ſhot through the body with an arrow, which puts an end to his projects and life. His death cauſes a great diſorder among his troops, who begin by degrees to retreat. Then the Northumbrians ruſhing out of their intrenchments, fall upon their enemies ſo vigorouſly, that they are entirely routed. The victory was ſo compleat, and the protection of heaven appeared ſo viſibly in favour of the Engliſh, that the field of battle was named Heofen or Heaven-field, the ſame that is now called Haledon[k].

Sax. Ann. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3. Polychron. lib. v. c. 12.

i Matthew of Weſtminſter ſays, Penda was then general of Cadwallo's forces; though Bede ſeems to affirm, the battle was fought againſt Cadwallo.

k Bede, ſays, the battle was fought at Deniſesburna, (ſuppoſed to be Dilſton) and relates many very incredible and ſuperſtitious miracles concerning this place and the croſs erected by Oſwald, whoſe chief merit with the monks was his introducing monkery with the chriſtian religion, which makes the ſtory of the croſs to be conſidered as a monkiſh fiction, as well as the name of Heaven-field.

OSWALD.

634 Glor. Wig. M. Weſt. After this great victory, Oſwald took poſſeſſion of the two kingdoms of Northumberland, to which he was heir, namely, to Bernicia by Adelfrid his father, and to Deïra by Acca his mother, ſiſter of Edwin. He was the moſt knowing, as well as moſt pious prince of his age, having been inſtructed in the chriſtian religion whilſt in Scotland. His ſtrict virtue, great humility, and zeal for the advancement of the true religion, gained him to ſuch a degree the love and eſteem of his ſubjects, that they reverenced him as a ſaint after his death. He had the happineſs and ſatisfaction to free his country from the tyranny of Cadwallo, to unite the two kingdoms of Northumberland under his dominion, and moreover to be elected monarch of the Anglo-Saxons. It is even pretended that the Welſh, Scots, and Picts were tributary to him. He took particular care to reſtore the chriſtian religion in his dominions, from whence the late troubles after Edwin's death had entirely baniſhed it.

Bede. lib. iii. c. 1. 2.

This prince ſpent ſeveral years in this ſo pious and neceſſary a work; but at length was obliged to deſiſt, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of the king of Mercia, who was preparing to attack him. Penda, ever reſtleſs and haughty, could not bear to ſee Oſwald his ſuperior, as monarch; and therefore, to free himſelf from ſo uneaſy a dependence, without any declaration of war, he ſuddenly takes up arms to ſuprize him. Oſwald being ſenſible, that it was of the utmoſt conſequence ſpeedily to oppoſe the king of Mercia's deſigns, made haſte to meet him, before he had aſſembled all his forces. Penda taking advantage of this precipitation, which rendered him ſuperior to his enemy in number of troops, gave him battle, and obtained a ſignal victory; which would have redounded more to his glory, had he not ſullied it by his cruelty. The body of Oſwald, who was ſlain in the fight, being found among the dead, the inhuman conqueror cut it in ſeveral pieces, and fixing them on ſtakes, erected them in the field of battle like ſo many trophies. This battle was fought at Oſweſtree [1]. Oſ-

1 In Shropſhire, then called Maſerfield. 'Tis incredible to think how many miracles were aſcribed to him after his death by his friends the monks; particularly the wonders performed by his right-hand, which Bede ſays, was preſerved uncorrupt in the church of Peterborough in his time. It ſeems he ſent one day a large ſilver diſh full of meat to ſome poor people at his gate, ordering the diſh to be broken in pieces, and diſtributed among them. Whereupon Aidan taking him by the right-hand, ſaid, "Let this hand never cor-"rupt." Which (ſay the monks) accordingly happened.

wald

wald left a ſon called Adelwalt, ſome time after king of Deïra. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 9.

Penda, after his victory, behaved with his uſual barbarity. Having ravaged Nothumberland, he laid ſiege to Bamborough, a ſtrong town built by Ida, where meeting with more reſiſtance than he expected, he reſolved to reduce it to aſhes. To that end, having laid under the walls a great quantity of wood, he ſet fire to it as ſoon as the wind favoured his deſign. But hardly was the fire lighted, when the wind came about and blew the flame directly into his camp, by which the beſiegers were great ſufferers. This ſtratagem failing, he raiſed the ſiege, and quitting Northumberland, carried the war into East-Anglia. Penda's retreat affording the Northumbrians a little reſpite, the Bernicians place Oſwy, brother of Oſwald, upon the throne; and the next year Oſwin, ſon of Oſric, ſlain by Cadwallo, was crowned king of Deïra. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 16. 642. 644. Sax. Ann.

643. OSWY in Bernicia. 644. OSWIN in Deïra.

Oſwy thought he was very unjuſtly dealt with, in being deprived of part of his brother's dominions, but as he dreaded another invaſion from Penda, it was no proper ſeaſon to do himſelf juſtice. As long therefore as he was under that apprehenſion, he lived in a good underſtanding with the king of Deïra. But the moment he ſees Penda engaged in other wars, he aſſerts his claim to Deïra, and ſeeks a quarrel with Oſwin; who, after trying ſeveral ways to ſatisfy his enemy, is forced at laſt to take up arms in his own defence. Oſwin was a mild and peaceable prince, more devout than brave; and though drawn into the war purely by neceſſity, yet for all that he could not conquer his ſcruples. He verily believed the ſhedding his ſubjects blood in his quarrel was the greateſt of ſins, and therefore withdrawing privately from his army, he retired to a certain earl's houſe [m], whom he ſuppoſed to be his beſt friend, with deſign to betake himſelf from thence to ſome monaſtery. But before he could execute his project, his treacherous friend betrayed him to Oſwy, who ordered him to be inhumanly murdered, in expectation of ſeizing his kingdom with the greater eaſe. This barbarous action did not, however, procure him the advantage he hoped for. The people of Deïra, exaſperated againſt him, and dreading to fall under the dominion of ſo cruel a prince, immediately ſent Adelwalt, ſon of 650. G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 3. 651. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 14. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

[m] He is called by Bede, earl of Hunwald. Brompton ſays, he was betrayed by one Cendchere, a ſoldier, p. 787.

Oſwald

Oſwald his brother, upon the throne, who was better able to defend himſelf than his predeceſſor. Some time after, Oſwy, touched with remorſe, founded a monaſtery in the very place where Oſwin was murdered [n], flattering himſelf he ſhould atone for his crime by this ſlight penance.

OSWY ſtill in Bernicia. 652. ADELWALT in Deïra.

It was hardly poſſible for Oſwy and Adelwalt, though very near relations, to live in a good underſtanding. Oſwy ſtill preſerved his claim to the kingdom of Deïra, and Adelwalt could not be ignorant of it. Conſequently it was his intereſt, not only to ſuſpect his uncle's deſigns, but even to put it out of his power, if poſſible, from giving him any diſturbance. For this reaſon, he readily liſtened to the propoſal of a league with the kings of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia, againſt Oſwy. Penda, though ſeventy-eight years old, was the author of this league. Oſwy being informed of it, did all that lay in his power to divert the impending ſtorm, even to the offering money to Penda, to bribe him to deſiſt from his enterprize. But nothing could appeaſe that prince, the irreconcileable enemy of the Northumbrians, who ſeeing himſelf ſupportd by the armies of Eaſt-Anglia and Deïra, believed he had now a favourable opportunity to gratify his paſſion. Oſwy therefore found he was obliged to ſtand alone againſt theſe three enemies, whoſe united forces could not but inſpire him with ſome dread. In this preſſing neceſſity, he made a vow to
655. found a dozen monaſteries, and make his daughter a nun, if
G. Malm. lib. i. c. 4: God would give him the victory. To this vow it is that hiſtorians aſcribe the ſucceſs God was pleaſed to vouchſafe him in this war.

Whilſt the two armies were advancing towards one another, Adelwalt formed new projects. He conſidered, to which ſide ſoever the victory inclined, it would prove equally dangerous to him, ſince he had the ſame reaſon to fear his being deprived of his dominions by Penda as by Oſwy: and therefore he reſolved to ſave his own troops, and ſtand neuter during the battle, that he might be in a condition to defend himſelf againſt the conqueror. When the two armies came in ſight, Penda, who had not dived into Adelwalt's deſign, boldly attacked the king of Bernicia, not doubting of being ſeconded by the Deïrians and Eaſt-Anglians. But when the Mercians ſaw

n Ingethlingum, according to Bede, lib. xiii. c. 14, 24; afterwards Yeding priory in Yorkſhire. Lamb. Top. Dic.

Adel-

Adelwalt draw off his troops, their ardor abated, and thinking they were betrayed, began to give ground. Mean while, the kings of Mercia and East-Anglia did their utmoſt to revive the courage of the frighted troops. But being both ſlain in endeavouring to renew the fight, their army was put to route. This battle was fought in Yorſhire on the banks of the Aire, and the place was afterwards called Winwidfield [o]. Bede, lib. iii, cap. 24.

After this victory, Oſwy, without loſs of time, marched into Mercia, and became maſter of that kingdom, which he enjoyed but three years. In that interval, the monarchy, vacant ever ſince the death of Oſwald his brother, was conferred upon him. Penda was properly the only prince that could juſtly pretend to it, but withal the moſt dangerous to be intruſted with it.

Oſwy held Mercia by right of conqueſt, whilſt the ſons of Penda were forced to ſeek for refuge among their friends. Their misfortune would doubtleſs have been of longer continuance, had not the rigorous proceedings of Oſwy's officers compelled the Mercians to take up arms. They concerted their meaſures ſo well, that, when Oſwy leaſt expected it, the Northumbrians were on a ſudden driven out of Mercia, and Wulpher, ſon of Penda, placed on the throne.

A few years after, Oſwy in ſome meaſure repaired this loſs, by the acquiſition of Deïra, upon the death of Adelwalt, who died without heirs. Thus Northumberland was once more united into one kingdom.

OSWY alone.

This re-union however did not hold long. Oſwy's tender affection for his natural ſon Alfred, induced him to divide Northumberland again, and make him king of Deïra, though contrary to the people's inclination.

OSWY	ALFRED
in Bernicia.	in Deïra.

Oſwy, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, died in 670 [p]. The beginning of his reign was troubled with wars; but his good fortune prevailed at laſt, and procured him ſome quiet. Bede, for reaſons taken notice of in the hiſtory of the

o That is the Field of Victory, now Leeds. Camden.

p And was buried in Whitby monaſtery in Yorkſhire, called in Saxon Streaneſheal, founded by his daughter Elfleda. Malm. p. 20. Bede, lib. iii, cap. 24.

church,

church, ranks him among the moſt illuſtrious kings of the heptarchy, and loads him with praiſes, though his reputation was very much ſullied by the murder of Oſwin. By Anfleda, daughter of Edwin, he had two ſons and three daughters. Egfrid his ſon ſucceeded him both in his kingdom, and in the monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons. The Deïrians, upon Oſwy's death, revolted againſt Alfred, and put themſelves under the dominion of Egfrid, who thereby became king of all Northumberland. Alfred retired into Ireland, where he applied himſelf chiefly to his ſtudies, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to recover his dominions.

EGFRID alone.

670. G. Malmſb. lib. iii. de pontif.

Egfrid, though he came to the crown young, ſoon made himſelf both eſteemed and feared. The Picts invading his territories, were defeated ſeveral times, and forced in the end to purchaſe a peace with part of their country. Wulpher, king of Mercia, thought likewiſe to make ſome conqueſts in Northumberland; but before the end of the war, was very glad to preſerve his own dominions. Egfrid's good ſucceſs in the beginning of his reign, procured him the dignity of monarch, which his father enjoyed before him.

684. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26.

In the year 684, he ſends an army into Ireland, for the conqueſt of that iſland, under the conduct of Bertfrid, whoſe cruelties to the Iriſh, eſpecially in not ſparing their very churches and monaſteries, cauſe the enterprize to miſcarry. The Iriſh recovering out of their firſt ſurprize, defend themſelves ſo well, that Bertfrid is forced to return home with his almoſt ruined army.

Egfrid not being able to gain any thing from that quarter, reſolves to enlarge his bounds towards the north, and to that end carries his arms into the country of the Picts, who little expected an invaſion. For which reaſon they betake themſelves to their moraſſes and fens, to avoid the firſt attacks of their enemies. Egfrid was ſo unwiſe as to follow them, and lead his men into unknown defiles, which he could not get clear of. Whereupon the Picts, who were perfectly acquainted with the country, harraſſed his hunger-ſtarved troops in ſuch a manner, that he loſt above half his army. And at laſt, to open a paſſage, he was forced to come to a very unequal engagement, wherein he loſt his life, in the fortieth year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign.

Egfrid was twice married; Adelfrida his firſt wife, daughter of Annas king of the Eaſt-Angles, and widow of Thombert

an

an Engliſh lord, is ſaid to remain a virgin, though ſhe had two huſbands, and at laſt to be entirely parted from Egfrid. She founded a monaſtery at Ely, and was the firſt abbeſs herſelf. She was reverenced in England by the name of St. Auldry.

The death of Egfrid, and loſs of his army, were extremely prejudicial to the kingdom of Northumberland, which from that time never recovered its former luſtre. The Picts improved their victory by the conqueſt of part of Bernicicia, which lay convenient for them. The Welſh, on the other hand, poſſeſſed themſelves of the two provinces, that formerly compoſed the kingdom of Areclute, and out of them erected the kingdoms of Lenox and Cumberland; the firſt of which was taken from them ſome years after.

Egfrid leaving no iſſue, the Northumbrians recalled Alfred from Ireland, and crowned him king of both kingdoms, which from thenceforward remained always united.

ALFRED.

The Picts and Welſh having had time to ſecure their conqueſts before Alfred was ſettled on his throne, it was not poſſible for him, after Egfrid's death, to recover them out of their hands. All he could do was to defend, and that with great difficulty, the reſt of his dominions from the frequent attacks of his neighbours. The monarchy of the Anglo-Saxons went to the kings of Weſſex. 685. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 26.

Alfred ended his days in 705, having reigned twenty years after his reſtoration. He left his ſon Oſred to ſucceed him at eight years of age, under the guardianſhip of a lord named Brithric. 705. Ann. Sax. Flor. Wig.

OSRED.

The minorities of princes being generally attended with troubles, it happened in the beginning of this, that Edulph, a certain lord of the country, taking advantage of Oſred's youth, made an attempt upon the crown. A powerful party having owned him for king, Oſred and his guardian were obliged to retire to Bamborough-caſtle, where they were immediately beſieged by Edulph. The length of the ſiege giving Brithric time to look about him, and his friends an opportunity of riſing in favour of their lawful king, Edulph found himſelf deſerted on a ſudden, and forced to raiſe the ſiege in confuſion and hurry. Whereupon Brithric, improving this happy turn, ſallied out in purſuit of the uſurper, and taking him G. Malm. lib. iii. de Pent. Sax. Annal. Malmsb. Bede, lib. v. Flor. Wig.

him priſoner, ordered him to be beheaded, about two months after his revolt.

Flor. Wig. When Oſred came of age, and was maſter of himſelf, he fell into a wicked and lewd courſe of life; but eſpecially he had little or no regard for the monks, which was looked upon then as the height of impiety. He made no ſcruple, as 'tis pretended, to debauch the nuns, and even to force them, when fair means would not prevail. Though this imputation cannot be ſaid to be certainly true, yet the effects of it were great. After Alfred, Oſwy's natural ſon, came to the crown, all the baſtards of the kings, or their deſcendants, imagined they had the ſame right to aſpire to the throne. This proved the occaſion of many trobles in the kingdom. Cenred and Oſric, deſcendants of Ogga, natural ſon of Ida, ſeeing Oſred was neither eſteemed nor beloved, formed a party againſt him, which was abetted to the utmoſt of their power by the regular and ſecular clergy, whoſe intereſt it was to have a new ſove-
716. reign. This party became at length ſo ſtrong, as to be able
G. Malm. lib. i. c. 3, H. Hunt, lib. ii. to give Oſred battle, wherein he was ſlain, in the nineteenth year of his age, and eleventh of his reign. Cenred, the principal author of the revolt, was his ſucceſſor.

CENRED.

716. This prince died in the ſecond year of his reign, and Oſric, that aſſiſted him in obtaining the crown, mounted the throne after him.

OSRIC.

718. He reigned eleven years, without doing any thing remark-
Sax. Ann. Bede. able, and left his crown to his couſin Ceolulph.

CEOLULPH.

730. This prince turning monk, in the ſeventh or eighth year of his reign, paſſed the reſidue of his days in the monaſtery of Lindisfarn. Edbert aſcended the throne after him.

EDBERT.

737. The coronation of Edbert was immediately followed by an
G, Malm. Lib. i. cap. 3. H. Hunt, lib. iv. invaſion of the Picts in the northern frontiers. This war obliging him to march all his forces towards the north, the king of Mercia, taking advantage of their diſtance, fell upon the

the ſouthern parts of Northumberland, and carried off a great booty. 740.

Edbert, towards the end of his reign, having made a league with Oenguſſa king of the Picts, recovered the city of Areclute [q], capital of the kingdom of Lenox, taken by the Welſh in the reign of Alfred. Deovama, general or prince of the Welſh, endeavouring to relieve Areclute, was defeated by the confederate kings. Shortly after, Edbert retired into a monaſtery, leaving his crown to his ſon Oſulph. 756. Malmsb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

OSULPH.

Oſulph was aſſaſſinated in the firſt year of his reign; and Mollon-Adelwald, though not of the blood-royal, was raiſed to the throne. 758.

MOLLON-ADELWALD.

Mollon-Adelwald's election was a freſh occaſion of ſundry calamities that afflicted Northumberland, and proved in the end the deſtruction of the kingdom. The Northumbrians having been guilty of the error of placing on the throne a king not of the royal family, all the great men thought themſelves entitled to the crown, as well as the princes of the blood. Hence thoſe many factions that ended at laſt in the entire loſs of the publick liberty. Some of the nobles finding Mollon had raiſed himſelf to the throne by the help of a powerful party, believed it allowable for them to do the ſame. Oſwy, one of theſe lords, led the way; but death freed the king from this competitor. Afterwards Alcred, deſcended from Ida by Alaric, one of his natural ſons, following the example of Oſwy, and ſecretly conſpiring againſt Mollon, found means to inſnare him and put him to death; after which he was crowned in his ſtead. 759. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Hunting. 761. S. Dunelm.

ALCRED.

Mollon's faction, that was very much humbled by his death, having in time recovered the ſuperiority they had loſt, Alcred was forced to fly to the king of the Picts, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. As ſoon as he was gone, Ethelred, ſon of Mollon, was placed on the throne by his father's party. 765.

[q] Or Alcuith, the ſame with Dumbritton.

ETHELRED.

774. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. S. Dunelm. Hunting.

As Ethelred had been raiſed to the crown by the intereſt of his faction, he judged the beſt way to fix himſelf in the throne, would be by the death or baniſhment of the heads of the contrary party. Accordingly, three of the principal oppoſers of his election were put to death, for forged or ſlight crimes. But this method, inſtead of having the expected effect, ſerved only to haſten the plots of his enemies, whom the deaths of the three innocent lords furniſhed with a plauſible pretence to take up arms. In a ſhort time they were able to bring into the field an army, that gave the king ſome uneaſineſs. The king, however, ſending his beſt troops againſt them, under the command of a general entirely devoted to his ſervice, was in hopes of ſpeedily reducing them to obedience. But his army was overthrown by the rebels. This defeat, which was ſoon followed by a ſecond, threw him into ſuch an ill ſituation, that he was obliged to fly for refuge to ſome of the neighbouring kingdoms. Upon his retiring, Alfwald, ſon of Oſulph, and grandſon of Egbert, was placed on the throne by the victorious party.

ALFWALD I.

779. H. Hunt. lib iv. R. de How.

Alfwald I. reigned eleven years with great juſtice and moderation. But, however, it did not prevent his being aſſaſſinated by one of the contrary faction. He was honoured by his followers as a ſaint after his death.

OSRED. II.

789. G. Malm. lib. i. c. 3.

Oſred, ſon of king Alcred, was choſen in his room, who, very unlike his predeceſſor, became ſo contemptible, that he was confined to a monaſtery the firſt year of his reign. Ethelred's party was deeply concerned in depoſing Oſred, and had intereſt enough to recall and place him again on the throne, after fifteen years exile.

ETHELRED reſtored.

Ethelred began his new reign with two acts of cruelty, that very much exaſperated his enemies againſt him. He put Oſred his predeceſſor to death, who, though a monk, made

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MERCIA

11

Cunebald

12

1 CRIDA d. 594

Cunimond

13

2 WIBBA d. 615.

3 CEARLUS d. 625

Quenburga *Edwin K. of North.*

14

5 OSWY *Usurper*

4 PENDA d. 655.

Eoppa

Cenowalch

15

PEDA d. 637.

6 WUFER d. 675.

7 ETHELRED d. 704.

MEROWALD *K. of Hereford.*

MERCELM *K. of Hereford.*

Cuniburga *Wife to Alfred K. of North*

Alvius

Ofmond

Centwin

16

Wolphad
Ruffin
Martyrs
Vereburga

8 CENRED d. 709.

9 CEOLRED d. 716.

Merefin
Milburga
Mildreda
Mildgitha

10 ETHELBALD d. 757.

Ennulph

Ceuroiis

17

Dingfert

Baſsa

11 BEORNRED *Usurper.*

18

12 OFFA d. 796.

Cuthbert

17 BERNULPH *Elected d. 821.*

18 LUDICAN *Elected d. 823.*

19

13 EGFRID d. 706.

Elburga *I. Alemund K. of Kent 2. Brithrick K. of Weſsex.*

Elfleda *Ethelred K. of North.*

Adeltrida *Nun.*

14 CENULPH d. 819.

16 CEOLULPH d. 820.

19 WITGLAPH d. 829.

20

CENELM d. 819.

Quendrida *kill'd Cenelm*
Burganilda

Elfleda

Wigmond

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GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND

Esa

Eoppa — Ella 1st K. of Sussex.

1 IDA 1st K. of North. d. 559. — 3 GLAPPA d. 572. — Theodulph d. 572 — 4 ERIDULPH d. 579.

2 ADDA d. 566. — 5 THEODORICK d. 586. — 6 ATHALARICK d. 590.

Ogg bastard. — Alarick bastard.

7 ADELFRID d. 617. — Theobald d. 603.

Adhelm — Blocknan

9 ANFRID d. 634 — 10 OSWALD d. 642. — 11 OSWY d. 670.

Egwald — Bosa

ADELWALT K. of Deira d. 651. — EGFRID d. 685. — 12 — 13 ALFRED d. 705. — Alphwin d. 678. — Ostrith — Ethelred K. of Mercia. — Alfleda Peda K. of Leicester. — Elfleda Abbess of Pharc. — Ledoald — Birnhom

Albert Priest. — 14 OSRED I. d. 716. — Cuthwin — N... — Enwin

Elected Kings or Usurpers. — 15 KENRED d. 718. — Cuthа — Eſha — 16 OSRICK d. 729. — 21 ALCRED depos'd 774

EDWIN d. 633. — 17 CEOLULPH d. 737. — 18 EDBERT d. 758. — Egbert — 24 OSRED II. Monk. d. 790. — St Alcmund d. 800.

20 MOLLON-ADELWALT d. 766. — 22 — 25 ETHELRED I. dep. 779. rest. 790. d. 796. — 19 OSULPH d. 759

26 OSBALD depos'd 796. — 27 ARDULPH depos'd 808. — 23 ALFWALD I. d.....

28 ALFWALD II. d. 810. — 29 ANDRED tributary to Ecbert d. 848. — Alphus Slain by — Alphwin Ethelred II

made him uneasy[r]: and then dispatched out of the way Alphus and Alfwin, sons of the good king Alfwald.

During this reign, the Danes made a descent into Northumberland, and burnt Lindisfarn monastery. Allured by the booty taken in this first expedition, they came again next year, and pillaged Tinmouth monastery, founded by king Egfrid. Ethelred, by the assistance of his father-in-law, Offa king of Mercia, prevented them from carrying their ravages any farther, and drove them back to their ships, where almost all of them perished in a sudden and violent storm on the English coast. 794. 795.

After Ethelred was recalled, his cruel and revengeful temper very much inflamed the enmity of the opposite faction towards him. Mean while, regardless of the murmurs of his enemies, he thought only of glutting his revenge, and establishing himself in his throne, by the death or banishment of those he most feared. At length, attempting to send Ardulph, one of the principal lords of the country, into exile, he gave the contrary party an occasion to rebel. After the civil war had lasted two years, the malecontents, finding they had taken a tedious and uncertain way to get rid of their king, caused him to be assassinated. However his faction was still powerful enough to place Osbald, one of their own party, on the throne. 796. Sim. Dunelm. Rog. Hov.

Charles the Great, Ethelred's friend, was so incensed with the Northumbrians, that he was going to proclaim war against them, as appears in Alcuin's letter, on this occasion, to Offa king of Mercia. Alcuin. Ep. G. Malm. lib. 1. c. 1.

OSBALD or OSRED.

Whilst people were intent upon the publick rejoicings at the election of the new king, the opposite party laid their measures so well, that Osbald was dethroned, twenty-seven days after his election, and Ardulph chosen in his room. 796.

r Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden, say, that Osred went from his monastery into exile. From whence being invited over by some of his party, but afterwards deserted by them, he was taken by Ethelred, and put to death. S. Dunelm. p. 112. Hoved. p. 405. So that he was no monk, as Rapin supposes.

ARDULPH.

796. The diviſions that prevailed in Northumberland ſtill continue to diſtract that unfortunate kingdom. Ardulph was ſupported in the throne only by one of the factions that was then the moſt powerful. But this did not hinder the other party from frequently attempting to get uppermoſt. Alcred, formerly king of Northumberland, left a ſon named
800. Alcmund, who was head of this party. This prince begin-
Sim. Dunelm. ning to grow formidable, Ardulph put him to death, judging it neceſſary to ſacrifice him to his ſafety. His death being looked upon by his friends as a martyrdom, Alcmund was ranked among the ſaints. But this was not all that followed upon his death. It afforded the king's enemies a pretence to riſe in arms, and ſet Alaric, a lord, at their head. But this general being vanquiſhed, and ſlain in battle, the malecontents remained quiet for ſome time, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. And, indeed, the face of affairs was quickly changed. For the oppoſite party became at length ſo powerful, that the king was glad to eſcape out of his enemies hands, by flying to the court of Charles the Great, where the Engliſh were always welcome.

ALFWALD II.

808. After the retreat of Ardulph, Alfwald II. who had chaced him away, was placed on the throne; and reigning about two years, by his death left the crown to Andred.

ANDRED.

810. In Andred's reign it was that Northumberland ſubmitted to the dominion of Ecbert, king of Weſſex, who put an end to the heptarchy.

The

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of MERCIA.

THE kingdom of Mercia was bounded on the north by the Humber, by which it was separated from Northumberland; on the west by the Severn, beyond which were the Britons or Welsh; on the south by the Thames, by which it was parted from the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex; on the east by the kingdoms of Essex and East-Anglia. Thus Mercia was guarded on three sides by three large rivers that ran into the sea, and served for a boundary to all the other kingdoms: hence the name Mercia, from the Saxon word Merc, signifying a Bound, and not, as some fancy, from an imaginary river called Mercia. The inhabitants of this kingdom are sometimes termed by historians Mediterranei Angli, or the Midland English; and sometimes Southumbrians, as being south of the Humber; but the most common name is that of Mercians. The principal cities of Mercia were Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, Leicester, Coventry, Lichfield, Northampton, Worcester, Glouceſter, Derby, Chester, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Oxford, Bristol. Of all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, this was the finest and most considerable. Its greatest length was a hundred and sixty miles, and its greatest breadth about one hundred. Kingdom of Mercia.

CRIDA.

First king of Mercia, arrived in England in 584. He was crowned the same or the following year, and died in 594[a]. H. Hunting. Flor. Wig.

INTERREGNUM.

After Crida's death, Ethelbert, king of Kent and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, made himself master of Mercia, and kept it some time, as will be related in the history of the kingdom of Kent: but afterwards restored it to Wibba, son of Crida, reserving however some right of sovereignty, the nature of which historians have neglected to explain.

[a] The Saxon Annals say in 593.

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a The Saxon Annals ſay in 593.

WIBBA.

597. This prince reigned nineteen years, and died in 615. He left a ſon called Penda, who ſhould have ſucceeded him, but Ethelbert being ſtill alive, and dreading his reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit, left Mercia about a year without a king. After that he placed Cearlus, couſin-german of Wibba, on the throne.

H. Hunting. lib. ii. Polychr. lib. v. cap. 12.

CEARLUS.

616. After the death of Ethelbert, in 619, Cearlus freed Mercia from the dominion of the kings of Kent. He reigned nine years, and died in 624. As he left no children, Penda, ſon of Wibba, poſſeſſed the throne after him.

Malmſb. G. Thorn.

PENDA.

625. This prince was fifty years old when he came to the crown. Ethelbert had not without reaſon paſſed him by after his father's death, he being the moſt reſtleſs and ſtirring prince that ever reigned before or ſince in England: he hated peace worſe than death. I have already, in the hiſtory of Northumberland, ſpoken of his wars with Edwin, Oſwald, and Oſwy. His war with the kings of Weſſex and Eaſt-Anglia, to avoid repetition, ſhall be related in the hiſtory of theſe two kingdoms.

H. Hunting. lib. ii. Malmſb.

653. In 653, Penda cauſed Peda, his eldeſt ſon, to be crowned of Leiceſter, and then ſent him into Northumberland to eſpouſe the daughter of king Oſwy, where he was converted to Chriſtianity. He brought back with him ſome miſſionaries, who preached the Goſpel in Mercia with good ſucceſs. But Penda lived and died a pagan.

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 21.

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 24. Malmsb.

At length Penda was ſlain in battle, in the eightieth year of his age, as was related in the hiſtory of Northumberland. He left five ſons, Peda, Wulfer, Ethelred, Merowald, and Mercelm; and two daughters, Ciniburga and Ciniſwintha.

INTERREGNUM.

657. After the defeat and death of Penda, Oſwy became maſter of Mercia, and kept it three years: however he left Peda, his ſon-in-law, the little kingdom of Leiceſter. But Peda being ſoon after poiſoned by his wife, Oſwy ſeized that too, and held it with the reſt of Mercia till he was driven thence by

Bede. Polychr. Flor. Wig.

by Wulfer, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of Northumberland.

WULFER.

Wulfer was almoſt as much a ſtranger to peace as his father Penda. He waged war, at ſeveral times, with all the neighbouring princes, with various ſucceſs, one while conqueror, another while vanquiſhed. As the particulars of theſe wars are not very material, and beſides are but lamely related by the hiſtorians, it is needleſs to inſiſt upon them. I ſhall only obſerve, that he took Adelwalch, king of Suſſex, priſoner, and brought him to Mercia, after having conquered his kingdom [b]. Some time after, Adelwach turning Chriſtian, during his impriſonment, Wulfer gave him the Iſle of Wight, which he had likewiſe ſubdued. There is room to conjecture, that Wulfer had alſo conquered the kingdom of Eſſex, ſince it is well known he diſpoſed of the biſhopric of London in favour of one Wina. 659. M. Weſt. 663. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 1. et 7. Flor. Wig. 666.

Wulfer was ſtill an idolater when he came to the crown; but ſhortly after was converted, and his children were brought up in the Chriſtian religion [c]. Vereburga, one of his daughters, was honoured as a ſaint. He died in 675, thinking to leave his crown to his ſon Cenrid; but his brother Ethelred found means to ſupplant his nephew, and obtain the kingdom. Malm. lib. i. cap. 4. Flor. Wig.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne, erected Herefordſhire into a kingdom, and gave it to Merowald his brother [d], who dying without heirs, left it to his younger brother Mercelm: but he dying alſo without children, this little kingdom was reunited to Mercia. 675.

In 679, Ethelred invaded Kent, and made great devaſtation [e]. After that he turned his arms againſt Northumberland [f], and compelled Egfrid to reſtore certain Mercian towns, taken during the reign of Wulfer. Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, greatly contributed to the peace concluded between theſe two kings. 679. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 21. G. Malm. lib. iii. de Pont. Bede. Flor. Wig. M. Weſtm.

b He alſo defeated Cenowalch, king of Weſſex, at Aſton, near Wallingford. Sax. Annal. Malmsb. Tyrrel, p. 188.

c He married Ermenilda, the daughter of Ercombert, king of Kent. Higd. Polychron. p. 236.

d He married the daughter of Ermenred, king of Kent. Higd. Polych. p. 240.

e Particularly, he deſtroyed Rocheſter. Huntingd. p. 318. p. 184.

f In this battle was ſlain Elſwin, king Elfrid's brother, near the river Trent. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Huntingd. p. 184.

In 697, Oſtrith, wife of Ethelred, was aſſaſſinated [g], and the little care to diſcover the murderers, gives room to ſuſpect
704. the king himſelf was not innocent. However that be, Ethel-
G. Malmsb. lib. 1. cap. 4. red growing weary of the world, reſigned his crown to Cenred, his nephew, ſon of Wulfer, and turned monk in Bardney monaſtery, of which ſhortly after he was made abbot.

CENRED.

704. Nothing remarkable was done by this prince, during his
Bede, lib. v. cap. 20. four years reign, but the exchanging his crown for the monkiſh habit, after the example of Offa, king of Eſſex, who was come to his court to demand Ciniſwithna his aunt, daughter of Penda, in marriage. By the perſuaſions of this princeſs, both kings were prevailed upon to turn monks, and go to Rome, and receive the tonſure at the pope's hands. Ceolred, ſon of Ethelred, ſucceeded his couſin Cenred.

CEOLRED.

709. Ceolred had a terrible war to ſuſtain againſt Ina, king of
Ann. Sax. Flor. Wig. H. Hunting. lib. iv. the Weſt-Saxons. Hiſtorians, according to cuſtom, without relating the motives or particulars of this war, only ſay, the two kings, at Wodenburg in Wiltſhire, fought a bloody battle with ſuch equal ſucceſs, that neither could boaſt of the victory.

Ceolfred was far from being of his predeceſſor's mind to pre-
715. fer the monk's habit before a crown. He not only diſregarded
G. Malmsb. lib. i. cap. 4. the monks and the reſt of the clergy, but, if the hiſtorians are to be credited, violated their privileges without any
Epiſt. Bon. 19. ſcruple. This behaviour, ſo contrary to that of all the other Engliſh princes, raiſed great clamours againſt him. The monks in particular took all occaſions to paint him in the blackeſt colours. Their animoſity followed him even in the
716. other world: after his death, which happened in 716, they gave out that he reſigned his laſt breath, blaſpheming and talking with the devil. Such kind of reports againſt thoſe that were not in the intereſt of the monks, were not ſpread without deſign. The hiſtories of thoſe days are full of the like tales. Ethebald, grandſon of Eoppa, brother of Penda, mounted the throne after Ceolred.

[g] By the South-humbers, i. e. the Mercians, South of the Trent. Sax. Ann.

ETHELBALD.

This prince was one of the moſt illuſtrious kings that had hitherto worn the crown of Mercia, to which he added the dignity of monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, reſigned by Ina, king of Weſſex, when he turned monk. This dignity ſeems to have conſiſted originally only in preſiding at the general aſſemblies, and commanding the armies of the ſeven kingdoms, and ſome other prerogatives, which conferred no right of ſovereignty over the other kings: at leaſt, the electors looked upon it in this light. But the monarchs generally conſidered it after a very different manner: they were no ſooner inveſted with it, but their firſt care was to graſp at an unlimited power, to which they thought themſelves entitled by the examples of the preceding monarchs. Ethelbald, improving ſome favourable junctures in his reign, carried the prerogatives of the monarchy to the higheſt degree, and thereby grew very troubleſome and formidable to the other kings [h]. For which reaſon the kings of Weſſex and Northumberland agreed to attack him from two different quarters at once. As Mercia was ſituated between theſe two kingdoms, Ethelbald was obliged to ſend half his army towards the north, whilſt with the other half he marched himſelf againſt the Weſt-Saxons commanded by Ethelun. The particulars of this war are unknown, except that Ethelbald was vanquiſhed and his army put to rout [i].

716. Bede, lib. v. cap. 24. H. Hunting.

752. Ann. Sax. H. Hunting.

Four years after, this prince was ſlain [k] in a mutiny of the army, raiſed by a lord, named Beornred, who was proclaimed king by the ſoldiers.

757. M. Weſtm.

BEORNRED, the Uſurper.

Beornred's election by the army, who had no right to aſſume ſuch an authority, was very diſpleaſing to the Mercian lords, eſpecially as the king elect was no ways related to the royal family: and therefore, before Beornred had time to eſtabliſh himſelf in his uſurpation, they forthwith placed on

757. C. Malmsb. lib. iii. cap. 4 Bede, Epit.

h Anno 733, he took Somerton. In 742, defeated the Welſh, and made all the kings and provinces of England, ſouth of the Humber, acknowledge him for their ſovereign. Huntingd. Brompt. Sax. Ann.

i At Beorgford, or Burford, in Oxfordſhire. Tyrrel, p. 266. Huntingd. p. 341. ſays it was at Hereford. See Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Brompt.

k At Secandune, now called Seckington, in Warwickſhire. Camden, p. 507, 515, and was buried at Reopandune, or Repton, in Derbyſhire. Camden, p. 491.

the

the throne Offa, nephew of the late king. Preſently after, Offa drawing an army together, gave the uſurper battle, and obtained a complete victory. Some ſay, Beornred was ſlain, and others, that he maintained his ground for a while in ſome part of Mercia.

OFFA.

757. Offa was one of the moſt famous kings that reigned in
G. Malmſb. lib. iv. Huntingd. Mat. Paris. England during the heptarchy, not only for his being inveſted with the dignity of monarch, but for his victories over the Welſh and the neighbouring Saxon princes, and for ſeveral other things which I ſhall briefly relate. One of his greateſt victories was that over Aldric, king of Kent, in 774[l].

Nothing was more common than to ſee thoſe who were inveſted with the monarchy aſpiring to a ſovereign authority over the other kings. Offa, treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſors, never ceaſed to diſturb his neighbours on that occaſion, and was engaged by his ambition in continual wars with ſuch princes as diſputed his pretended rights. But theſe wars are ſo confuſedly related by the hiſtorians, that all I could ſay would not ſuffice to give a clear notion of them. We muſt therefore be contented with what has been ſaid of him in general, which may ſerve to diſcover the character of king Offa.

Whilſt Offa was employed in ſubduing the Saxon kings, the Welſh, always upon the watch to improoe the advantages afforded them by the frequent diſſentions of the Engliſh, thought they had now a fair opportunity to attack him. This
Sim. Dun. unexpected war, wherein the Welſh at firſt were ſucceſsful, cauſed Offa to conclude a peace with the Engliſh, in order to turn his arms againſt the Welſh. He quickly reduced them to ſuch a condition. that they were forced to abandon not only their late conqueſts in Mercia, but alſo part of their own country beyond the Severn, which Offa ſeized and peopled with Engliſh colonies. But to prevent the Welſh from ever retaking it, he threw up a rampart, defended by a large ditch, by means of which he parted his conqueſts from the reſt of Wales. This rampart, in length twenty-four miles, reaching from the mouth of the Dee to the place where the Wye runs into the Severn, was called Clawdh Offa, or Offa's Dyke[m].

In

l He conquered the kings of Kent, Weſſex, and Northumbria. Huntingd. Sax. Ann. Anno 778, he defeated the Weſt-Saxons at Benſington in Oxfordſhire. Huntingd. p. 343.

m This dike may be ſeen on Brachy-hill,

In 786, Offa made his ſon Egfrid partner with him in the government, and gave his daughter Edburg in marriage to Brithric king of Weſſex. Ann. Sax. Mat. Paris.

What caſt the greateſt blemiſh on Offa's reputation, was his treachery to Ethelbert, king of the Eaſt-Angles. This young prince deſigning to marry, came to the court of Offa and demanded his daughter Adelfrida in marriage. He was received at firſt with great marks of affection and eſteem. But ſoon after the ſcene was changed; Offa, by the preſſing and repeated inſtigations of Quendrida his wife [n], who repreſented to him that he ought by all means to embrace ſo fair an opportunity of becoming maſter of Eaſt-Anglia, was perſuaded to break the moſt ſacred laws of honour and hoſpitality, by the murder of Ethelbert [o]. Which done, he marches into Eaſt-Anglia with a numerous army before the Eaſt-Angles had time to prepare for their defence, and meeting with no oppoſition, ſeizes the kingdom, and unites it to Mercia. M. Weſtm. Ann. Sax. Brompton.

He had no ſooner committed this horrid fact, but he was tormented with cruel remorſe. His crime was continually before his eyes, and tortured him to ſuch a degree, that he could not enjoy a moment's eaſe. To appeaſe his raging conſcience, he reſolved upon a journey to Rome (which he performed in 794) to obtain a pardon from the pope, and ſecure himſelf from the puniſhment due to his crime. The pope [p] granted his requeſt, on condition he would be liberal to the churches and monaſteries; for that was the only way then of atoning for ſins. It were to be wiſhed that reſtitution had alſo been enjoined as a neceſſary and previous condition. 794

Among the liberalities of Offa to the churches of Rome, we muſt not omit one of great conſequence for England. Ina, king of the Weſt-Saxons, had now founded at Rome a college for the education of Engliſh youth; for the maintenance whereof the founder ordered a penny to be collected yearly

hill, and near Rhyd at Helig and Lanterden in Herefordſhire: and it continued northwards from Knighton over a part of Shropſhire into Montgomeryſhire, and goes over the long mountain of Kevn Digoth to Harden Caſtle, croſs the Severn and Lhau-Drinio common; from whence it paſſes the Vynrwy again into Shropſhire, not far from Oſwalſtry. In Denbighſhire it is viſible along the road between Rhywabon and Wrexham, and being continued through Flintſhire, ends a little below Holywell, a place formerly the ſite of the caſtle of Baſingwork. See Camd. p. 698.

n Matt. Paris ſays, that he afterwards ſhut her up, and would never let her come nigh him again, p. 981.

o He was murdered at Mardon, about three miles from Hereford. Lewis's Hiſt. of Gr. Brit. Introd. p. 43.

p Adrian.

of

of every family in his dominions [q]. This kind of charity was termed Romeſcot, that is, Tribute of Rome, or, ſent to Rome. Offa extended this tax throughout Mercia and East-Anglia, the lands belonging to the monaſtery of St. Alban's only excepted: and becauſe this money was paid at Rome, on a holyday called St. Peter's ad Vincula [r], this tax was named Peter-pence inſtead of Romeſcot. By this means the directors of the college were abundantly ſupplied wherewithal to defray the expence they were at from the great concourſe of the Engliſh, who came to ſtudy at Rome. In proceſs of time, the popes pretending it was a tribute paid by the Engliſh to St. Peter and his ſucceſſors, converted it to their own uſe, till it was entirely aboliſhed by Henry VIII [s].

M. Paris. M. Weſt.

Before Offa left Rome, he obtained of the pope the canonization of St. Alban, the firſt Britiſh martyr, whoſe relics were pretended to be found at Verulam. At his return, he built there a fine church and a ſtately monaſtery, to which he granted great privileges and a large revenue. From that time Verulam was called St. Alban's. Offa alſo was very munificent to the church of Hereford, where the body of the king of East-Anglia lay buried, that prayers might be inceſſantly made for the murdered and murderer.

795. Bede, lib. i. cap. 7.

William of Malmſbury, ſpeaking of king Offa, doubts whether he ſhould rank him among the good or bad princes [t]. The canonization of St Alban, procured by his means, and the founding a noble monaſtery in honour of that ſaint, being put in the balance againſt the murder of Ethelbert, is the ground of that hiſtorian's uncertainty.

lib. i. cap. 4.

The reign of Offa is memorable upon ſeveral accounts: His dike: The union of East-Anglia to Mercia: The erecting of Lichfield into an archbiſhoprick [u], of which I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere: Peter-Pence: A body of laws publiſhed under the title of Mercens Leaga, i. e. Laws of the Mercians [w], which ſerved for a pattern to his ſucceſſors, and

Lambert. Sax. leg. Spelman. Concil.

q It was in all upon twenty-three of our preſent counties, for ſo far his dominions extended.

r Firſt day of Auguſt.

s Nich. Bacon, in his Hiſtorical and Political Diſcourſes, chap. ix. makes it appear it was far from being a tribute. Rapin.

t Probably the true reaſon why W. Malmſbury gives him an indifferent character, is becauſe he ſeized the lands of ſeveral monaſteries, particularly of that at Malmsbury. See W. Malmb. p. 30.

u Upon his conquering Kent, he removed the archiepiſcopal ſee from Canterbury to Lichfield. See M. Paris, p. 978, 979. Malmsb. de Pontif. p. 199.

w Concerning this matter, ſee Nicholſon's Hiſtory, libr. p. 45. and his preface to Dr. Wilkins's Saxon-Laws.

the

the greateſt part whereof were inſerted in king Alfred's laws, publiſhed about the end of the next century [x].

Offa had contracted a cloſe friendſhip with Charles the Great. We meet with ſome of their Letters in the Life of Offa at the end of Matthew Paris's hiſtory: A life wherein are almoſt as many fables as truth. G. Malmsb. lib. i. cap. 4.

This prince died in 796, after a reign of thirty-nine years. Egfrid, who had already been crowned as his partner, ſucceeded him both in the kingdom of Mercia, and dignity of Monarch.

EGFRRID.

Egfrid, who ſurvived his father but four or five months, employed that time in enriching the monks, and particularly thoſe of St. Albans. Cenulph, deſcended from Wibba by another branch, ſucceeded him in both his dignities. 796. M. Weſt. H. Hunt. Flor. Wig. Brompton.

CENULPH.

Cenulph was no ſooner on the throne, but he declared war againſt Edbert-Pren king of Kent, the motive whereof is unknow [y]. We are only told, it proved fatal to the king of Kent, who being taken priſoner, was carried to Mercia, where Cenulph ordered his eyes to be put out [z], after he had placed another king [a] on the throne of Kent [b]. 796. Sim. Dun. R. de Hov.

Cenulph died in 819, after a glorious reign of twenty-four years. He left a ſon very young, named Cenelm, and two daughters, Quendrida and Burganilda. G. Malm. Polychron.

CENELM.

Quendrida, eldeſt ſiſter of Cenelm, hoping to mount the throne, if her brother was out of the way, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated by one Aſcobert, who threw his body into a well, where it was found, as it is pretended, by a miracle. Quen- 819. Higden.

x Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. i. cap. 20. and Ranulph of Cheſter, lib. i. cap. 50. confound theſe Mercian laws with the laws of one Marcia, wife of Guithelin a Britiſh king. Alfred the Great ſays in his preface to his laws, That he had taken from the laws of Ethelbert king of Kent, Ina king of Weſſex, and Offa king of Mercia. Rapin.

y Malmsbury aſſigns no other reaſon for it, but that he was puſhed on by an inveterate animoſity againſt them, which he inherited from Offa, p. 33.

z W. Malmsbury ſays, that he ordered him to be ſet at liberty ſoon after.

a Cuthred. Malmsbury.

b He reſtored Adelard, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the dignity of metropolitan. *Malmsb. ibid.*

drida

drida did not reap that benefit from her crime, ſhe expected; for the Mercians placed on the throne Ceolulph uncle of the late king.

CEOLULPH.

819. Sax. Ann. This prince, after a year's reign, was depoſed by Bernulph, one of the principal lords of the country.

BERNULPH, 821. LUDICAN, 823. WITGALPH, 825.

I ſhall ſay nothing here of theſe three laſt kings of Mercia, becauſe I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the hiſtory of the kings of Weſſex.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of EAST-ANGLIA.

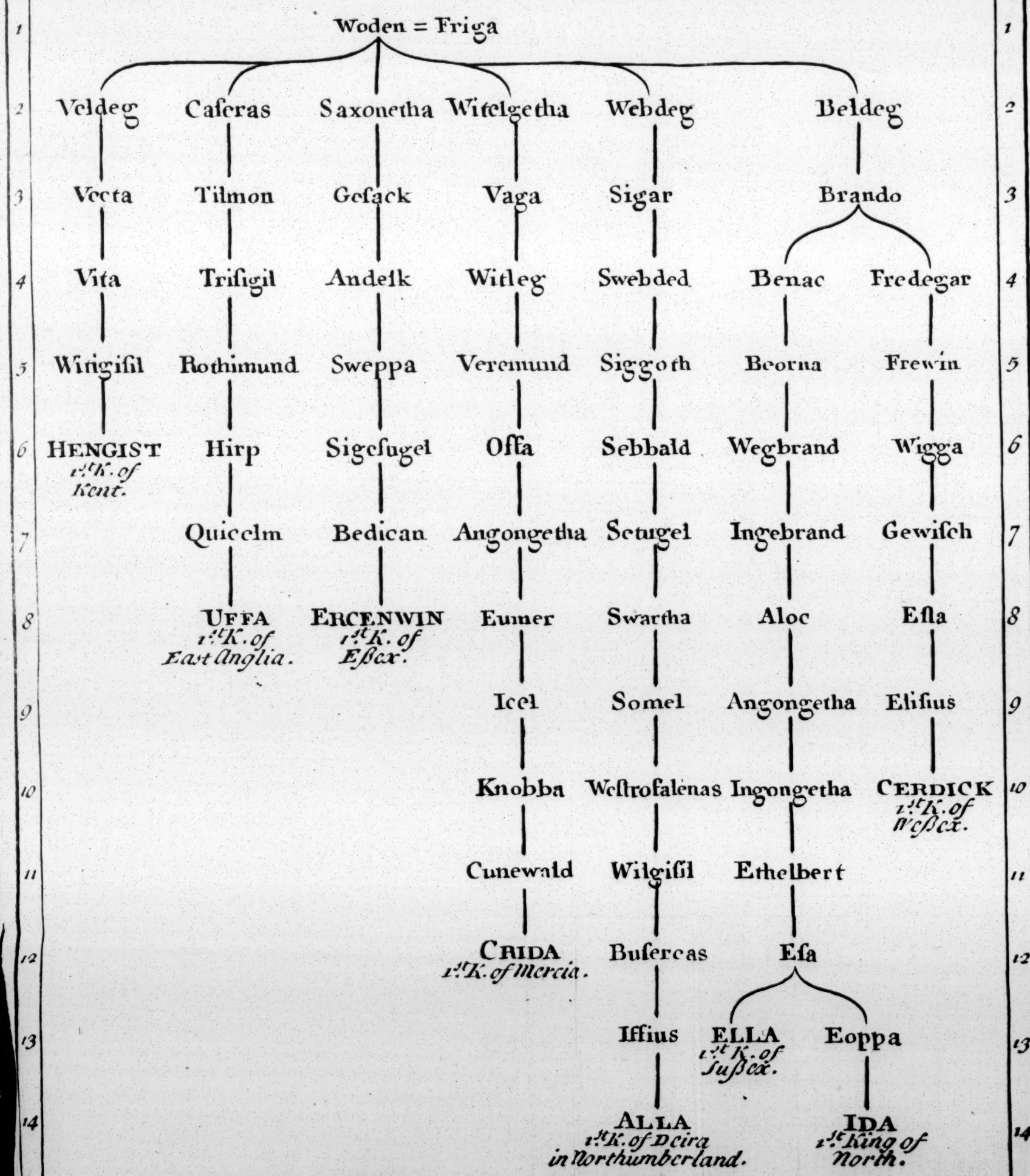
East Angles. THE kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles was bounded on the north by the Humber and the German ocean: On the eaſt by the ſame ocean, which ſurrounded it almoſt on two ſides: On the ſouth by the kingdom of Eſſex; and on the weſt by Mercia. Its greateſt length was eighty, and its greateſt breadth fifty-five miles. It contained the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, with part of Cambridgeſhire. The chief towns were Norwich, Thetford, Ely, and Cambridge. I have already related, how this kingdom was founded by the Angles that landed on the eaſtern coaſts of Britain, under twelve chiefs, the ſurvivor of whom, Uffa, aſſumed the title of king of the Eaſt-Angles.

UFFA.

571. We do not find this prince acted any thing remarkable after his being king. He died in 578, leaving his ſon Titulus to ſucceed him.

TI-

POSTERITY OF WODEN



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GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF EAST-ANGLIA

8 — 9 — 10 — 11 — 12 — 13 — 14 — 15 — 16 — 17 — 18

1 UFFA 1st K. of East Anglia d. 578.

2 TITIL d. 599.

3 REDOWALD d. 624

N... 1st Husband

N... Wife of Redowald

N...

Ennius

4 ERPWALD d. 633

5 SIGEBERT d. 644.

6 EGRICK d. 644.

7 ANNAS d. 654.

8 ETHELRICK d. 655

9 ADELWALT d. 664.

Reyner d. in Battle.

St Germanus Erkenwald Bishop of London.

Saxburga Ercombert K. of Kent.

Adeltrida or St Audry.

Ethelburga

Wisburga Nuns.

10 ALDULPH d. after 680.

11 ALFWALD d. 749.

12 BEORNA d. 756.

12 ETHELBERT I d. 757.

13 ETHELRED d. about 790.

N...

14 St. ETHELBERT II. slain by Offa K. of Mercia 792.

N...

Alcmund = Siwara W. of Alcmund

15 St. EDMUND kill'd by ye Danes 870.

St Edwold Hermit.

FOREIGN KINGS.

GURTHURM or GODRIM Made K. of E. Anglia by ye Danes.

ERICK K. of East Anglia for a little time.

TITILUS.

All we know of this king is, that he died in 599, and had for ſucceſſor his ſon Redowald. 578.

REDOWALD.

This prince was the moſt illuſtious of all the kings of East-Anglia, if not of the whole Heptarchy. As I have had occaſion to ſpeak of him largely in the hiſtory of Northumberland, I ſhall only obſerve here that he died in 624, leaving his crown to his ſon Erpwald. 590. Lang. Chr. Reg.

ERPWALD.

Erpwald made but a very indifferent figure in the Heptarchy, being all along in ſubjection to Edwin king of Northumberland, who might have deprived him of his kingdom, with the conſent of the East-Angles, if the obligations he had received from Redowald his father, would have ſuffered him to have been guilty of ſo black an ingratitude. However, he was in reality the ſovereign of East-Anglia, though he left Erpwald the title of king. Erpwald was aſſaſſinated in 633, after he had reigned about nine years. 624. G. Malm. lib. i. c. 3. Bede, lib. ii. cap 15.

INTERREGNUM.

After his death, East-Anglia had no king for three years, the reaſon whereof is unknown. In 636 the East-Angles placed on the throne Sigebert, half brother of their laſt king. 633.

SIGEBERT.

This prince who was baniſhed by Erpwald his brother by the mother's ſide, on ſuſpicion of aſpiring to the crown, had retired into France, where he became a Chriſtian. As ſoon as he was king of East-Anglia, he made it his chief buſineſs to bring his ſubjects to the knowledge of the true God; which indeed was planted among them in the reign of Redowald, but having made no great progreſs, was now almoſt extinguiſhed. After he had effected this work by the aſſiſtance of Felix, a Burgundian prieſt, he retired into a monaſtery, reſigning his crown to Egric his couſin. 636. G. Malm. lib. i. c. 5. Flor. Wig. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18. H. Hunt. lib. iii.

EGRIC.

EGRIC.

644. Bede. Egric ſoon after his coronation, being attacked by Penda king of Mercia, the Eaſt-Angles having no great confidence in their new king, petition Sigebert to quit his monaſtery, and put himſelf at the head of their army. He ſtood out a good while againſt their intreaties: But poſſeſſed with a notion that heaven muſt crown ſo pious a prince with victory, they preſſed him ſo earneſtly, that at length he yields to their requeſt, and heads the army with Egric, carrying nothing but a ſwitch in his hand. God, who is not directed by the imaginations of men, gave the victory to the Mercians, both the Eaſt-Anglian kings being ſlain on the ſpot. They were ſucceeded by Annas, ſon of Ennius, nephew of Redowald.

ANNAS.

644. Annas was one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of Eaſt-Anglia. By his aid it was, that Cenowalch, king of Weſſex, who fled to him for refuge, was reſtored to his kingdom, of which he had been deprived by Penda in 645.

654. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig. Polyohr. This action drew upon him the hatred of Penda, who, out of revenge, reſolved to carry fire and ſword into Eaſt-Anglia. Annas died whilſt he was preparing for his defence, leaving the management of this dangerous war to Ethelric, his brother and ſucceſſor [a].

ETHELRIC.

654. Ethelric dreading the valour and power of Penda, bribes him with a ſum of money to deſiſt from his war with the Eaſt-Anglians, and to induce him to invade Northumberland, offers to accompany him with all his forces. I have already related how they were both ſlain in an engagement with Oſwy. Adelwald, brother of Ethelric, mounted the throne after him.

ADELWALD.

655. We know nothing more of this prince, but that he died in 664, leaving his crown to Adulph, his nephew, ſon of Ethelric.

a The Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 317, and Malmsbury ſay, that he was ſlain in a battle with Penda.

A L-

ALDULPH.

Of this prince all we can learn is, that he was alive in 680, and assisted at the council of Hatfield. His successor was Alfwald. 664.

ALFWALD.

Alfwald died in 749, and was succeeded by Beorna and Ethelbert, who divided the kingdom [b]. Flor. M. West.

BEORNA and ETHELBERT.

Ethelbert dying before the year 758, Beorna reigned alone. But we know nothing more of him, but that he was succeeded by Ethelred. 749.

ETHELDRED.

Etheldred dying about the year 790, left the crown to Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT.

This is the prince that Offa king of Mercia put to death in order to seize his kingdom in 792 [c]. From that time East-Anglia and Mercia made but one kingdom.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of ESSEX.

THE kingdom of Essex, or the East-Saxons, was bounded on the north by East-Anglia, on the east by the German ocean, on the south by the Thames, and on the west by Mercia. Its greatest length was seventy-five miles, and Kingdom of Essex.

[b] Tyrrel says, he saw in a chronicle of Mailros, a king named Switheard, who reigned in 749. He might have succeeded Alfwald. Rapin.

[c] He was fainted after his death. Malmsb. Brompt.

its breadth thirty-eight. It contained the counties of Eſſex and Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire. The principal cities were London and Colcheſter; the firſt of which became afterwards the metropolis of all England. It had formerly been very conſiderable, by reaſon of its ſituation, in the time of the Romans, who made it a colony. But in all probability it was reduced very low after the arrival of the Saxons.

This country having been extorted from Vortigern by Hengiſt, after the maſſacre of the Britiſh lords, was erected into a kingdom by Ercherwin, the firſt king. Hiſtorians have neglected to inform us of the occaſion and manner of founding this kingdom, by which the ſucceſſors of Hengiſt were deprived of almoſt as large a tract of land as the kingdom of Kent. Had a monaſtery been in the caſe we ſhould have had all the particulars.

ERCHENWIN.

527. G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 6. Erchenwin began his reign in 527, and died in 587, after he had reigned ſixty years. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Sledda.

SLEDDA.

587. It is not known in what year this prince died, but only that his ſon Sabert or Saba reigned in 599.

SABERT.

604. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3. Sabert was the firſt Chriſtian king of Eſſex, being converted by the preaching of Mellitus, and ſollicitation of Ethelbert, king of Kent, his uncle, by his mother's ſide [a]. He was noted for his piety and zeal for the true religion. He died in 616, and was ſucceeded by his three ſons [b].

SAXRED, SEWARD, and SIGEBERT.

616. Prompt. M. Weſtm. Theſe three princes reigning together, forſook with one conſent the Chriſtian religion, which they had profeſſed during their father's life. After they had reigned ſeven years,

a Ricula, ſiſter to Ethelbert, was Sabert's mother. Rapin.

b He was buried in St. Paul's cathedral, which, according to ſome, he built. Higd. Polychr. p. 228.

they

they rashly came to an unequal engagement with Cinigisil and Quicelm, kings of Wessex, and were all three cut off, with their whole army. Their successor was Sigebert the Little. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 1. M. Westm.

SIGEBERT the Little.

Nothing particular is known concerning this prince, not so much as the time of his death, but only that he was succeeded by Sigebert the Good, grandson of a brother of pious king Sabert, and was on the throne in 653. 623.

SIGEBERT the Good.

Sigebert restored the Christian religion in his dominions, from whence it had been expelled ever since the death of Sabert. He was assisted therein by Cedd, a Northumberland priest, consecrated bishop of the East-Saxons. This prince was assassinated in 655, by two counts his relations, who, having been excommunicated by Cedd, complained that the king, instead of avenging their quarrel, had cast himself at the feet of the bishop, begging pardon for conversing with them after their excommunication. His successor was Swithelm his brother. 653. Flor. Wig. in Geneal. G. Malm. lib. i. c. 6. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22.

SWITHELM.

There is nothing particular concerning this prince, except that Sebba and Siger succeeded him. 655. Flor. Wig. G. Malm.

SEBBA and SIGER.

Sebba was son of Seward, and Siger of Sigebert the Little, son of the same Seward. Siger returned to idolatry; but Sebba stedfastly adhered to the Christian religion. They were vassals to the king of Mercia, as was before observed in the reign of Wulfer. Siger dying in 683, Sebba remained sole king of Essex.

SEBBA alone.

Sebba reigned about eleven years longer, and then, being very old, turned monk in 694. He left his crown to Sighard and Senofrid his sons. 683.

SIGHARD and SENOFRID.

694. These two brothers reigned, and very probably died, together about the year 705. Offa, ſon of Siger, mounted the throne after them.

OFFA.

705. Bede lib. v. cap. 23. This prince deſiring to marry, and caſting his eyes on Ciniſwintha, daughter of Penda, king of Mercia, goes to the court of Cenred to demand this princeſs his aunt in marriage. But Ciniſwintha, being very religious and not young, perſuades her lover to turn monk as ſhe does likewiſe her nephew, king of Mercia. Theſe two princes went to Rome together, and received the tonſure at the pope's hands. Offa is ſaid by ſome to be ſucceeded by Seolred, or Selred, ſon of Sigebert the Good.

SEOLRED.

707. G. Malmſb. H. Hunt. Seolred reigned thirty-eight years, and was killed at laſt, but by whom, or in what manner, is unknown. Swithred his ſon ſucceeded him, as ſome ſay.

SWITHRED.

746. This is the laſt king of Eſſex, whoſe name occurs in hiſtory, or the Saxon Annals. He began his reign in 746, and in caſe he was alive at the time of the diſſolution of the Heptarchy, muſt have reigned ſeventy-eight years.

Of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, there is none whoſe hiſtory is ſo imperfect as that of the kingdom of Eſſex.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of KENT.

Kingdom of Kent. THE kingdom of Kent, the firſt that was founded by the Saxons, being neither large nor very conſiderable, made no figure in the Heptarchy, only during the reigns of Hengiſt and Ethelbert. It was very advantageouſly ſituated, having

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF KENT.

5 — Witigisil, *General of ỳ Saxons in Germany.*

6 — 1 **HENGIST** *1st K. of Kent d.488.* — Horsa *Slain in 455.* — N... — Octa *Governor of North*

7 — 2 **ESCUS** *d.512.* — Andoacer *in Germany.* — Rowena *Vortigern K. of ỳ Britons.* — Ebusa

8 — 3 **OCTA** *d.534.*

9 — 4 **HERMENRICK** *d.564.*

10 — 5 **ETHELBERT I.** *1st Christian K.* *d.616.* — Ricula *Sledda K. of Essex.*

11 — Ethelburga *Edwin K. of Northum.* — 6 **EBALD** *d.640.* — Sebert *K. of Essex.*

12 — Ermensred *Supplanted by Ercombert* — Enswith *Nun Founded Folkston Abby* — 7 **ERCOMBERT** *d. 664.*

13 — Ethelred — Ermenburga or Domnella — 8 **ECBERT** *d.673.* — Erminigilda *Wulfer K. of Mercia.* — 9 **LOTHAIR** *d 685.* — Ertongoth *Nun.*
Ethelbert

14 — Edburga — 10 **EDRICK** *d.689.* — 11 **WIDRED** *d.725.* — Richard *associated & depos'd 685. d at Lucca.*
Erinengilda
Adeltrida

15 — 12 **ETHELBERT II** *d.760.* — 12 **EDBERT** *d.748.* — 13 **ALDRICK** *d.794.* — Wilibald *1st Bish of Aichsted in Germany.* — Winibald — Walpurga

16 — Ardulph *made Partner 750. d. before his Father.* — Alcmund *made Partner & d. before his Father.*

KINGS OF KENT NOT OF THE RACE OF HENGIST.

11 **SWABERT** *d. 692.*

14 **EDBERT PREN** *taken prisoner by Conulph K of Mercia. 798.*

15 **CUDRED** *made K. by Cenulph d. 805.*

16 **BALDRED** *Son of Cudred depos'd by Edbert the Great 827.*

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF ESSEX.

9 — 1 ERCHENWIN 1st K. of Essex d. 587.

10 — 2 SLEDDA Ricula of Kent. d. 600.

11 — 3 SABERT d. 616. — Saxbald

12 — 4 SAXRED d. 623. — 4 SEWARD d. 623. — 4 SIGLBERT d. 623. — SIGEBERT I. II. the Good d. 655. — SWITHELM d. 664.

13 — SIGEBERT III the Little d.... — 9 SEBBA d. 694. — 12 SEOLBED d. 748.

14 — 8 SIGER d. 683. — 10 SIGHARD d. 705. — 10 SENOFRID d. 705. — 13 SWITHRED dep. 824. by Ecbert.

15 — 11 OFFA d. 709. — N... Da. Lothair K. of Kent.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF SUSSEX.

Abbreviations
d. died
K. King

12 — Esa

13 — 1 ELLA 1st K. of Sussex d. 514. — Eoppa From whom Sprang the Kings of North:

14 — Baldulph or Cismenius Slain at Badon 511. — Colgrin or Planugus Slain at Badon 511. — 2 CISSA d. 590.

15 — 3 N... ANONYMUS d. 648.

16 — 4 ADELWALCH Married Ebba Da. of Anfrid K. of Wight

17 — 5 BERTHUN d. 686. — 5 AUTUN d. 721. — Arwald K. of Wight.

18 — N... Son — N... Son Slain both by Cedwalla K. of Wessex.

ALBERT Elected 722. d. 724.

OSMOND Elected 754. d. 794.

having the ſea on the ſouth and eaſt; the Thames on the north; and the little kingdom of Suſſex on the weſt. As long as this laſt ſubſiſted, it ſerved as a bulwark to the kings of Kent, againſt the ambition of the kings of Weſſex. But after it was ſubdued by the Weſt-Saxons, the kingdom of Kent was in continual danger of falling under the dominion of theſe powerful neighbours. The truth is, the jealouſy between the kings of Weſſex and Mercia, and the equality of their forces, were the only things that long prevented this little kingdom from becoming a prey to one or other of them. It was not above ſixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The chief towns were Dorobern or Canterbury, the capital; Dover, Rocheſter, and ſome others not ſo large indeed, but conſiderable however for their ſituation and harbours, as Sandwich, Deal, Folkſtone, Reculver, &c.

HENGIST, firſt king.

Hengiſt arrived in Great-Britain in 449. He aſſumed the the title of King of Kent in 455, and died in 488. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Eſcus. 455.

ESCUS.

As the Saxons, after the death of Hengiſt, conferred the command of their armies on Ella king of Suſſex, Eſcus very likely was not in ſo great eſteem as his father. I know of nothing remarkable concerning his reign [a], which laſted to the year 512. His ſucceſſor was Octa his ſon. 488. G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 1.

OCTA.

This prince ſuffered, or at leaſt could not prevent the diſmembring of Eſſex and Middleſex from the kingdom of Kent, to form the kingdom of the Eaſt-Saxons. This is the only particular we meet with during his twenty-two years reign. After Octa, his father Hermenric aſcended the throne of Kent. 512. Flor. Wig. Malmsb. Polychron.

HERMENRIC.

There is nothing particular concerning this prince, who reigned however thirty years. Before his death he aſſociated Ethelbert his ſon and ſucceſſor.

a Huntingdon ſays, that he enlarged his dominions, by conquering the kingdoms of the Britons, p. 312.

ETHELBERT.

568. Ethelbert was one of the moſt celebrated kings, not only of Kent, but of the whole Heptarchy. He was famous upon many accounts, particularly for his being the firſt Chriſtian king of his nation. But as I intend to ſpeak elſewhere of the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons, I ſhall relate here only ſuch of Ethelbert's actions as reſpect not religion.

This prince, who had a great and an aſpiring genius, beheld with regret, that his predeceſſors had loſt the dignity of monarch and the ſuperiority Hengiſt had over all the Saxons ſettled in his time in Great Britain. At his coming to the crown, he finds Ceaulin king of Weſſex, in poſſeſſion of this ſuperiority as monarch. He reſolves to diſpute it with him, but is twice worſted. For this cauſe he remains quiet till the year 593, when he takes up arms again, not ſingly as before, but in conjunction with all the other kings, who are diſpleaſed with Ceaulin's ſeizing the kingdom of Suſſex. Ethelbert being declared general, defeated Ceaulin, who died ſoon after.

Flor Wig. H. Hunt. lib. ii. M. Weſt. 568.

G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 1.

After Ceaulin's death, Ethelbert being elected monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, and forgetting the fall of Ceaulin, of which he himſelf was the cauſe, exerciſed an almoſt abſolute power over all the kingdoms lying ſouth of the Humber, the Northumbrians alone having found means to keep themſelves independent. All the reſt choſe rather to ſubmit than contend with him [b].

Bede, lib. i. cap. 25. G. Thorn.

Beſides his being formidable to his neighbours for his great accompliſhments, he had moreover the advantage of being allied to France by means of his marriage with Bertha, daughter of Cherebert king of Paris. This alliance procured him great reſpect, the kings his neighbours having reaſon to dread the introducing the French into England, as he might eaſily have done. But through the haughtineſs wherewith Ethelbert treated them, after ſeveral victories, made them very uneaſy, they had ſtill a much greater occaſion to be alarmed.

594. Upon the death of Crida, king of Mercia, Ethelbert ſeized that kingdom, though the deceaſed king had left a ſon of fit age to ſucceed him. In this Ethelbert trod exactly in the ſteps

b Malmſbury obſerves, that king Ethelbert, in the beginning of his reign, was a ſcorn to the neighbouring princes; for being beaten in one or two battles, he could ſcarce defend his own territories: but when in his riper years he had learned more experience in war, he ſoon brought under his ſubjection all the nations of the Anglo-Saxons, except the Northumbrians. Rapin.

of

of Ceaulin, though he had himſelf ſtirred up the other kings againſt that monarch, on account of his ambition. Thus men, for the moſt part, condemn in others what they approve in themſelves. Ethelbert, it ſeems, pretended that he had a right as monarch, or as deſcendent of Hengiſt, to ſucceed to all the vacant thrones in the Heptarchy. For when fortune ſmiles on a man, he eaſily finds reaſon, good or bad, to ſupport the moſt exorbitant pretenſions. However this be, the Anglo-Saxon princes, alarmed at this open uſurpation, began to ſtir, and take meaſures to put a ſtop to this formidable power, before it grew to a greater height. The monarch dreading they would all join in a league againſt him, and ſerve him as they did Ceaulin, thought it not prudence to expoſe himſelf to the ſame danger. Accordingly, to make them eaſy, he reſtored the kingdom of Mercia to Wibba, ſon of Crida, reſerving however ſuch an authority over him, that he durſt not undertake any thing without his order or leave. Satisfied with this kind of moderation, the Engliſh princes laid aſide all thoughts of a war, which neceſſity alone had driven them to.

Nothing very remarkable happened in the reſt of Ethelbert's reign, except what relates to religion, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the hiſtory of the church. This prince had two wives, the firſt was Bertha of France, by whom he had Edbald his ſucceſſor, and Ethelburga, married to Edwin king of Northumberland. The name of his ſecond wife is unknown. He died in 616 [c], after he had reigned fifty-two years. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig.

EDBALD.

Edbald was very unlike his father. As ſoon as he became his own maſter, he forſook the Chriſtian religion, and turned Heathen. He is even ſaid to have married the queen his mother-in-law. His vices rendering him ſlothful and unactive, all the Engliſh ſovereigns caſt off the yoke they had worn during the life of Ethelbert. The king of Mercia in particular having freed himſelf from the ſervitude Ethelbert had kept him in, Edbald had neither the power nor courage to maintain what the king his father thought he had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed. I don't know whether hiſtorians are not agreed in giving this prince a very bad character, in order to ſet off his converſion the more. However this be, they aſſure us, 916. G. Malm. G. Thorn. Hiſt. Ab. S. Aug. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 6.

c Bede places his death in 615. Feb. 24.

that by the pains of Laurentius, archbiſhop of Canterbury, he was brought to a ſenſe of his errors, and returning to the profeſſion of the goſpel, ſpent the remainder of his days in the practice of its precepts. He left two ſons [d], Ermenfred and Ercombert, which laſt ſucceeded him, and a daughter named Enſwith, ſoundreſs of the abby of Folkſtone.

ERCOMBERT.

640. M. Weſtm. G. Malm. lib. i. c. 1. G. Thorn. Ercombert, though the youngeſt of Edbald's ſon's, found means to aſcend the throne, in prejudice of his elder brother [e]. This prince ordered the temples of the falſe gods to be razed to the ground, and the idols broken in pieces, leſt they ſhould prove a ſnare to the people. Ermenfred his brother, being ſeized with a diſtemper that brought him to his grave, he promiſed to leave the crown, which of right belonged to him, to his children. But he did not perform his promiſe: Perhaps it was too late when he came to think of it juſt before his death, in the year 664 [f]. He left two ſons, Egbert and Lothair, and two daughters; Ermenilda the eldeſt was wife of Wulpher king of Mercia: the other was a nun.

EGBERT.

664. Egbert was no ſooner on the throne, but he put two ſons of his uncle Ermenfred to death, for fear they ſhould diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the crown. He preſented their ſiſter Domnena with ſome lands in the iſle of Thanet, where ſhe founded a monaſtery. This prince died in 673, leaving two ſons, Edric and Widred, who were not his immediate ſucceſſors, the crown being ſeized by their uncle Lothair.

LOTHAIR.

673. Vit. Richar. 685. G. Malm. lib. i. c. 1. After Lothair had reigned ten years unmoleſted [g], to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his family, he made his ſon Richard partner with him in the government. This proceeding obliges his nephew Edric, ſon of his brother Egbert, to with-

d By Emma daughter of the king of the Franks. Malmsb. He reigned twenty-three years. Huntingd. p. 317.

e Through the aſſiſtance and appointment of his father. S. Dunelm. p. 86.

f Malmsb. p. 10. gives this character of him, "That he was famous "both for his piety towards God, and "love to his country."

g This could not be, if Malmsbury's account be true, viz. That he was moleſted for eleven years by Edric the ſon of Egbert, and that they had ſeveral engagements, with various ſucceſs, p. 11.

draw

draw from court, and apply to Edelwalch king of Suſſex for aid, who puts him at the head of an army; with which entering Kent, he vanquiſhed Lothair, who died of the wounds he received in battle. After this victory, Edric was crowned without oppoſition. Richard, ſon of Lothair, fled into Germany, where Boniface, archbiſhop of Mentz, an Engliſhman, gave him his ſiſter in marriage, and cauſed him to be elected king of Suabia, if we may believe ſome hiſtorians. I do not know how he came to die at Lucca in Tuſcany, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen. They ſtile him king of England, though at moſt he was but king of Kent.

Offici. Eccl. Andr. in. Feſto Ric.

685. G. Malmſb.

EDRIC.

This prince reigned but two years [h], and as he had no children, left the crown to his brother Widred, who was forced to make Swabert his partner, whoſe extraction is unknown.

WIDRED and SWABERT.

After Edric's death, troubles and commotions aroſe in the kingdom of Kent, occaſioned by the ambition of ſome nobles who fortified themſelves, and refuſed to acknowledge Widred for king. Probably Swabert was one of the principal of the rebels, ſince he was aſſociated into the government. It is not known whether he was any way related to the royal family.

686.

In the reign of theſe two kings, Cadwallo king of the Weſt-Saxons, imagining the inteſtine diviſions of Kent would render the kingdom an eaſy conqueſt, ſent an army thither under the command of his brother Mollon, who over-ran great part of the country. But at length the two kings joining forces, vanquiſh him in battle. Mollon perceiving he was cloſely purſued, took ſhelter with twelve others in a houſe which they valiantly defended: But the Kentiſh ſoldiers ſetting fire to it, they all miſerably periſhed in the flames. Cadwallo ſoon revenged the death of his brother, whom he tenderly loved. He entered Kent with a formidable army, and never ceaſed till he had deſtroyed the whole country with fire and ſword. After this invaſion, Kent was reduced ſo low, that it never more made any figure in the Heptarchy.

H. Hunting. lib. iv. 678. G. Malm. lib. i. c. 1. Brompt. G. Thorn. Polychr. lib. v. cap. 20

h For he was deprived both of his kingdom and life, ſays Malmsb. p. 11. but how, he does not mention.

The

Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig. Polychr.

The two kings enjoyed no repoſe till the year 691. This perhaps is the reaſon of Bede's placing the beginning of Widred's reign in this year, though he was crowned five years before. Swabert died in 695, and Widred remained ſole king of Kent.

WIDRED alone.

695. Spel. Conc.

He reigned twelve years alone, and died in 725 [i], leaving three ſons, Ethelbert, Edbert, and Aldric: The two eldeſt jointly ſucceeded him.

ETHELBERT and EDBERT.

725. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig.

Theſe two brothers reigned together till the year 748, when Edbert died.

ETHELBERT alone.

748. Ep. Bonif. 40 and 77.

This prince reigned ten or twelve years alone, and after a reign of thirty-ſix years, left his crown to his brother Aldric. He had aſſociated his ſon Ardulph, who died before him [k].

ALDRIC.

760. Fl. Geneal. Malmsb. lib. i. c. 3.

Aldric was frequently attacked by his neighbours, who ſeeing the weak eſtate of the kingdom of Kent, improved the opportunity to ſubdue it. Offa king of Mercia was one of the moſt forward. He gained a battle upon Aldric, which ſunk the affairs of Kent very low, but however, the jealouſy of the other kings would not ſuffer Offa to become maſter of the kingdom. Beſides, he was diverted from the war by a Welſh invaſion in Mercia, as hath been related in the hiſtory of that prince. Had it not been for this, he would in all likelihood have united Kent to Mercia.

Aldric had aſſociated his ſon Alcmund, but that prince dying before him, he left no heirs, and with him ended the race of Hengiſt. After his death, Edbert, ſirnamed Pren, was placed on the throne.

i According to this computation, he muſt have reigned forty years, whereas Malmsbury ſays he reigned but thirty-three, p. 11.

k In this reign Canterbury was burnt. Malmsb. p. 11.

ED-

EDBERT-PREN.

The kingdom of Kent being extremely weakened, Cenulph king of Mercia, making uſe of ſo fair an opportunity, ravaged it from one end to the other; and at laſt having defeated and taken Edbert priſoner, carried him into Mercia, and put out his eyes. After that, he placed on the throne Cudred, who was in abſolute dependence upon him, and paid him tribute. 794. G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 11.

CUDRED.

This tributary king reigned eight years as vaſſal of the king of Mercia, who permitted, after his death in 805, his ſon Baldred to ſucceed him. 879. S. Dunelm. Rog. Hov.

BALDRED.

In the reign of Baldred it was that the heptarchy was diſſolved. This diſſolution began with the conqueſt of Kent by Ecbert, king of Weſſex, as will be ſeen hereafter. 805.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of SUSSEX.

THE kingdom of Suſſex was one of the moſt inconſiderable of the heptarchy. It contained only the two counties of Suſſex and Surry, the greateſt part of which conſiſted of the large foreſt of Andreſwald, ſo called by the Saxons from Anderida, the name it had in the time of the Romans. As this foreſt ſtood untouched when Ella conquered Suſſex, we may ſuppoſe it was cleared by degrees. This kingdom was not above fifty miles long and forty broad. The kingdom of Suſſex.

It was bounded on the north by the Thames, on the ſouth by the ſea, on the eaſt by the kingdom of Kent, and on the weſt by Weſſex. The capital city was Chicheſter, built by Ciſſa, the ſecond king of this kingdom. He built alſo Ciſſbury, whoſe ruins are ſtill to be ſeen.

ELLA,

ELLA, first king.

491. Ella arrived in Britain in 476, and was crowned king of Suſſex in 491. He was a prince of ſo great reputation among the Saxons, that they judged him worthy to ſucceed Hengiſt
H. Hunting. in the command of their armies. He met with ſome ill ſucceſs, having to deal with ſo experienced a general as Arthur. But however it did not hinder him from ſettling in the country where he firſt landed, and founding there the kingdom of
Book II. Suſſex, or of the South-Saxons. I have largely ſpoken of Badulph and Colgrin his ſons, ſlain in the battle of Badon. This prince dying in 514, left the crown to his only ſurviving ſon Ciſſa.

CISSA.

514. Ciſſa was memorable only for his long reign of ſeventy-ſix years, and, I may add, his great age. For ſuppoſing him but a year or two old when his father brought him over, in 476, he muſt have been at leaſt one hundred and fifteen, or one hundred and ſixteen years of age, when he died, in 590.
M. Weſtm. But it is not very likely Ella ſhould bring with him a child of a year old.

590. Ciſſa leaving no iſſue, Ceaulin, king of Weſſex and monarch of the Anglo-ſaxons, ſeized the kingdom of Suſſex. This occaſioned the league againſt him. But notwithſtanding his being vanquiſhed, Ceolric his nephew and ſucceſſor remained in poſſeſſion of Suſſex.

Flor. Wig. H. Hunting. lib. ii. From that time the South-Saxons made ſeveral attempts to ſhake off the yoke of the kings of Weſſex. And herein properly conſiſts the hiſtory of Suſſex, till the kingdom was entirely ſubdued.

In 607, they revolted againſt Ceolric, king of Weſſex, but were reduced to obedience.

In 648, they made another ſtruggle with better ſucceſs. Cenowalch, king of Weſſex, continuing ſtill in Eaſt-Anglia, and Penda, king of Mercia, being maſter of Weſſex, the South-Saxons took the opportunity to place on their throne a king named Adelwach.

ADELWACH.

684. The kingdom of Weſſex having ſuffered much by Penda's invaſion, who ſeized and kept it three years, Cenowalch was little able, after his reſtoration, to dethrone the new king of

of Suſſex. But Adelwalch however was not left in quiet: Wulfer, king of Mercia, having attacked Cenowalch, and worſted him in ſeveral encounters, penetrated as far as Suſſex, where vanquiſhing Adelwalch in battle, he took him priſoner, and after that became maſter of his kingdom and the Iſle of Wight. Adelwalch having embraced the Chriſtian religion in Mercia, where he was priſoner, Wulfer ſet him at liberty, and made him a preſent of the Iſle of Wight [a]. 661. M. Weſtm. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13. Sax. Ann.

It is very probable Adelwalch, after the death of Wulfer, recovered the kingdom of Suſſex, ſince we find in the Saxon Annals, that he was on the throne in 686.

The ſame year Cedwalla, a Weſt-Saxon fugitive prince, entered Suſſex with an army, and Adelwalch, endeavouring to drive him thence, was ſlain in battle [b]. 686. G. Malm. lib. iii. de Pont. Bede. lib. iv. cap. 15.

After the death of Adelwalch, Cedwalla would fain have made himſelf maſter of Suſſex, but was oppoſed by Authun and Berthun, who were returned with an army from an expedition in the kingdom of Kent. At the ſame time Cedwalla, hearing of the death of the king of Weſſex, who had expelled him his dominions, returned thither, where he was placed on the throne. Mean while, Authun and Berthun were crowned kings of Suſſex. They are ſaid by ſome to be ſons of Adelwalch, and by others his generals only.

AUTHUN and BERTHUN.

Theſe two kings did not live long undiſturbed. Cedwalla, now become king of Weſſex, made war upon them, and gained a battle, wherein Berthun was ſlain. 688.

AUTHUN alone.

Authun very probably preſerved the crown of Suſſex by an entire dependence on the king of Weſſex, who after the death of Authun, would not ſuffer even the vacant throne to be filled.

The South-Saxons made ſeveral attempts to recover their liberty. They took up arms in 722: but having taken wrong meaſures, Ina, king of Weſſex, reduced them to obedience. 722. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. lib. iv.

Three years after, taking advantage of ſome troubles that broke out in Weſſex, they placed on the throne a king named 725.

a And of the country of the Meanvari in Weſſex. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13. which is ſuppoſed to be that part of Hampſhire, that is now divided into the hundreds of Meansborow, Eaſt-Mean, and Weſt-mean. Camden in Hampſhire.

b And after a reign of eighteen years. Huntingd. p. 314.

Albert.

Flor. Wig. Bede, lib. v. cap. 19.

Albert. But Ina having defeated and ſlain the new king, united their kingdom to his own.

However, this prevented them not in 734, in the reign of

754. Sigebert, king of Weſſex, afterwards depoſed, from revolting once more, and chuſing one Oſmond for their king. In all likelihood Cenulph, ſucceſſor of Sigebert, found means to reduce them again to a ſtate of dependence. From that time the South Saxons, as far as appears, never attempted to recover their liberty, their country being conſidered ever after as a province of Weſſex.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of WESSEX.

The kingdom of Weſſex or Weſt-Saxons.

THERE were in the heptarchy three kingdoms, two of Angles and one of Saxons, that greatly ſurpaſſed the reſt in grandeur and power. The two kingdoms of Angles were Northumberland ſituated beyond the Humber, and Mercia containing all that lay between the Humber, the Thames, and the Severn, with the two kingdoms of Eſſex and Eaſt-Anglia. Weſſex, the third great kingdom, inhabited by Saxons and Jutes, was ſituated ſouth of the Thames, in breadth about ſeventy miles, from the Thames to the Britiſh Channel; and in length one hundred and fifty, from the frontiers of Suſſex to the river Tamar, which parted it from Cornwal. The principal cities were Wincheſter the capital, Southampton, Portſmouth, Saliſbury, Dorcheſter, Sherborn, Exeter, where a great many Britons were mixed with the Saxons. The Iſle of Wight, inhabited by Jutes, was alſo dependent on this kingdom.

As each kingdom of the heptarchy derived its name from the inhabitants and ſituation, the kingdom of Weſſex, or of the Weſt-Saxons, was ſo called becauſe it lay weſt of Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex. Beſides the extent, the ſituation of this kingdom made it alſo very conſiderable, ſince it was guarded on the north by the Thames, and on the ſouth by the ſea; on the eaſt it was bounded by the little kingdom of Suſſex, not at all formidable to its neighbours; and on the weſt by the Britons of Cornwal, divided ſo from the reſt of their countrymen the Welſh, by the mouth of the Severn, that it was almoſt impoſſible for them to aſſiſt one another.

CERDIC.

CERDIC.

This prince, of whom I have largely ſpoken in the ſecond book, arrived in Britain in the year 495, and was crowned the firſt time king of the Weſt-Saxons in 519, after Arthur had ſurrendered to him the two counties of Hampſhire and Somerſetſhire, the whole then of this kingdom. He was crowned a ſecond time at Wincheſter in 532, or 533, by the ſame title, upon the delivery of Berkſhire, Wiltſhire, Devonſhire, and Dorſetſhire, by Modred. He died in 534, leaving his crown to his ſon Cenric. 519.

CENRIC.

Cenric, who during his father's life was renowned for his valour and conduct, after he was king, preferred a quiet life to the noiſe and hurry of arms. We do not find he acted any thing memorable during his reign, except defeating the Britons, who ventured to attack him in 552. He died in 560, and was ſucceeded by Ceaulin his eldeſt ſon. 534. Hunting.

CEAULIN.

Ceaulin, being elected monarch after his father's death, carried the prerogatives of that dignity to a very great height. Having brought the neighbouring princes into ſubjection, he made them apprehenſive, by ſeizing the kingdom of Suſſex after Ciſſa's death, that he intended to reduce all England into one kingdom. The better to ſecure Suſſex, he went and kept his court at Chicheſter, leaving the government of Weſſex to Ceolric, his nephew, whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor. His ambition cauſed all the other kings, Ceolric himſelf not excepted, to enter into a league againſt him. He was vanquiſhed by the king of Kent, who commanded the confederate army [c], and forced to fly to ſome unknown corner, where he ended his days ſoon after. His wars with the Britons and Aidan king of Scotland, were related in the ſecond book. 560. H. Hunting. Flor. Wig. M. Weſt. Flor. Wig. 592. G. Malmsb. lib. i. cap. 2. Flor. Wig. in Gen.

CEOLRIC.

Nothing particular occurs concerning this prince after his acceſſion to the throne upon the death of his uncle Ceaulin. He died in 598, and was ſucceeded by his brother Ceolulph. 594. Flor. Wig. G. Malmsb. Sax. Annal.

c This battle was fought at Wodenſdike Malmsb. p. 12. now called Wanſdike, in Wiltſhire. See Camden in Wiltſhire.

CEOLULPH.

CLEOLULPH.

598. All we know of this prince is, that in 607, he reduced to
Fl. Wigorn. obedience the South-Saxons, who had revolted [d]. He died
Huntingd. in 611, and had for his ſucceſſor Cinigiſil, his nephew, ſon of Ceolric.

CINIGISIL.

611. A year after his coronation, Cinigiſil aſſociated Quicelm his brother, or rather divided with him the kingdom of Weſſex.

CINIGISIL and QUICELM.

612. Theſe two brothers obtained, in 614, a ſignal victory over
614. the Britons [e].
Huntingd. I have already given an account of Quicelm's wars with Edwin king of Northumberland, and ſhall have further occaſion to mention him in the hiſtory of the church; and there-
635. fore ſhall ſay no more of him here. Quicelm turned Chriſtian a little before his death, which happened in 635.

CINIGISIL alone.

636. This prince, who had embraced the Chriſtian religion ſome time before his brother, reigned alone till his death. He left his crown to his ſon Cenowalch.

CENOWALCH.

643. The reign of Cenowalch was much troubled by his wars with the kings of Mercia. Penda, whoſe ſiſter he had mar-
645. ried and divorced, attacked him when he leaſt expected it, and compelled him to abandon his kingdom, and fly for refuge to Annas, king of the Eaſt-Angles, where he remained the
646. three years Penda kept poſſeſſion of Weſſex. Cenowalch was
648. converted in Eaſt-Anglia, and at length reſtored to his kingdom by the aſſiſtance of Annas.

d Huntingdon ſays, that during his whole reign, he was engaged in wars either with the Engliſh, the Scots, or the Picts, p. 315. And Malmsbury, that he ſpent his whole life in wars, and was never idle, being always employed either in defending or enlarging his dominions, p. 12.

e At Beamdune, Sax. Annal. which Mr. Camden takes to be Bampton in Devonſhire, or Bindon in Doſetſhire, p. 54, 56. They had alſo a battle with Penda, king of Mercia, who attempted to take Cirenceſter from them. Malmsb. p. 12.

In

In 652, he obtained a signal victory over the Britons [f]; which was followed by another 658 [g]. 652. G. Malmsb, Sax. Ann. H. Hunting.

Some years after, he was engaged in war with Wulfer, successor of Penda; but which was the aggressor, or what was the success of the war, is unknown. Wulfer was defeated and taken prisoner. Others affirm he had entirely the advantage, which to me seems most likely [h]. It is certain Wulfur conquered Sussex and the Isle of Wight, which he could not have done, if Cenowalch had been in condition to oppose him. However this be, Cenowalch died in 672, and left his crown to queen Sexburga. 661. Æthelw. lib. ii. cap. 7. G. Malmsb. Sax. Ann. Fl. Wigorn. H. Hunting. G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 4.

SEXBURGA.

She was a princess of great courage, of a very sublime and extensive genius, and possessed all the qualifications necessary for well-governing a kingdom. She reigned but one year, and then died, as some say; but according to others, was deposed by the West-Saxons, who thought it a dishonour to obey a woman [i]. 627. Id. Id.

After the death or expulsion of Sexburga, the kingdom was divided among several of the great men [k], of whom Cenfus, a prince of the royal blood, descended from Cerdic, was the chief. Nothing more particular is known concerning this dismembering of the kingdom, which however was united again into one body, after these petty tyrants were either dead or expelled. Fl. Wigorn. in Gen. 673.

CENFUS, ESCWIN, and CENTWIN.

In 674, Cenfus associated his son Escwin, and probably was forced to let Centwin, brother to the late king Cenowalch, reign also over some part of the kingdom. 674. H. Hunting. lib. iii.

The next year, Wulfer attacked the kings of Wessex, whose army was commanded by Escwin. A bloody battle was fought, in which Wulfer had the advantage, though the loss on both sides was very great.

f At Witgeornesbrug, says Malmsb. p. 13. The Saxon Annals say at Bradenford, now Bradford, in Wiltshire. See Camden.

g Near the hill called Pene, in Somersetshire; the Welsh were driven back as far as the river Parret. Hunt. p. 317. Malmsb.

h Malmsbury says, that Cenowalch deprived Wulfer of the greatest part of his kingdom, p. 13. But Huntingdon affirms that Cenowalch was defeated, p. 317.

i M. Westminster says, she was expelled the kingdom by the nobles, who despised female government. But what authority he had for this, does not appear. Malmsbury gives her a great character.

k For about the space of ten years. Bede, lib. iv cap. 12.

l At a place called in the Saxon Annals, Bedanheafde, now Bedwin, in Wiltshire. Camden.

Cenſus died two years after, and Eſcwin his ſon did not long ſurvive him. Thus Centwin remained ſole king of Weſſex.

CENTWIN alone.

676. H. Hunting. Sax. Ann. M. Weſtm. Flor. Wig.

Hiſtory informs us, that in 682, Centwin obtained a ſignal victory over the Welſh [m], upon which Cadwallader their king was forced to go and ſue for aſſiſtance from the king of Armorica: the Welſh prince afterwards took a journey to Rome, where he died.

Fl. Wigorn. Sax. Ann. G. Malm. lib. ii. cap. 2

About the end of Centwin's reign, Cedwalla, a prince of the blood-royal of Weſſex, had ſo gained the people's affection, that the king, being jealous of him, ordered him to depart the kingdom. As Cedwalla could not diſpute the king's command, he retired into Suſſex; and being well beloved, a great many young people choſe to accompany him, and follow his fortune, inſomuch that he entered Suſſex with a ſort of army [n]. Adelwalch, then king of Suſſex, angry at Cedwalla's preſuming to enter his dominions in a warlike manner, and without his permiſſion, would have driven him thence, but was ſlain in the fight. After this victory, Cedwalla would have ſeized the kingdom, but was prevented by Authun and Berthun, as before related in the hiſtory of Suſſex.

Id. lib. iii. de Pontiff.

Bede, lib. iv. cap. 15.

Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig.

Mean while, Centwin happening to die, Cedwalla returned to Weſſex, and was placed on the throne.

CEDWALLA.

686. Fl. Wig.

Cedwalla was not only king of Weſſex, but likewiſe monarch of the Anglo-Saxons. His firſt war was with Authun and Berthun kings of Suſſex, ſpoken of before.

Having ended this war to his advantage, he turned his arms againſt Kent, from whence he carried off a great booty. Then he attacked the iſle of Wight, which belonged to the king of Suſſex ever ſince Wulpher's grant to Adelwalch. Aldwald, brother to Authun being then governor of the iſle, undertook its defence; but as Cedwalla's forces were much ſuperior to his, he was forced at laſt to abandon the iſle to the mercy of the conqueror. The inhabitants being yet idolaters, Cedwalla, through a falſe zeal of religion, reſolved to root them out, and people the iſland with chriſtians. He would have executed

m He ravaged their country, and purſued them as far as the ſea, or St. George's Channel Huntingd. P. 318. Malmsb. p. 14.

n According to Malmsbury, he carried away all that were able to carry arms, that he might leave the country defenceleſs, P. 14.

this

this barbarous resolution, had not Wilfred, formerly bishop of York, and then bishop of Selsey in Sussex, represented to him that it would be much better to endeavour to convert them. Upon the bishop's remonstrances, Cedwalla relented, but on condition the inhabitants would be instantly baptized. The poor wretches, who had no time to deliberate, embraced the christian religion at the first preaching of Birwin, a priest, nephew of Wilfred, who was entrusted with their conversion, if the bare declaration of people threatned with death in case of refusal, may be called by that name.

Some time after Cedwalla sent his brother Mollon with an army into Kent. The miserable death of Mollon there, and the terrible manner Cedwalla revenged it, have already been related in the history of that kingdom. 687. G. Malmsb. lib. i. cap. 1. Brompton. Polychron.

At length, Cedwalla resolved to take a journey to Rome, to receive baptism at the hands of the pope; for although he was a christian and a great zealot, he had never been baptized. He performed this journey in 688. As he travelled through France and Lombardy, he was every where very honourably received. Cunibert king of the Lombards was particularly remarkable for the noble entertainment he gave him. When he came to Rome, he was baptized by pope Sergius II. who gave him the name of Peter. He had all along wished to die soon after his baptism, and he had his wish, for he died a few weeks after at Rome. He was buried in St. Peter's church, where a stately tomb was erected to his memory, with an epitaph shewing his name, quality, age, and time of his death [o]. He left, by Cendrith his queen, two sons, who did not succeed him by reason of their tender age. Ina his cousin mounted the throne after him. 688. Bede, lib. v. cap. 7. Id. 683.

INA.

Of all the kings that reigned in England during the Heptarchy, Ina was one of the most famous and illustrious: he must needs have been of great repute, since the same year he was crowned he was declared monarch of the Anglo-Saxons in a general assembly, where Sebba king of Essex, his friend, served him effectually. 688. Ass. Mon.

Ina's wars with the Britons in Cornwal, the kings of Kent, the South-Saxons, and king of Mercia, rendered his valour,

[o] "Hic depositus est Cedwalla, qui & Petrus, Rex Saxonum. Sub. xii. Cal. Maii indictione secunda qui vixit annos plus minus triginta, imperante domino Justiniano piissimo augusto, anno ejus consulatus quarto, pontificante apostolico viro Sergio papa secundo." Rapin.

merit, and abilities more and more conſpicuous. But as hiſtorians have only told us the ſucceſs, without mentioning the motives and circumſtances of theſe wars, it is impoſſible to give a particular account of them. They only inform us, that he carried his arms into Kent, from whence nothing could drive him but the bribing him with a large ſum of money [p]: that in 710, he conquered part of Cornwal: that in 715, Ina and Ceolred fought a bloody battle at Wodenſburgh in Wiltſhire, with equal loſs on both ſides: that, laſtly, he reduced to obedience the South Saxons, who had revolted, and placed one Albert on the throne [q],

994. G. Malm. lib. i. cap. ii. Polych. lib. v. c. 20. Sax. Ann. H Hunting. lib. iv.

Theſe are the military exploits that gained Ina his reputation for war. But the panegyricks beſtowed on him by hiſtorians, were not owing to theſe ſo much as to four other particulars, which to them ſeemed of great importance, and which they have chiefly dwelt on. Firſt, he rebuilt Glaſſenbury monaſtery, and augmented the revenues and privileges in ſuch a manner, that it became one of the moſt conſiderable in all England [r]. In the ſecond place, he publiſhed a body of laws, entitled, Weſt-Saxon Leaga [s], that is, Laws of the Weſt-Saxons, which ſerved for foundation to that publiſhed in the next century by Alfred the Great his ſucceſſor. Thirdly, Ina ſignalized his piety by quitting his crown and turning monk, which was then looked upon as an undoubted mark of religion. This reſolution was taken by the perſuaſions of his queen Ethelburga, who had prepared him for it, by frequently repreſenting to him the example of ſo many kings his predeceſſors, that had run the ſame race before, and were honoured as ſaints. But laſtly, what contributed moſt to Ina's fame, was this: Before he ſhut himſelf up in a monaſtery, he went to Rome, where after conferring with pope Gregory II. he built a large college for the inſtruction and reception of the Engliſh eccleſiaſticks that ſhould come to ſtudy at Rome, and for the entertainment and lodging of the kings and princes of the ſame nation, that ſhould viſit the tombs of the apoſtles. Adjoining to the college, he built alſo a ſtately church, and

Ann. Sax. Fl. Wig. H. Hunting. lib. iv.

G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 2.

727. Mat. Weſt.

p Thirty thouſand pounds, ſay the Sax. Ann. And according to Malmsb. thirty thouſand marks of gold, p. 14.

q He alſo drove all the nobility of Eaſt-Anglia out of their poſſeſſions, and afterwards defeated them in battle. Malmsb. p. 14.

r By Malmsbury's account one would be inclined to think that he was the firſt founder of it. See Malmsb. p. 14. The charter confirmed by a great council of the whole Weſt-Saxon kingdom, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Baldred king of Kent, with other biſhops and great men, is in manuſcript in the library of Trinity college in Cambridge, and alſo publiſhed by Sir H. Spelman, in his firſt volume of the Britiſh Councils. But after all this charter ſeems to be the forgery of the Benedictin monks.

s See biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 45.

appointed

appointed a certain number of prieſts to officiate. Beſides the charge of the buildings, of the ornaments of the church, and of the neceſſaries of the college, there was an abſolute neceſſity of ſettling a ſtanding fund for their maintenance, according to the intent of the founder. Now Ina had taken care of this, by laying a tax of a penny on every family in the kingdom of Weſſex and Suſſex, which was to be ſent yearly to Rome, under the name of Romeſcot. Some time after Offa king of Mercia impoſed the ſame tax on the kingdom of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia, and termed it Peter-Pence. Some ſay, Ina returned into England to have this tax ſettled by the general aſſembly, or parliament of Weſſex, and to get the charter ſigned by all the nobility of the kingdom [t]. After which he returned to Rome, where he took upon him the monkiſh habit [u]. Ethelburga, who adviſed him to it only becauſe ſhe had a mind to become a nun herſelf, put on the veil in the monaſtery of Barking.

Malmſbury is miſtaken in ſaying Ina was ſixty-two years on the throne of Weſſex, ſince it is certain he had reigned but thirty-ſeven, or at moſt but thirty-nine years when he reſigned his crown to his couſin Adelard.

ADELARD.

Though Adelard was placed on the throne with the conſent of the aſſembly general, Oſwald, one of the royal family [w], diſputed the poſſeſſion of it with him, Their quarrel was decided by a battle, wherein the king was victorious over his rival, whoſe death, which happened ſhortly after, reſtored peace and tranquility to the kingdom. Adelard died in 740, and was ſucceeded by Cudred his brother or couſin. 727. Malm. lib. i. cap. 2. Ann. Sax.

CUDRED.

We have only the following particulars of the reign of Cudred: for we muſt not expect to find any connexion between the facts related by the hiſtorians or annaliſts. 740.

In 743, this prince obtained a ſignal victory over the Corniſh men. Two years after, Ethelun, a Weſt-Saxon lord, diſſatisfied with the king, raiſed a ſedition among the ſoldiers, 743.

t There is no authority for this, Polidore Virgil (who was the pope's collector of the tax) allows it indeed; but it is not confirmed by any ancient author or council.

u "Plebeio cultu amictus inter medicos conſenuit." Higden. Polychron. p. 248.

w He was the ſon of Ethelbald, of Cynebald, of Cuthwin, of Ceaulin. Malmsb. p. 15. Huntingd. p. 338.

Ann. Sax. Huntingd. lib. iv. in which Cenric ſon of Cudred was ſlain. This action was followed by a civil war, which laſted ſome time. Ethelun being at the head of the rebels, dared to give his ſovereign battle, wherein the king, though not without great danger of being vanquiſhed, gained the victory. During the fight, Ethelun gave ſuch notable proofs of an undaunted courage, and extraordinary conduct, that the king choſe rather to receive him into favour, than deſtroy a ſubject that might be ſerviceable to him. And indeed, it was the ſame Ethelun, that in 752 vanquiſhed Ethelbald king of Mercia, in a battle mentioned in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

750. Bede. Ep. contin.

753. Ann. Sax. Cudred turned his victorious troops againſt the Britons of Cornwall [x], and conquered part of their country, which he united to Weſſex. He died ſhortly after, and left his crown to his nephew Sigebert.

SIGEBERT.

754. H. Hunting lib. iv. Fl. Wig. Sigebert, very unlike his predeceſſor, by his vices and cruelties [y], drew on himſelf the hatred and contempt of his ſubjects. A certain count [z] having expoſtulated with him concerning his conduct, he ordered him to be put to death in his preſence. This action made the Weſt-Saxons loſe all patience; they publickly depoſe him, and place on the throne Cenulph, ſon of Adelard. Sigebert finding he could have no redreſs, was forced to ſubmit to the ſentence of the ſtates, and betake himſelf to a foreſt [a], where he was killed by a ſwineherd [b].

CENULPH.

754. Ann. Sax. Malmsb. H. Hunt. lib. iv. R. de Hov. Cenulph became very famous for his frequent victories over the Britons [c].

After he had reigned thirty years, he grew jealous of Cunehard, brother of Sigebert, and perhaps not without reaſon. Cunehard having notice of the king's ſuſpicions, and knowing

x He and Ethelbald being reconciled, joined their forces againſt the Britons. Sax. Ann. Hunting.

y Puffed up with his predeceſſor's victories, he became intolerable to his ſubjects. Particularly he altered the laws according to his own pleaſure. Huntingd. p. 341. Sax. Ann.

z Cumba—— "prece totius populi "querimonias eorum [ſc. ſubditorum] "regi fero intimavit." Hunting. p. 341 Tyr. p. 226.

a The foreſt of Andredſwald. Hunt. p. 242.

b Belonging to the late count Cumbra. Hunting. p. 342.

c Anno 778. Cenulph fought a battle with Offa, king of Mercia, at Benſington in Oxfordſhire; in which Offa got the victory. Brompt. p. 770. Malb. p. 15.

he

he intended to dispatch him out of the way, resolved to prevent him. To this end, discovering him one day, as he went alone [d] to visit a certain lady whom he admired, he followed him, with some of his friends, into the house and attacked him. Cenulph defended himself furiously, and even wounded his enemy, but at last, overpowered with numbers, sunk down with his wounds. The king's officers and domesticks running in at the noise, and finding him dead, fell upon Cunehard and slew him, not regarding the large offers he made them to spare his life, and place him on the throne [e]. Brithric, son of Cenulph, succeeded his father.

BRITHRIC.

Brithric, three years after he was on the throne, married Edburga, daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, and about the same time banished Egbert the kingdom. Egbert, a prince of the royal family [f], by his noble qualities had gained the affection of the West-Saxons to such a degree, that the king could not help being jealous. This was a sufficient inducement to Brithric to free himself from the uneasiness occasioned by that prince, by removing him from his presence [g]. Egbert retired at first to the court of Offa king of Mercia: but he did not meet there with the reception he expected, Offa being unwilling to disoblige his son-in-law Brithric, by harbouring a prince that was hateful to him. Whereupon Egbert resolved to retire into France, where he was very civilly received by Charles the Great, who showed him, on several occasions, marks of his esteem. During Egbert's twelve years abode at this prince's court, he very much improved his natural abilities, and rendered himself capable of executing the grand design of uniting the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons into one monarchy, as will be seen presently. 784. 787. Flor. Wig.

During the reign of Brithric, the Danes made their first descent into the kingdom of Wessex [h]. They began then to be formidable, not only at sea, but on the coasts of several European kingdoms. As in process of time they did the English incredible damage, it is not without reason that histo-

d To Merton in Surrey. Hunt. p. 343.

e Cenulph was buried at Winchester, and Cunehard at Axminster. Hunting. p. 343; or at Repton, according to Malmsb. p. 16.

f He was the son of Alcmund, Esa, Eoppa, Inigisil, Cenred, who was the fourth from Ceaulin.

g Brithric had formed a design of removing him out of the way; which Egbert being aware of, he fled to Offa; where messengers soon came from Brithric to demand him; but he escaped into France. Malmsb.

h At Portland. Asser. Ann. Malm.

rians have been very exact in marking the time of their first descent.

799. or 800. Brithric, in 799, was poisoned by Edburga his wife [i]. The West-Saxons were so provoked at this action, that before they proceeded to the election of a new king, they made a law prohibiting the wives of their future kings from taking the title of Queen, and sitting on the throne with their husbands. And lest the compliance of the kings to their wives might occasion the breaking of this law, it was further enacted, that hereafter, if any king of Wessex should dispense with the observance of it, he should, ipso facto, be deprived of his royal rights, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance.

G. Malm. lib. ii. c. 2. Ass. Men.

This affair being ended, an honorable ambassy was sent by the West-Saxons to Egbert, to offer him the crown. Egbert was then at Rome with Charles the Great, who received there, soon after, the imperial crown. Here he took his leave of that great prince, who had been a father to him, and at his departure gave him fresh marks of his affection.

Queen Edburga having left Wessex upon poisoning her husband, fled also to Charles the Great, who, in consideration of the friendship between him and her father Offa, gave her a rich abbey, where she might have spent the remainder of her days in peace [k]. But that way of life not being agreeable to her constitution, she behaved so ill in it, that being surprized in an intrigue with a young English gentleman, the emperor was forced to send her away. She wandred about from place to place for some time, and at last went and ended her days at Pavia in great want.

EGBERT.

800. Egbert, besides the valour natural to all the Saxon princes, had one qualification that gave him a superiority above the other kings his cotemporaries, which was, his great knowledge in politicks, acquired during his abode at the court of Charles the Great, whose example and instructions, no doubt, had greatly contributed towards it. He was no sooner on the throne of Wessex, but he perceived himself superior to the

[i] He was buried at Wareham in Dorsetshire. Malmsb. p. 16. The poison was designed for another, but the king happened to taste it.

[k] At her arrival she made the emperor many great presents; and he bidding her chuse whom she would have for a husband, himself, or his son, she foolishly chose his son; whereupon the emperor, laughing, said, If thou hadst chosen me, thou shouldst have had my son, but now thou shalt have neither. Asser. Annal. S. Dunelm. p. 118.

other

other kings, and resolved to make the best use of it[l]. But like an able politician, he judged it necessary to proceed by degrees in the execution of his projects. Accordingly, he spent the first seven years of his reign in settling the affairs of his kingdom, and in gaining the love and esteem of his own subjects, in which he succeeded to his wish.

The kingdom of Wessex being bounded on the south by the sea, and on the north by the Thames, Egbert must of course begin the extending his borders either eastwards or westwards. To the east lay the kingdom of Kent, which would have been very convenient for him; but as this kingdom was then in subjection to Cenulph, king of Mercia, a prince of distinguished worth, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, to begin with Kent would have been the ready way to ruin his designs. And therefore, in expectation of a more favourable juncture, Egbert thought it proper to carry his arms first towards the west, against the Britons of Cornwal, His success was so great, that in the end he reduced all Cornwal to his obedience[m]. 899. Malmsb.

The Welsh intending to assist their brethren in Cornwal, gave Egbert a pretence to attack them. He defeated them several times, and at last subdued the kingdom of Venedocia, one of the three, Wales was then divided into. The struggles of the Welsh afterwards to shake off their yoke, served only to make it the heavier. Egbert re-entering their country, destroyed all with fire and sword, which made them take care how they provoked him a third time to come among them. 810. 811. 112. 813.

At length the death of Cenulph in 819, gave Egbert room seriously to consider of executing his designs. He was immediately invested with the dignity of monarch, to which none had a better claim than himself. His kingdom was in a flourishing condition, whilst the rest, weakened by intestine divisions, daily lost somewhat of their lustre and power. The Heptarchy was reduced to five kingdoms, of which he possessed one of the most considerable. In the other four, the race of their ancient kings being extinct, nothing ensued but quarrels and dissentions among the principal lords, who all thought they had a right to aspire to the crown. And therefore, so far were they from consulting in common the public good, that they regarded only their own interests, and the 819.

l He took particular care to train up his subjects in that skill in military affairs, which he had learnt at the court of France. Higden, p. 252. Malmsb. p. 36.

m One of the battles was fought at Camelford in Cornwal; several thousands fell on both sides. Hunting. p. 345. This war lasted some years.

forming

forming of parties to ſupport them in their ambitious pretenſions. On the contrary, the kingdom of Weſſex became every day more powerful by the weakneſs of the reſt, and the prudent adminiſtration of the perſon that governed it, whoſe valour was equal to his judgment and ability, to ſet in motion the ſprings of the moſt refined politicks. Wherefore Egbert reſolved to haſten the execution of his project of reducing England into one kingdom. Almoſt all the preceding monarchs had formed the ſame deſign, and their not ſucceeding was entirely owing to unſeaſonable junctures. But ſoon after Egbert's being declared monarch, every thing conſpired to favour him. Northumberland had been long rent by two factions, who, litttle attentive to what paſſed abroad, were only watching opportunities to ſupplant one another. Mercia was in no better condition. Bernulph, who had depoſed Ceolwulph, reigned only by the ſupport of a powerful party, who indeed had intereſt enough to raiſe him to the throne, but found it difficult to uphold him, by reaſon of the envy of the nobles at his advancement. For which cauſe, though that kingdom was conſiderably enlarged by the acquiſition of East-Anglia, and though the king of Kent was become its tributary, it was far from being ſo powerful as Weſſex. The East-Angles, not yet thoroughly ſettled in the ſtate of ſubjection Offa had reduced them to, were waiting for a favourable opportunity to throw off the Mercian yoke, which to them was intolerable. The wars of the kings of Kent with the Weſt-Saxons and Mercians, had brought them ſo low, that they could not avoid being tributary to the king of Mercia, and conſequently were not in condition to ſtand againſt Egbert. As for the kingdom of Eſſex, beſides the probability of its being in ſubjection to Mercia, it had long made but a very inconſiderable figure, and if it was ſtill governed by Swithred, which is uncertain, that prince muſt have been of an extreme old age.

Theſe conſiderations inflaming Egbert's ambition, he began his preparations, which raiſing ſuſpicions in the king of Mercia, he thought betimes of providing for his ſafety. Though he was ignorant that Egbert intended the conqueſt of all England, he could hardly doubt but he deſigned to enlarge his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. And therefore, fearing the ſtorm might ſuddenly fall on him, he believed, by attacking him before he was ready, he ſhould break his meaſures, and compel him to be quiet. To this end, he advanced with his army as far as Ellandunum near Salisbury [n], where, con-

Sax. Ann. Malm. b. Hunting.

[n] Higden ſays, that Ellindon (as he call. it, was in Hamptunenſi provincia, p. 252. The annotator upon Camden thinks it was Elingdon, near Highworth.

contrary to his expectation, he met his enemy, whom he thought to have ſurprized unawares. The two armies coming to an engagement, the Mercians were routed with ſo great loſs, that it was not poſſible for Bernulph ever to retrieve it.

This victory procured Egbert two great advantages. Firſt, as it very much weakened the king of Mercia, who alone was able to withſtand him. Secondly, as it opened the way to the conqueſt of Kent, for which Bernulph himſelf had given a pretence, by attacking him firſt. This conqueſt was abſolutely neceſſary to his becoming maſter of all the country between the Thames and the ſea. Beſides, by beginning the execution of his deſigns with the kingdom of Kent, he was the leſs apprehenſive of alarming the Northumbrians, who were too remote to concern themſelves with what was tranſacting beyond the Thames.

Purſuant to this reſolution, Egbert ſent his ſon Ethelwolph with a powerful army into Kent. Baldred, unprepared againſt an invaſion, preſſed in vain the king of Mercia to come and aſſiſt him. Bernulph was diſabled, by his late defeat, from bringing an army ſo ſoon into the field. Beſides, Egbert had ſo poſted himſelf, that it was not poſſible to relieve Kent, without overcoming his army, which as Bernulph could not pretend to attempt, the burden of the war, notwithſtanding his weakneſs, was to be ſuſtained by Baldred alone. However he hazarded a battle; but being vanquiſhed, retired into Mercia, leaving his kingdom to the young Weſt-Saxon prince, who became maſter of it without any difficulty. Thus the kingdom of Kent was united to thoſe of Weſſex and Suſſex, and by that means Egbert ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole country lying ſouth of the Thames.

This firſt ſtep being taken, Egbert rendered himſelf alſo maſter of the kingdom of Eſſex, which is all hiſtorians ſay of it, without mentioning any one circumſtance: ſo imperfect is the hiſtory of that kingdom.

Though the conqueſt of theſe two kingdoms was a great ſtep towards ſubduing the reſt, yet the moſt difficult taſk was ſtill behind; namely, the conqueſt of Northumberland, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia. Had theſe three kingdoms been in their former ſplendor, each of them in particular would have kept Egbert fully employed. Nay, had they but entered into a ſtrict alliance for their common defence, when they were going to be attacked, they would perhaps have cauſed that ambitious prince to deſpair of ſubduing them. But their divi-

worth. See Camden in Wiltſhire. Mr. Lambard's ſuppoſition is moſt probable, that it was Ellisfield near Winchester. Diction. Topograph.

ſions

ſions prevented them from making ſo neceſſary an alliance. The Eaſt-Angles were waiting for an opportunity to revolt againſt the king of Mercia. The Northumbrians for ſome time had lived in a ſort of anarchy, which diſabled them from taking any meaſures with regard to foreign affairs. So far were they from any thoughts of aſſiſting their neighbours, that they were wholly intent upon deſtroying one another, in which they were but too ſucceſsful. Mercia, indeed, ſeemed ſtill very powerful; but the Mercians were in no greater union among themſelves than the Northumbrians; and beſides, the battle of Ellandunum had conſiderably weakened them: whereas Weſſex was grown ſtronger by the conqueſt of two kingdoms.

Egbert beholding with pleaſure how all things conſpired to favour his deſigns, reſolved to invade Mercia in the firſt place, plainly foreſeeing, could he conquer that kingdom, the reſt would make no long reſiſtance. Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia made but one body ever ſince their union by Offa. But as this union was not cemented by the mutual affections of the two nations, it was rather deſtructive than advantageous to the ſtate. The Eaſt-Angles looked upon the Mercians as their hateful maſters: whilſt the Mercians, on their part, treated the Eaſt-Angles with haughtineſs, as a conquered nation. This being the caſe, it was much more eaſy for Egbert to foment their mutual enmity, than for them to reap the benefit of their union. For this reaſon Egbert, to accompliſh his ends with the more eaſe, increaſed their animoſity to the utmoſt of his power, not doubting but, could he once bring them to an open rupture, they would ſo weaken one another, as never more to be able to reſiſt him. It is ſtrange, ſince this maxim is univerſally known, "We muſt divide thoſe "whom we would deſtroy," it ſhould ſo frequently happen that they againſt whom it is practiſed, ſhould attend ſo little to it. The Eaſt-Angles, blinded by their extreme deſire of freeing themſelves from the Mercian yoke, without a moment's conſideration, followed the advice ſecretly given them by Egbert, of taking up arms for the recovery of their liberty. Their attention to their preſent intereſt, prevented them from reflecting, that after they had been ſubſervient to Egbert's deſign, they would be ſtill leſs able to withſtand him than the Mercians. It is true, Egbert, pretending to have no other view but their intereſt, cauſed whatever was moſt capable to excite them to a revolt, to be laid before them. His emiſſaries told them, "there never was ſo favourable an opportunity "of recovering their liberty: that the Mercians were ſo ex-"tremely

"tremely weakened ſince the battle of Ellandunum, that "they were hardly able to maintain their tyranny over the "Eaſt-Angles: that beſides, Egbert was ſo incenſed againſt "Bernulph that he would readily aſſiſt them, having publickly "declared as much." This was ſufficient to induce the Eaſt-Angles to revolt. The pleaſure of thinking they ſhould be freed from their dependence on the Mercians, baniſhed from their thoughts the fear of becoming ſubject to the Weſt-Saxons. Thus reſolved, they took up arms, and choſe a general, whoſe name hiſtorians have neglected to relate. Bernulph informed of their motions, thought he could not be too ſpeedy in putting a ſtop to an evil that ſeemed of ſo dangerous a conſequence. With the firſt troops he could draw together, he marched againſt the Eaſt-Angles; but inſtead of chaſtiſing them, as he vainly hoped, was defeated and ſlain.

The Eaſt-Angles were mightily encouraged by this ſucceſs, G. Malm. without diſheartening however the Mercians, who made freſh attempts to reduce the rebels. They forthwith elect a king, named Ludican, who endeavours to continue the war, whilſt the Eaſt-Angles are preparing to receive him, in expectation the king of Weſſex would not fail them upon occaſion, according to his promiſe, Ludican actually entered Eaſt-Anglia with a numerous army; but death prevented him from making any progreſs, and rendered his preparations for that campaign of no effect. Some ſay, he was ſlain in a battle: others affirm, the Eaſt-Angles found means to free themſelves from the dread of this prince, by cauſing him to be aſſaſſinated.

Whether the Mercians diſcovered that Egbert privately Aſſer. Ann. aſſiſted the Eaſt-Angles, or the conqueſts already made by that prince opened their eyes, they were ſenſible, at length the maintaining their dominion over Eaſt-Anglia was not ſo much the buſineſs of the preſent war, as the preſervation of their own liberties. In this belief, they reſolved to exert their utmoſt, and chuſe a king of known valour, without regarding the intereſts of the ſeveral factions, which till then had kept them divided. Their choice fell upon Witglaph, a lord of great merit, whoſe ſon had married a daughter of king Cenulph. If the new king had been to deal with the Eaſt-Angles, probably he would have ended the war to his advantage. But inſtead of aiming at the reduction of Eaſt-Anglia, he was very much embarraſſed to defend his own dominions. Egbert fearing the ſtate of affairs might be changed under a new prince, whoſe valour he was no ſtranger to, no longer delayed to declare openly for the Eaſt-Angles. Hitherto he had only aſſiſted them privately, at leaſt he had not appeared

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as a party in the war, raiſed by him between them and the Mercians, with the ſole aim that they might weaken one another. But as ſoon as the preparations of the Mercians gave him room to fear the balance would incline too much on their ſide, he thought himſelf obliged to take other meaſures, by publickly aſſiſting the Eaſt-Angles, and declaring war with the Mercians. Witglaph uſed his utmoſt endeavours to withſtand the united forces of the Eaſt-Angles and Weſt-Saxons. He even frequently tried the fortune of his arms in ſkirmiſhes and conflicts, but always with ill ſucceſs. At length, having loſt a great battle, and finding his caſe deſperate, he fled to the abby of Croyland, where he lay concealed three months. In the mean time, Egbert purſuing his victory, became maſter of Mercia, without any oppoſition. He deſigned to unite it to the reſt of his dominions; but by the mediation of Siward abbot of Croyland, Witglaph was reſtored to his kingdom, on condition of paying homage, and becoming tributary to the conqueror.

Ingulph. Sax. Ann.

After the Eaſt-Angles had been ſubſervient to Egbert's deſigns, they were glad to be received into his protection, on almoſt the ſame terms with the Mercians; ſo that all the advantages procured them by the war, was the change of one maſter for another.

Northumberland alone remained as yet free from the dominion of Egbert. But that kingdom was little able to preſerve her liberty, conſidering the ill ſituation of her affairs. Andred, who then reigned, was a king in name only. His faction had placed him on the throne, not that he, but themſelves might reign in his name. Beſides, the kingdom was all along rent by parties, and frequently invaded by the Scots, who had over-run great part of its territories. It was not poſſible therefore for the Northumbrians to withſtand the victorious arms of the king of Weſſex, or rather, of all the reſt of England, which was in that prince's power. Accordingly, when Egbert approached with an army that had already conquered four kingdoms, Andred and the Northumbrians in great conſternation, and unable to make head againſt him, ſubmitted, and accepted of the ſame terms granted the Mercians and Eaſt-Anglians.

Malmsb.

Thus ended the Heptarchy of the Anglo-Saxons by the reduction of the ſeven kingdoms, under the dominion of the king of Weſſex. Indeed Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, ſtill preſerved a ſhadow of liberty; but very probably Egbert would not have ſuffered other kings to be choſen, after the death of thoſe who were then on the throne, if the Danes, who

who ſhortly after began their invaſions, had given him time to take other meaſures.

The government of the heptarchy, reckoning from the founding of the kingdom of Mercia, the laſt of the ſeven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, held two hundred and forty-three years. But if the time ſpent by the Saxons in their conqueſts be added, from the arrival of Hengiſt to that of Crida, the heptarchy will be found to have laſted three hundred and ſeventy-eight, from its beginning to its diſſolution.

If we enquire into the cauſes of the diſſolution of the heptarchy, they will very readily occur, It is eaſy to perceive one of the principal was, the great inequality amongſt the ſeven kingdoms, three whereof vaſtly ſurpaſſed the reſt in extent and power. Hardly was the heptarchy founded, when the kings of Weſſex looked upon Suſſex and Kent as extremely convenient for them, and accordingly both the one and the other were ſubdued by them at different times. The kings of Mercia had all along an eye on the kingdom of Eſſex. Nay, it appears they were maſters of it for ſome time, and in all likelihood it was not entirely free, when conquered and united to his other dominions by Egbert. Eaſt-Anglia was an object that continually inflamed the deſires of the Mercians and Northumbrians, the firſt of whom carried it at length.

Another cauſe of the diſſolution of the heptarchy, was the default of the male heirs in the royal families of all the kingdoms, Weſſex excepted. Hence aroſe thoſe diſſentions among the great men, which exceedingly weakened their reſpective ſtates. We may aſſign moreover as another cauſe, the concurrence of various circumſtances, which never met but in the time of Egbert. But chiefly this diſſolution was owing to the direction of the providence of God, whoſe good pleaſure it was to raiſe England by degrees, and after ſeveral revolutions, to her preſent height of grandeur and power.

The conqueſt of Great Britain, and the relinquiſhing of the ſame by the Romans, is the ſubject of the firſt book of this hiſtory. In the ſecond the largeſt and nobleſt part of the iſland is repreſented ſtruggling with the Anglo-Saxons, and at laſt obliged to ſubmit to their yoke. In the third, I have related, though in a very general manner, the affairs of the heptarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, their wars, the ſucceſſion of their kings in each of the ſeven kingdoms, and have concluded with ſhowing the heptarchy turned into a real monarchy.

It remains now that I ſpeak of the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons to the chriſtian religion, and give a repreſentation of the

the church of England in her primitive ſtate, wherein conſiſts the principal part of the Engliſh hiſtory during the heptarchy.

THE State of the Church of ENGLAND, FROM The Converſion of the ENGLISH, to the Diſſolution of the HEPTARCHY.

WE have ſeen, in the ſecond book, the horrid deſolation of the Britiſh church, whilſt expoſed to the barbarity of the Saxons, who thought it their duty to perſecute the Chriſtians. We ſhall now behold theſe very Saxons from perſecutors grown Chriſtians, (by the direction of Divine Providence, which inceſſantly watches for the welfare of mankind) forming a flouriſhing church in the ſame places where they had exerciſed their cruelties. 'Tis not our buſineſs to dive into the reaſons of God's aſſigning different periods to the ſeveral nations of the world, for leading them into the way of ſalvation. It is ſufficient for us to know and admire, that when the happy time is come, not only no obſtacle can obſtruct the execution of his deſigns, but, on the contrary, every thing helps to accompliſh them: nay, the weakeſt inſtruments, in the hands of the Almighty, acquire an irreſiſtible force.

In order to have a clear and diſtinct knowledge of the manner of the converſion of the Anglo-Saxons, and of the moſt remarkable occurrences from the foundation of their churches, to the diſſolution of the heptarchy, England muſt be conſidered not, as it is at preſent, one realm, but as divided into ſeven diſtinct kingdoms. Theſe kingdoms being converted at different times, it will be neceſſary to treat of each of them by itſelf. And therefore, I am now about to relate how the goſpel was received by every one of them in particular, with the moſt memorable tranſactions in reſpect to religions, from their

their converſion to their being reduced under the dominion of Egbert, the firſt real monarch of England.

The CHURCH of KENT.

AS Kent was firſt converted, I ſhall begin with that kingdom. But becauſe ſeveral accidents conſpired to this event, it will be proper, in order to have a juſt notion of the thing, to ſet them all in one view before the reader. The ſtate of the church of Kent.

I have ſpoken, in the hiſtory of Kent, of Ethelbert's power over the reſt of the kings of the heptarchy, and intimated, that his neighbourhood to, and alliance with France, did not a little contribute towards it. For this reaſon he omitted nothing to cultivate a ſtrict friendſhip with the French, well knowing how much it might turn to his advantage. The means he judged moſt proper to this end, was the demanding a French princeſs in marriage; accordingly he caſt his eyes on Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris. He at firſt met with ſome obſtacle. Chilperic, who, after his brother Cherebert's death, had been as a father to this princeſs, would not hear a word of the match, on account of Ethelbert's being an idolater; and this for ſome time put a ſtop to the matter. But Ethelbert found means to remove this difficulty, by promiſing to let Bertha have the free exerciſe of her religion, and bring over with her a certain number of eccleſiaſticks. Upon theſe terms the princeſs was given him in marriage. Chilperic, her uncle, was in hopes that as ſhe was thoroughly grounded in her religion, ſhe would be ſo far from turning heathen herſelf, that ſhe would contribute to the converſion of the Engliſh monarch. And in this his expectations were anſwered. As ſoon as they came together, ſhe ſpared no pains to gain his love and eſteem by her affable and condeſcending behaviour. Ethelbert, charmed with the good qualities of his queen, had all the value and affection for her ſhe could deſire. In this agreeable ſituation Bertha juſtly hoped to bring the king at length to have favourable thoughts of the chriſtian religion, and therefore took all occaſions to diſplay the goſpel truths in the moſt affecting manner. Beſides, the converſations Ethelbert had from time to time with Luidhard biſhop of Soiſſons, who came over with the queen, contributed very much to her deſign. In a ſhort time, Ethelbert was ſo wrought upon, that if he had not yet reſpect enough for the chriſtian religion to embrace it, at leaſt he had no averſion to the goſple or thoſe that profeſſed it.

Thorn. Bede, lib. i, cap. 25.

G. Thorn.

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Thorn. Bede, lib. i, cap. 25.

G. Thorn.

596. In this favourable juncture it was that pope Gregory I. ſent miſſionaries into England, to inſtruct the Engliſh in the knowledge of the goſpel. Gildas and Bede reproach the Britons ſeverely for ſuffering their neighbours to live ſo long in paganiſm, without offering them their aſſiſtance to free them from their errors. But they blame them without cauſe. It is eaſy to ſee, that whilſt the Saxons oppreſſed the natives with all imaginable cruelties, theſe were very unfit inſtruments to inſtruct their perſecutors. Beſides, their continual wars gave the Saxons no time to turn their thoughts to religious affairs. But when they came to be ſettled, aſſiſtance was not wanting, and though it came from far, it was no leſs effectual than if it had flowed from their neighbours. As this here is a very remarkable epocha in the Engliſh hiſtory, it will be proper to ſhow the ſecret ways made uſe of by providence in the execution of its deſigns in favour of this nation. In order to this, it will be neceſſary to look back a little to what happened before.

Bede, lib. i. cap. 22.

Bede, lib. ii. cap. 1.

About eighteen or twenty years before the arrival of the Roman miſſionaries, in the reign of Alla king of Deira, ſome young children were ſent from thence to Rome to be ſold. That ſort of trade was then commonly drove by the Engliſh, who made no ſcruple of ſelling their children, when overſtocked. Theſe young ſlaves, being expoſed to ſale in the public market, drew the eyes of vaſt numbers of people upon them, who could not but admire them. Among the reſt, Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, beheld them very attentively. He enquired particularly after the place of their birth, and the religion there profeſſed. As ſoon as he knew they were Engliſh[a], and born of idolatrous parents, he reſolved to go and preach the goſpel to that nation; and having obtained the pope's licenſe, prepared for his journey. But the Romans, who had a great veneration for him, petitioned the pope not to deprive them of ſo uſeful a paſtor; and the pope complied with their requeſt. Thus Gregory's deſign remained unexecuted. The time appointed by God for the converſion of the Engliſh was not yet come; and probably, ſuch were then the circumſtances of the nation, Gregory's undertaking would have met with great difficulties. All England was troubled with wars and commotions, which broke out afreſh conti-

Brompton. G. Malmſb.

a Bede has either invented or elſe heard that pope Gregory made divers Latin alluſions upon the anſwers to his queſtions concerning thoſe boys. Particularly being told they were Angli, he replied, "Bene, nam Angelicam habent faciem." Hence ſome have imagined (particularly Verſtegan) that the name of Angli comes from Angelus. Whereas it is plain, their being called Angli gave occaſion to Gregory's pun.

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nually. Ethelbert had not yet eſpouſed Bertha; his mind as yet was unprepared for the reception of the goſpel, and being vaſſal to Ceaulin, he had but little power to encourage Gregory's deſign. But afterwards, all circumſtances were equally favourable, and helped to promote it. Gregory, now become biſhop of Rome, called to mind his former project of converting the Engliſh; and though by reaſon of his dignity, which obliged him to reſide at Rome, he could not go in perſon, he ſent thoſe whom he thought capable of inſpiring the people with a reliſh for the goſpel. He choſe for this purpoſe forty Thorn. Benedictine monks, with Auſtin at their head, in quality of abbot [b]. In all appearance, Bertha had acquainted the pope how well affected the king her huſband ſtood with regard to religion, ſince they were ordered to land in Kent. Auſtin and his companions [c] having paſſed through France, where they were ſupplied with interpreters, arrived at the iſle of Thanet [d], in the the year of our Lord 597. As ſoon as they were landed, 597. he ſent the king word, that he was come into his dominions Bede, lib. i. cap. 25. with a company of very honeſt men, to bring him a meſſage of the greateſt importance, and inſtruct him in what would procure him everlaſting happineſs. Upon this information, Ethelbert ordered them to ſtay where they were, deſigning to go himſelf and hear from their own mouths the occaſion of their journey. Some few days after, he went to the iſle of Thanet, in company with the queen, who, in all likelihood, was not ignorant of the reaſon of Auſtin's coming. As ſoon as the king arrived, he ſeated himſelf in the open air, being apprehenſive, as Bede ſays, of charms or ſpells, which in the open field, he thought, could have no power over him. Then ordering the ſtrangers to be called before him, he aſked them what they had to propoſe. Auſtin, who was the ſpeaker, made a long harangue, preaching the goſpel in a forcible and zealous manner, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, though he relates not one word of his ſermon. Ethelbert, informed by the interpreters what Auſtin had ſaid, returned him this anſwer: "Your propoſals are noble, and your promiſes inviting. But "I cannot reſolve upon quitting the religion of my anceſtors, "for one that appears to me ſupported only by the teſtimony

b He was then abbot of St. Gregory's at Rome. Spelman. Conc. vol. i. p. 92. Rapin.

c After they were got ſome way on their journey, reflecting upon the difficulties and dangers of their undertaking, they unanimouſly reſolved to return home. And accordingly ſent Auſtin to the pope, to deſire him to excuſe them from ſo fatiguing and dangerous a journey. But Gregory ſent them a letter, wherein he exhorted them to go on, which they accordingly did. Bede, lib. i. c. 23.

d And landed in a place called Reteſbourgh. Thorn, p. 1759. X. Script.

"of perſons that are entire ſtrangers to me. However, ſince, "as I perceive, you have undertaken ſo long a journey on "purpoſe to impart to us what you deem moſt important and "valuable, you ſhall not be ſent away without ſome ſatisfac- "tion. I will take care you are treated civilly in my domi- "nions, and ſupplied with all things neceſſary and convenient. "And if any of my ſubjects, convinced by what you ſhall "ſay to them, deſire to embrace your religion, I ſhall not be "againſt it."

This firſt ſtep being taken, the queen got leave for the miſſionaries to ſettle at Canterbury, the capital of Kent, where ſhe took care to provide them with convenient lodgings, and procure them the liberty of preaching to as many as had the curioſity to hear them. They made ſo good uſe of this favourable juncture, that in a ſhort time ſeveral of the principal Saxons embraced the chriſtian faith. The ſwift progreſs of the goſpel at Canterbury, raiſed the king's curioſity to be more particularly inſtructed in the nature of the religion thoſe
598. ſtrangers preached. At length, by the perſuaſions of the
Bede. Flor. Wig. Thorn. queen, and frequent conferences with Auſtin, he received baptiſm, about a year after the arrival of the miſſionaries. The converſion of the king being followed by that of multitudes of his ſubjects, the queen's chapel, which ſtood without the city [e], ſoon became too little to hold them. And therefore they were obliged to turn one of the heathen temples into a church, which was dedicated to St. Panerace. Shortly after, ſeveral other temples were ſerved in the ſame manner by Ethelbert's order, and the foundations of Canterbury cathedral were laid;
Bede, lib. i. cap. 33. which was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and was afterwards called St. Thomas. Auſtin began alſo a monaſtery, which he had not the ſatisfaction to ſee finiſhed. Peter, one of his companions, was the firſt abbot. It was called the monaſtery of St. Auguſtin, from its founder. Ethelbert at
Cam. in Cant. length leaving Canterbury to the Italian monks, went and kept his court at Reculver.

Thus began the converſion of the Saxons in England. Auſtin and his fellow-labourers were the inſtruments made uſe of by Divine Providence to turn them from their idolatrous ſuperſtitions to the light of the goſpel; a bleſſing their brethren in Germany enjoyed not till two hundred years after, in the reign of Charles the Great. Ethelbert promoted to his utmoſt the converſion of his ſubjects, but without uſing the

e It was dedicated to St. Martin, and had formerly been a church in the time of the Romans. Bede, lib. i. c. 26.

leaſt

leaſt violence or compulſion, having learnt of his inſtructors, as Bede expreſly obſerves, that God requires none to ſerve him, but thoſe who do it with a willing mind. It were to be wiſhed, all chriſtian princes would follow his example! The Saxons were ſo eager to embrace the goſpel, that, if hiſtorians may be credited, Auſtin in one day baptized ten thouſand in the river Swale, which runs into the Thames. Bede, lib. i. cap. 26. Gregor. Ep. lib. vii. ep. 30.

This ſwift progreſs of the goſpel in Kent making Auſtin believe he ſhould meet with the ſame ſucceſs every where, he looked upon all England as already converted. Poſſeſſed with this notion, he haſtened to Arles, to get himſelf conſecrated archbiſhop of the Saxons, by Etherius [or Vigilius], then archbiſhop of that place. Had he been contented with the bare title of biſhop, one ſhould not have wondered at it [f]. But it is really ſurprizing, that he ſhould aſpire to the archiepiſcopal dignity, at a time when he had no biſhop under his juriſdiction. It is true the pope had promiſed to make him an archbiſhop, in caſe his miſſion met with ſucceſs. But, in all appearance, Gregory, by ſucceſs, meant the converſion of the Engliſh nation in general, and not of a part only of one of the leaſt kingdoms in the heptarchy. How great progreſs ſoever Auſtin had made for the time he had been in England, yet was it nothing in compariſon of what remained to be done. His haſte therefore to be made archbiſhop and primate of England, when there was but one ſingle church there, does not redound much to his credit. All that can be ſaid in his juſtification, is, that the progreſs of Chriſtianity at Canterbury made him imagine the converſion of all England was at hand. And indeed, not long after his return from Arles, he erected an epiſcopal ſee at Rocheſter, of which Juſtus, one of his companions, was the firſt biſhop. Hence it is plain, the goſpel had alſo been preached in that city, and made ſome progreſs there. 603.

Auſtin muſt needs have entertained great hopes of his miſſion, ſince, fearing he ſhould want labourers in the approaching harveſt, he ſends Peter and Laurence, with two others of his companions, to Rome, to acquaint the pope with his wants, and inform him how matters ſtood. He took this opportunity alſo to deſire the pope's reſolution of certain queſtions, which appeared to him difficult, and might, he foreſaw, puzzle him in the government of the new church. Bede, lib. i. cap. 27.

f Bede ſays, that he was appointed by Gregory to be only biſhop, lib. i. c. 23; but afterwards he informs us, that he was conſecrated archbiſhop, c. 27. Collier ſays, he was conſecrated biſhop by the German prelates, before he came over to England. This he grounds on Gregor, Epiſt. lib. vii. Ep. 30. Which ſee in Spelman Concil. vol. i. p. 80.

The letters of Auſtin, and the accounts of thoſe he had ſent, inſpired Gregory with ſo high a conceit of this miſſion, that looking upon the converſion of the Engliſh as accompliſhed, though it was but juſt begun, he ſent the pall[g] to Auſtin, as a mark of diſtinction and honour to this new apoſtle. He ordered him alſo to erect biſhops ſees in ſeveral places, particularly at York, where was to be a metropolitan, with twelve ſuffragans; and that after the death of one of the two archbiſhops, the ſurvivor ſhould conſecrate another in his place, and have the precedence of him[h]. The reaſon of this preference with regard to York, was, becauſe it had formely, under the Romans, been an archbiſhoprick as well as London and Caerleon. As for Caerleon, it being then in the hands of the Britons, and already an archbiſhop's ſee, though not under the pope's juriſdiction, there was no occaſion to mention it. Gregory's intent, therefore, in making London an archbiſhoprick, was to reſtore things to their former ſtate. But, however, he afterwards altered his meaſures at the inſtance of Auſtin, who was deſirous of procuring that honour for Canterbury, the metropolis of Kent, where he had begun to exerciſe his miniſterial functions. The pope's view then, was only to put things upon an antient foot, when in his anſwer to Auſtin, he told him he meant, that the two archbiſhops of London and York ſhould be independent of one another; however, that Auſtin, during life, ſhould have juriſdiction, as well over the archbiſhop of York, as all the reſt of the biſhops of Great Britain.

Greg. Ep. xv. lib. 11.

Rog. Wen. M. Weſtm. G. Malm. lib. i. c. 4.

But all the pains Gregory was at, came to nothing for the preſent, ſince the chriſtian religion was far from extending to Northumberland. However, the great hopes he had conceived from the letters and meſſengers of Auſtin, induced him to give directions concerning the Engliſh churches, as if they had been really formed. Beſides theſe general orders, he exhorted

g The pall is a white piece of woollen cloth, about the breadth of a border, made round, and thrown over the ſhoulders. Upon this are two others of the ſame matter and form, one of which falls down on the breaſt, and the other on the back, with each of them a red croſs, ſeveral croſſes of the ſame colour being likewiſe upon the upper part of it about the ſhoulders. This pall is laid upon St. Peter's tomb by the pope, and then ſent away to the reſpective metropolitans, which till they have received from the ſee of Rome, they cannot call a council, bleſs the chriſm, conſecrate churches or a biſhop, ordain a prieſt, &c. At the delivery of it they are to ſwear fealty to the pope. The antient pall, from the Latin pallium, was an entire and magnificent habit, deſigned to put the biſhop in mind that his life ſhould anſwer up to the dignity of his appearance. Pet. de Marca.

h His words are "Sit vero inter "Londinenſis & Eboracenſis civitatis "epiſcopos in poſterum honoris iſta "diſtinctio, ut ipſe prior habeatur, qui "prius fuerit ordinatus." Bede, lib. i. c. 29.

Auſtin,

Auſtin, in a letter, not to be elated at his having received from heaven the gift of miracles, which makes it probable, word had been ſent him, that ſeveral miracles had been wrought by Auſtin. He charged him alſo, not to deſtroy ſuch idol tempies as were fit to be converted into churches, but to conſecrate them by ſprinkling holy-water, and placing relicks under the altars. And ſince the Saxons had been accuſtomed to offer ſacrifices to their gods on their feſtival days, he adviſes that [upon the anniverſary of the ſaints, whoſe relicks were lodged there, or upon the return of the day of the church's conſecration] they ſhould kill ſome cattle, and provide an entertainment, to which they were to invite the poor. At the ſame time he writ to Ethelbert and Bertha, exhorting them to perſevere in the true religion, and promote the great work undertaken by Auſtin. Peter and Laurence, accompanied with Mellitus, Paulinus, Ruffinianus, and ſome other new miſſionaries, brought back theſe letters, together with ſacred veſſels, and ornaments for the altars, veſtments for the prieſts, relics, books, and other things neceſſary for celebrating divine ſervice. Auſtin received alſo the reſolution of the queſtions he had ſent to the pope, which with their anſwers, were to this effect. Greg. Epiſt. lib. ix. ep. 59, 60.

I. Queſtion. How are biſhops to behave with reſpect to their clergy? into how many portions are the offerings at the altar to be divided? and how ought a biſhop to act in the church? 601. Bede.

For ſatisfaction in the firſt point, the pope refers him to St. Paul's Epiſtle to Timothy. To the ſecond he anſwers, that it was the cuſtom of the church to divide the offerings into four parts; one for the biſhop, another for the clergy, a third for the poor, and a fourth for the repairs of the church. As to the laſt article, which would have been very obſcure had not the pope cleared it in his anſwer, he replies, that Auſtin being a monk, ought not to live apart from the reſt of the clergy, but, according to the practice of the primitive Chriſtians, "ſhould have all things in common[i]." He adds, if there were any clerks not admitted into holy orders, who could not live continently, they were to marry, and receive the ſtipends at their own houſes, according to the words of Scripture, "Diſtribution was made to each of them accord-"ing to every one's wants." As for other Chriſtians, he Acts iv. 32.

i Here in ſome books is the ſecond queſtion inſerted, which runs thus: "I deſire to know, whether clergymen "that cannot contain, may marry; "and if they marry, whether they "muſt return to a ſecular life?" See Spelman Conc. vol i. p. 96.

ſays, there was no need to preſcribe any rules in relation to their almſgiving, ſince our Saviour himſelf ſays, "Give alms "of ſuch things as you have, and behold all things are clean "unto you."

II. Queſtion. Since there is but one faith, how comes it that there are different cuſtoms in churches, one manner of ſaying maſs in the Roman, and another in the Gallican church?

The pope adviſes him to ſelect from each church, what he thought moſt convenient for the church of England.

III. Queſtion. What puniſhment ought to be inflicted on him that has ſtole any thing from the church?

Gregory replies, the motives of the theft muſt be conſidered, whether it was done out of neceſſity or covetouſneſs, and the puniſhment to be proportioned accordingly, with charity and temper. As for reſtitution, God forbid the church ſhould receive more than ſhe loſt.

IV. Queſtion. Whether two brothers may marry two ſiſters, that are no way related to them?

Gregory anſwers, this may be done very lawfully.

V. Queſtion. To what degree of conſanguinity are marriages forbid?

The pope anſwers, to the ſecond degree incluſively, and no farther. He would not however have thoſe ſeparated who have married within the prohibited degrees before their converſion, becauſe they did it out of ignorance. But he would have all the new converts charged not to preſume to do any ſuch thing; and in caſe they did, to be debarred the communion.

VI. Queſtion. Whether a ſingle biſhop may ordain another, without the aſſiſtance of other biſhops, when the length of the journey makes it inconvenient for them to meet?

Gregory replies, that ſince Auſtin was now the only biſhop in England, he might conſecrate others without any aſſiſtance. But in order to avoid the like inconvenience for the future, he would have him place biſhops ſo, as that they might not be at too great a diſtance from one another.

VII. Queſtion. How ought I to manage with the biſhops of Gaul?

The pope tells him, that he allows him no manner of juriſdiction of them, becauſe he had no deſign to deprive the archbiſhop of Arles of the authority he was poſſeſſed of.

VIII. Queſtion. Whether a woman with-child ought to be baptized?

The

The pope anſwers, he ſaw no inconvenience attending it.

IX. Queſtion. How long after her lying-in, ought a woman to come into the church?

Anſwer. If ſhe come into the church the minute after her delivery, ſhe ſins not.

X. Queſtion. How long after the birth ought the baptizing of an infant to be deferred?

Anſwer. A child may be baptized the moment he is born.

XI. Queſtion. How long after a lying-in muſt it be, before a man and his wife come together again?

Gregory is very large in his anſwer, and takes occaſion to blame mothers for not ſuckling their own children, attributing the riſe of ſo ill a cuſtom to their incontinency. And therefore he decides, that the huſband ought not to lie with his wife till the child is weaned [k].

XII. Queſtion. May a woman, during ſome certain times, come into the church?

The pope ſays a great deal on this head, and concludes, womens infirmities ought to be no obſtacle to their going to church and praying to God.

XIII. Queſtion. May a man that has lain with his wife, come into the church or receive the ſacrament, before he has waſhed himſelf?

The pope here, as uſual, makes a great many diſtinctions, and concludes, ſuch a man had better abſtain from both for ſome time.

XIV. Queſtion. May a man, after an impure dream, receive the communion; or, if he be a prieſt, adminiſter it?

The pope's anſwer is full of diſtinctions about what is, and what is not ſin; and concludes at laſt, a man in that caſe ought not to communicate. He gives leave, however, for a prieſt, in the ſame caſe, to adminiſter the ſacrament, if there is no other in the way to officiate for him.

Theſe are the difficulties Auſtin wanted the pope to reſolve, which gives us no great idea of the abilities of this famous apoſtle. However, Gregory thought fit to anſwer them fully and diſtinctly, as if they had been of the utmoſt importance. He had the converſion of the Engliſh ſo much at heart, that inſtead of diſcouraging Auſtin, he highly extolled him.

Auſtin's care was not confined to the converſion of the Saxons only: he undertook alſo, what ſeemed to him no leſs worthy Bede, lib. ii. cap. 6.

[k] However, he allows thoſe that do not ſuckle their children, to come together after the uſual time of purgation.

worthy of his zeal, the bringing the Britiſh biſhops to a conformity with the Roman church [1], and the making them acknowledge the pope's juriſdiction. As this is a remarkable circumſtance of Auſtin's life, it will be neceſſary to enlarge upon it a little. This deſign of his was not eaſy to be executed. The Britons thought they could juſtify their adhering to the rites and cuſtoms they had practiſed ever ſince the converſion of Britain. Beſides, they could not conceive upon what grounds they were obliged to conform to a church ſo remote, or what advantage the owning the pope's authority would be to them. Theſe difficulties did not diſcourage Auſtin: he had, beſides his zeal for the ſee of Rome, another, and perhaps no leſs powerful motive, to induce him to this undertaking, which was his claim to the primacy of all Britain, by virtue of the pope's grant. Now this he could never hope to attain, whilſt the Britiſh churches were independent of the pope. He applied therefore all his endeavours to accompliſh this enterprize, which coſt him more pains and trouble than the converſion of the Saxons, without having, after all, the ſatisfaction of reaping the fruits of his labour.

The Goſpel, as I before obſerved, was preached in Britain either by the apoſtles themſelves, or by ſome of their diſciples. From thoſe early days the Britons had conſtantly adhered to the cuſtoms and rules preſcribed to them by their firſt teachers. But the church of Rome had made ſeveral innovations in the divine ſervice, to which they pretended all other churches ought to conform. The oppoſition the biſhops of Rome every where met with, was not capable to make them drop their pretenſions. Although this difference was of no great conſequence, it cauſed however, towards the end of the ſecond century, a moſt ſcandalous quarrel between pope Victor I. and the churches of Aſia; which roſe to that height, that the pope, for no other reaſon, excommunicated them all. This affair had never been judicially decided; yet for all that the biſhops of Rome ſtuck to their claims, and did all that lay in their power to compaſs their ends. The weſtern

[1] Viz. about the celebration of Eaſter, Bede, lib. iii. cap. 2. Huntingd. p. 325. The Britons uſed, for finding Eaſter, the cycle of eighty-four years, which was called the Roman Account. But about eighty years after the renting of the Roman empire, the Romans left off the uſe of that cycle, and took up another of nineteen years; and when they had uſed this about eighteen years, coming then to have to do with theſe northern nations, they would needs have impoſed the uſe of it upon them, as a condition of their communion; and this was what Auſtin attempted to do. See biſhop Lloyd's Hiſtor. Account. p. 67, etc.

churches,

churches, as neareſt Rome, were more eaſily prevailed with. Almoſt all, except the churches of Gaul and Milan, conformed at length to the Roman Ritual. But Britain, being ſtill as it were a ſeparate world, had, ſince the embaſſy of Lucius to pope Eleutherius, held very little communication with the biſhops of Rome. The Britons conſidered them only as biſhops of a particular dioceſe, or at moſt but as patriarchs, on whom the Britiſh church had not the leaſt dependance. So far were they from owning the pope's authority, that they did not ſo much as know he pretended to have any over them. But Auſtin, out of the abundance of his zeal for the ſee of Rome, took upon him to bring them to acknowledge the pope as head of the church in general. It is difficult to know how far Auſtin's deſigns reached, ſince it does not appear he had any inſtructions from Gregory I. who aſpired not to that exorbitant power attributed afterwards to his ſucceſſors. It muſt however be owned, that Gregory laid claim to a ſuperiority over the Britiſh churches, ſince in his letter to Auſtin, he put the whole iſland entirely under the juriſdiction of the new archbiſhop. Indeed it is not to be ſuppoſed Auſtin would have inſiſted ſo much upon that point, had he not been ſure of being ſupported in it. However this be, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to attain his ends.

The beſt way, as he thought, of proceeding in this affair, was to get the Britiſh biſhops to meet him in a ſynod, in order to debate upon what he had to propoſe to them. This being agreed to, he omitted nothing that might win them to do as he deſired. But neither promiſes nor threats could prevail with the Britiſh prelates to admit of the leaſt change in their ancient cuſtoms. Bede tells us, that Auſtin, finding he could not prevail by arguments, cauſed a Saxon blind man to be brought into the aſſembly, and when the Britons had tried in vain to cure him, he reſtored him to his ſight by his prayers. But, whether the miracle admitted of ſome diſpute, becauſe the blind man was a Saxon; or Bede, who lived long after the fact, was wrong informed; the Britons ſtood out againſt this evidence. All Auſtin could obtain, was, that they ſhould meet again, and determine the matter in a more numerous ſynod [m]. At this ſecond council were preſent ſeven Britiſh biſhops [n], accompanied with Dinoth abbot

602. Uſher de Prim. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 2.

Rog. de Hov.

m This ſynod was held at Auguſtin's Ac, or Oak, on the frontiers of the Weſt-Saxons, very likely in Worceſterſhire. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 2. Spelman ſuppoſes it was at Auſtic (contracted for Auſtin's Ric) on the borders of Worceſterſhire, towards Herefordſhire. Concil, vol. i. p. 107.

n Thoſe of Hereford, Landaff, St. Paterns, Bangor, Clwyd, Worceſter, Morgan. See Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 106. and Camden.

of

of Bangor, who brought ſeveral of his monks along with him. Before they came to the ſynod, they adviſed with a hermit of great repute among them, how they ſhould behave in this affair. The good old man told them, he ſaw no reaſon to admit of any alterations in their divine ſervice upon the bare requeſt of a man to them entirely unknown: but however, as the eſſence of religion conſiſted in union and charity, it would not be amiſs to comply in ſome meaſure with Auſtin, provided he was a holy man, and one ſent from God. Whereupon the biſhops deſired to be informed how they ſhould know whether he was ſuch a perſon or not. He replied they ſhould know it by his humility, the moſt unqueſtionable mark of a true Chriſtian: and they would ſee whether he was endued with this virtue, by his reſpectful riſing up to ſalute them at their coming into the council-room; for if he paid them not that civility, it was a ſure token of his pride. Purſuant to this advice, they took care to come laſt upon the place: and upon Auſtin's not ſtirring from his ſeat to ſalute them, they conceived an invincible prejudice againſt him. Thus for a default in point of civility, his whole ſcheme, that had coſt him ſo much pains and trouble, fell to the ground.

G. Monm. M. Weſtm.

As Auſtin in the ſynod was earneſtly preſſing the Britons to ſubmit to the pope, and carrying the papal prerogatives to a great height, Dinoth, abbbot of Bangor, made him this anſwer: "You propoſe to us obedience to the church of Rome; "are you ignorant that we already owe a deference to the "church of God, to the biſhop of Rome, and to all Chri-"ſtians, of love and charity, which obliges us to endeavour "by all poſſible means to aſſiſt and do them all the good we "can? Other obedience than this to him you call pope, we "know not of, and this we are always ready to pay. But "for a ſuperior, what need have we to go ſo far as Rome, "when we are governed, under God, by the biſhop of Caer-"leon, who hath authority to take care of our churches and "ſpiritual affairs[o]?" It is ſaid Auſtin deſpairing to overcome their obſtinacy, after a long diſpute, cried out, full of indignation, "Since you refuſe peace from your brethren, "you ſhall have war from your enemies: and ſince you will "not join with us in preaching the word of eternal life to "your neighbours, you ſhall receive death at their hands." Hence it appears, that Auſtin had not only preſſed the Britons

Dinoth's ſpeech to Auſtin. Spelm Conc. vol. i. p. 108.

Bede, lib. ii. cap. 8.

o Eman. Schelſtrate, and other Romiſh writers, pretend, that this ſpeech was forged ſince the reformation. See biſhop Nicholſon's Hiſtor. Librar. p. 91. and Spelman Conc. vol i. p. 108, 109.

to

to a conformity with the church of Rome, and obedience to the papal authority, but alſo had reproached them for their negligence and want of zeal, in not promoting the converſion of the Saxons. Perhaps he deſigned to intimate to them, that the converſion of all England wanted only the union he propoſed to them. However this be, theſe words of Auſtin were looked upon as a prediction of the maſſacre of the monks of Bangor, mentioned in the hiſtory of Northumberland. I leave the reader to judge whether the non-compliance of the abbot of Bangor to Auſtin's propoſal, was a crime of ſuch a nature as to deſerve ſo ſevere a puniſhment.

Auſtin not having the ſucceſs he expected in this affair, confined himſelf within the true bounds of his miſſion, and cauſed the goſpel to be preached to the Eaſt-Saxons by Mellitus, one of the miſſionaries ſent him by the pope, of whom I ſhall ſpeak more fully, when I come to the converſion of that nation. 604.

Theſe, in ſhort, are the tranſactions of Auſtin, commonly called the Apoſtle of the Engliſh, during the eight years he lived in England. He arrived in 597, and died in 605, according to the generally-received opinion. Some affirm he died ſooner, and others, though without grounds, bring his death down to 613 [p]. He was buried at Canterbury, near the cathedral, which was not then finiſhed, with this inſcription on his tomb [q]:

"Here lies Auguſtin, the firſt archbiſhop of Dorobern, Bede, lib. ii, cap. 3.
"who having been ſent hither by Gregory, pontiff of Rome,
"and ſupported by the co-operation of God with miracles,
"converted king Ethelbert and his nation to the faith; and
"having accompliſhed the days of his miniſtry, departed this
"life the 7th of the calends of June, in the reign of the ſaid
"king."

Auſtin was ſucceeded by Laurentius [r], who was as ſolicitous to reduce the Britons to the obedience of the pope, and a conformity to the Roman church in the celebration of Eaſter. He wrote very preſſing letters to them, wherein he upbraided G. Malmsb. de Pontif.

p Bede ſays he died 604, lib. ii. cap 3. M. Weſtm. in 608. Hoveden in 610. Trivet and Polyd. Virg. in 611. Malm. in 612. See Spelm. Conc. vol. i. p. 63.

q The inſcription put upon his tomb at firſt, was,

Inclytus Anglorum præſul, pius, et decus altum,
Hic Auguſtinus requieſcit corpore ſanctus.

His body was, after the finiſhing of the cathedral, removed by his ſucceſſor Laurentius, into the north porch of it, and the other inſcription put upon his monument. Bede, lib. ii, cap. 3. Spelm. Conc. vol. i. p. 93.

r Whom he had conſecrated archbiſhop before his death. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3.

them

them for their obſtinacy, complaining that a Scotch biſhop, Dagham by name, paſſing through Canterbury, had refuſed to eat with him, on account of their difference in opinion concerning Eaſter-day. But his letters proved fruitleſs.

Gregory I. pretended not to a juriſdiction over the Britiſh churches as univerſal biſhop; a title he was ſo far from aſſuming, that he had declaimed againſt it with great diſlike. However, in all appearance, he believed he might, as patriarch of the weſt, claim the obedience of the Britiſh as well as Engliſh biſhops to his ſpiritual juriſdiction. But Boniface IV. who not long after Gregory I. was promoted to the ſee of Rome, being ſupported by the emperor Phocas, took upon him the title of univerſal biſhop. This was a freſh motive for the miſſionaries in England to renew their endeavours to bring the Britons to own his authority; but they could not prevail with them: and therefore Mellitus was ſent to Rome for in-
606. ſtructions from the pope upon this head. But the death of Ethelbert [s], which happened in the mean time, cauſed them to lay aſide all thoughts of this matter, and reduced the Chriſtians to a deplorable condition. Edbald, ſon and ſucceſſor of Ethelbert, being turned pagan again, the miſſionaries loſt that powerful protection they had till then ſo proſperouſly enjoyed. To complete their misfortunes, Sebert, king of Eſſex, who had been converted by Mellitus, dying alſo a little after [t], his three ſons, who jointly ſucceeded him, apoſtatized from Chriſtianity, and forbad Mellitus, who was come back from Rome, to remain in their dominions. He fled to Laurentius archbiſhop of Canterbury, as did alſo Ju-
610. ſtus biſhop of Rocheſter, the inhabitants of that place having in all appearance abandoned the faith. Theſe three prelates having conſulted together, reſolved upon going into France, and leaving the reprobate Saxons to themſelves. This ſhows either that the people of Kent and Eſſex went all back to paganiſm, or that there were not ſo many converts as Gregory was made to believe. Mellitus and Juſtus went away, according to their reſolution; but Laurentius ſtaid behind, though with intent to follow them in a ſhort time.
Bede, lib. ii. cap. 6. When he was ready to depart, it is affirmed, that lying one night in his church, St Peter appeared to him, and ſcourged him ſeverely, as a puniſhment for offering to abandon his

s Rapin places Ethelbert's death ſeveral years ſooner here, than he did before in the hiſtory of Kent. He died in 613, ſays Bede, lib. ii. cap. 5. Rapin places it above in 616. So doth Brompton, p. 737, 738.

t Brompton ſays, that he died about the ſame time as king Ethelbert; which, according to him, was A. D. 616, p. 737, 738.

miſſion.

miſſion. The day after he went to Edbald, and having ſhewn him the marks of the ſcourge, he converted him, and perſuaded him to diſengage himſelf from his unlawful marriage, he having taken his father's widow to wife. So far is certain, Edbald was converted; all hiſtorians are unanimous in that: but I cannot warrant the truth of St. Peter's apparition. Edbald being thus returned to the faith, recalled Juſtus and Mellitus, and reſtored them to their reſpective dioceſes of Rocheſter and London. But the Eaſt-Saxons at London refuſing to admit Mellitus, he returned to Kent, where he ſoon after ſucceeded Laurentius in the archbiſhopric of Canterbury [u]. He is ſaid by his prayer to have put a ſtop to a great fire, that in all probability would have reduced the city to aſhes; and to have wrought ſeveral other miracles, with which I intend not to ſwell this abridgment. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 7. 619.

Mellitus was ſucceeded by Juſtus biſhop of Rocheſter [w], to whom the pope ſent the pall. After him came Honorius, whoſe ſucceſſor was Deusdedit. After his death, there was a vacancy for four years [x]. Egbert and Oſway, kings of Kent and Northumberland, having held a conference together about the affairs of the church, reſolved to ſend Wighard, a Kentiſh prieſt, to be conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury at Rome. Wighard dying there, Vitalian the pope caſt his eyes upon Adrian and Andrew, two monks, who both refuſed the archbiſhopric, as too great a burden. Theodorus, a Greek, native of Tarſus in Cilicia, to whom it was alſo offered, not having the ſame ſcruples, was conſecrated at Rome, and departed for England. The pope ordered Adrian to go with him, leſt, ſays an hiſtorian, Theodorus, being a Greek, might introduce cuſtoms in Britain contrary to thoſe of the church of Rome. As this prelate was the moſt famous that in thoſe early times filled the ſee of Canterbury, it will not be amiſs to take a fuller view of him. 624. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3. 18. Sax. Ann. 668. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 1.

Theodorus was a prelate of diſtinguiſhed worth, as well for learning, as greatneſs of mind and ſolidity of judgment. But he was of a warm and imperious temper, a lover of power, and could ill brook any oppoſition to his will. Whilſt he

u According to Malmſb. Laurentius was archbiſhop five years, p. 196. So Gervaſius alſo ſays. But Brompton makes him to have been archbiſhop ſixteen years, p. 739.

w Mallitus was archbiſhop five years; Juſtus three, and, according to others ten; Honorius twenty-ſix; and Deuſdedit ten. Malmsb. p. 196. Brompt. Gervas.

x Froombert king of Kent, who reigned from 642 to 664, ordered Lent to be kept throughout his kingdom; which, as far as appears, was the firſt inſtitution of it in England. Malmsb. p. 11. Brompt. p. 740.

was

was archbiſhop of Canterbury, he had frequent opportunities of extending his juriſdiction over all England, which he never neglected, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in the account of the eccleſiaſtical affairs of the other kingdoms, particularly of Northumberland. I ſhall only obſerve here, that during his life, he alone exerciſed the archiepiſcopal functions, which gave him an opportunity of incroaching upon the rights of the ſee of York; though Gregory I. had ordered, that after the death of Auſtin, the two archbiſhops ſhould be independent of each other. As ſoon as he came into England, he made a viſitation of all the churches in his juriſdiction, and brought the people to a thorough conformity in the divine ſervice, to the uſage of the church of Rome.

Bede, lib. i. cap. 29.

669.

As the Engliſh were yet very ignorant, Theodorus endeavoured to the utmoſt of his power to inſtruct them, by erecting a ſchool or ſeminary at Crecklade [y], where he and Adrian, beſides divinity, taught arithmetic, muſic, aſtronomy, Greek and Latin. Bede aſſures us, he knew ſeveral of their ſcholars, that could expreſs themſelves as readily in Greek and Latin, as in their own language. Theodorus was not ſatisfied with promoting the love of learning among the Engliſh, by exhortations and inſtructions only, but alſo by the books he brought, and ſent for, into England; ſome of which are ſtill extant in manuſcript, as David's Pſalms, St. Chryſoſtom's Homilies, and Homer, all written in a beautiful hand. He compoſed himſelf a large work called Pœnitentiale, which remained not long ſince at Cambridge [z], but it is not to be found there now. In 1677, extracts of it, with ſome other of his treatiſes, were publiſhed at Paris, with notes by Jacobus Petitus [a].

Bede, lib.iv. cap. 2.

Journ. des Scav. 1678.

692.

Theodorus died in 690; but the ſee was not filled till two years after, by Berthwald abbot of Reculver [b], who, having been archbiſhop thirty-eight years [c], gave place by his death to Tatwine, a perſon of great learning and probity. He exerciſed his archiepiſcopal functions near two years before he received the pall; which is a clear evidence it was not yet thought an abſolutely neceſſary qualification for an archbiſhop.

Bede, lib. v. c. 9. 24.

731.

735.

Tatwine dying in 735, Nothelm, a prieſt of the dioceſe of

y About twenty miles from Oxford, in Wiltſhire, from whence that univerſity might be afterwards ſupplied.

z In Bennet college library, in Sir Henry Spelman's time. Conc. vol. i. p. 154.

a Theodore is ſaid to have been the firſt that divided the province of Canterbury into pariſhes. See Bede, edit. Whelock, p. 359. Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 152.

b Berthwald was the firſt Saxon archbiſhop, all the reſt having been ſent from Rome. Brompt. p. 742.

c Malmsb. ſays, thirty-ſeven, (p. 196.) and Gervas, thirty ſeven years and ſix months, (p. 1640.)

London,

London, ſucceeded him, and went and received the pall at Rome, where he was conſecrated by Gregory III. He died in 741, and the year following, Cuthbert biſhop of Hereford, was choſen in his room. To him ſucceeded Bregwin, of a noble family in Germany. This prelate was exemplary for his religious and holy life, during the two years he held the ſee. Jambert [or Lambert] abbot of St. Auſtin's, was his ſucceſſor. He had the mortification to ſee the churches of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia wreſted from his juriſdiction, by the erecting Lichfield into an archbiſhop's ſee, in the reign of Offa. Notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he could neither prevent it, nor recover his rights. Athelard, his ſucceſſor, was more fortunate; for he obtained what his predeceſſor had ſued for in vain. So the churches of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia were again ſubject to the juriſdiction of the ſee of Canterbury. Wulfrid, who ſucceeded him in 804, was living at the time the Heptarchy was reduced to a monarchy.

742. 759. Gervas.

Before we leave the church of Kent, it will be proper to obſerve, that Gregory's ſcheme, who had ordered Canterbury and York ſhould be both archbiſhoprics, and independent of one another, remained unexecuted, upon ſeveral accounts. In the firſt place, the Northumbrians did nor receive the goſpel ſo ſoon as the pope expected. Again, they all deſerted the faith, after the retreat of Paulinus, who had received the pall. Laſtly, the troubles Northumberland was continually diſturbed with, prevented the firſt biſhops of York from taking advantage of the pope's regulation, which beſides they did not much regard. This was the reaſon Theodorus became poſſeſſed of all the authority, as well over the northern as ſouthern churches; and that his ſucceſſors making him their precedent, laid claim to the primacy of all England, excluſive of the archbiſhop of York. This proved, in proceſs of time, the ground of great diſputes between the two archbiſhops.

Stubbs.

The CHURCH of NORTHUMBERLAND,

HAving already given an account of Edwin's marriage with Ethelburga of Kent, I ſhall only add, that Paulinus, who accompanied her into Northumberland as biſhop of the Northumbrians, ſpent a whole year at Edwin's court, without making any great progreſs among people not yet diſpoſed to receive his inſtructions. But at length ſeveral accidents concurred to encourage his zeal and promote his deſigns, of which I ſhall give a particular relation.

Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9. Sax. Ann.

Quicelm, one of the kings of Weſſex, bore the yoke of Edwin with that impatience, that he reſolved to free himſelf from it, by means of an aſſaſſin, whom he ſent to him on ſome pretence, privately armed with a poiſoned dagger. The ruffian being introduced into the preſence-chamber, took his opportunity, and made ſo furious a puſs at the king, that he was wounded through the body of Lilla his favourite, who interpoſed himſelf, and received the blow. Paulinus being informed of this accident haſtily ran into the room, and finding Edwin in a great rage with the king of Weſſex, told him, God, to whom ſuch wretches were an abomination, would not fail to puniſh ſo horrid a villainy. It is ſaid that Edwin, whom the queen had hitherto ſollicited in vain, promiſed at the ſame time to renounce idolatry, if the God of the Chriſtians would revenge him of his enemy. At the ſame inſtant news was brought him, that the queen, after a hard labour, was brought to bed of a princeſs, for which he returned thanks to his gods. Paulinus, for his part, having been in great fears for the queen, fell upon his knees, and thanked God for her delivery. The prelate's zeal was ſo pleaſing to the king, that immediately conceiving a favourable opinion of the chriſtian religion, he conſented Paulinus ſhould baptize the new-born infant. The young princeſs, who was named Anfleda, was the firſt that received baptiſm in Northumberland [d].

Edwin, however, not forgetting the perfidiouſneſs of the king of Weſſex, marched with an army into his dominions, and, after defeating him ſeveral times, compelled him humbly to ſue for peace, and make him ample ſatisfaction. But tho' he returned with victory according to his wiſh, he deferred the performance of his promiſe [e]. When the queen and Paulinus preſſed him upon that head, he told them, the quitting his religion ſeemed to him to be of that importance, that he could not reſolve upon it without a thorough examination of matters. And indeed he heartily ſet about it, and frequently conferred with Coifi the pagan high-prieſt, upon the reaſons alledged by Paulinus in favour of Chriſtianity. Coifi, perceiving the king was very near turning Chriſtian, reſolved with himſelf to make his court to him betimes, by conforming to his will. It would not perhaps be impoſſible in the like caſe, to find ſome of this character among the chriſtian clergy.

d She was baptized on Whitſunday, with twelve other perſons belonging to the court. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9.

e Bede ſays, the reaſon of it was, becauſe he would not embrace chriſtianity without due and mature deliberation, and without being ſufficiently inſtructed in the grounds of his faith. Ibid.

Mean

Mean time, the queen and Paulinus continued to ſollicit the king to perform his promiſe; and to give the greater weight to what they ſaid to him, they got the pope to write him a letter. But all would not do; Edwin ſtill demurred, and could not come to a reſolution. At laſt the circumſtances of the viſion he had formerly ſeen in the garden of Redowald, being, as it is pretended, revealed to Paulinus, the work was accompliſhed in an extraordinary way. Bede relates, how that one day as the king was ſurrounded with a croud of courtiers [f], Paulinus came in ſuddenly, and laying his hand on Edwin's head, aſked him whether he underſtood the meaning of that token? At theſe words, Edwin recollecting what had paſſed between him and the ſtranger in Redowald's garden, threw himſelf at Paulinus's feet, who, with an air of authority, ſaid to him thus: "My lord, you have eſcaped the "hands of your enemies, and are become a great king. All "that was foretold you is come to paſs; it is your duty now "to make good your promiſe." Upon hearing this, Edwin is ſaid to reply, he was fully ſatisfied, and ready to receive the chriſtian faith. From that moment he ſtrove not only to be better informed himſelf, but alſo to prevail with his ſubjects to follow his example, and embrace the goſpel. To that end, he believed the beſt way would be, before he publicly declared his intent, to gain ſome of his principal courtiers, whoſe example, he did not queſtion, would have a great influence on the reſt of the nation.

Bede, lib. ii. cap. 10. 626. lib. ii. c. 12.

The greateſt oppoſition was moſt likely to come from Coifi, becauſe it was his intereſt to keep the people attached to the worſhip of idols. But the king was agreeably ſurprized to find, that inſtead of oppoſing, he was ready to comply with his deſire. One day as the king was diſcourſing with him [g] upon this ſubject, the high-prieſt, like a good courtier, ſaid to him: "I have for a good while been ſeriouſly reflecting "on our religion, and on the nature of our gods, and muſt "own I am not at all ſatisfied in theſe points, neither can I "forbear calling in queſtion their goodneſs, juſtice, or power. "Never, perhaps, did any perſon ſerve them with greater "zeal, reſpect and aſſiduity than myſelf. You, Sir, are a "witneſs with what devotion and care I have all along per-"formed the functions of my office; and yet I never got any

Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.

f Bede ſays, he was ſitting alone ſeriouſly pondering with himſelf. Rapin.

g In a general aſſembly. Habito "enim cum ſapientibus conſilio, ſciſcitabatur ſigillatim ab omnibus, qualis "ſibi, doctrina hæc eatenus inaudita, "& novus divinitatis qui prædicabatur "cultus videretur." Bede, lib. ii. c. 13.

"thing by it; neither is there a man in your court but what "is better preferred than I am. Now, can I help conclud- "ing, that ſince our gods take ſo little care of their moſt ſi- "cere worſhippers, they muſt be either unjuſt, or weak, or "rather no gods at all."

Edwin, extremely well pleaſed with this anſwer of the high prieſt, had a mind likewiſe to know the ſentiments of another prieſt [h] that was next in dignity to Coifi; who, encouraged by the example of his ſuperior, told the king: "Sir, "the more we reflect on the nature of our ſouls, the leſs we "know of it; it is with our ſoul, as with the little bird that "came in the other day at one of the windows in the room "where you ſat at dinner, and flew out immediately at the "other. Whilſt it was in the room, we knew ſomething "about it; but as ſoon as it was gone, we could not ſay "whence it came, or whither it was flown. Thus our ſoul, "whilſt it animates our body, we may know ſome of its pro- "perties; but when once ſeparated, we know not whither it "goes, or from whence it came. Since then Paulinus pre- "tends to give us clear notions of theſe matters, it is my opi- "nion that we give him the hearing, and laying aſide all paſ- "ſion and prejudice, follow that which ſhall appear moſt con- "formable to right reaſon." Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.

This advice, that agreed ſo well with the king's intentions, being approved of, it was reſolved Paulinus ſhould explain himſelf upon the ſubject of religion, in the preſence of the pontiff and other prieſts, which was accordingly done. As ſoon as Coifi had heard the biſhop out, he declared aloud, He could ſee no manner of reaſon to doubt of the truth of the Chriſtian religion. Edwin being thus ſure of the concurrence of the high-prieſt and ſome of his principal courtiers, called a wittenagemot or parliament, to debate, whether the Chriſtian religion ſhould be received or not. But the majority being determined already for the affirmative, it paſſed without any oppoſition. Coifi was one of the moſt forward to attack the pagan worſhip; and being deſirous to ſhow ſome marks of the ſincerity of his converſion, put himſelf at the head of his prieſts, and marching toward the heathen temple, darted his javelin againſt the idol; after which it was broke in pieces by the king's order, and the temple burnt to the ground [i]. The ſame day Edwin

h Bede ſays, it was one of the king's grandees—"alius optimatum regis," Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.

i The temple was a very famous one, it ſtood at Godmanham, i. e. a receptacle for gods, in Yorkſhire; near it is Wighton, that is, a place of idols. Camden, p. 738.

was

was baptized [k], with his niece Hilda [l], afterwards abbeſs of Whitby. 627. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 14.

The Northumbrians following the example of their king, Paulinus, who till then had lain idle, on a ſudden found himſelf fully employed, by the prodigious multitudes that daily came on to be taught and baptized [m]. But if it be true, as ſome affirm, that he babtized in one day ten thouſand, his inſtructions muſt needs have been very conciſe [n]. A church of timber was haſtily run up at York for the new converts, who were very numerous. Shortly after, Edwin laid the foundation of a church of free-ſtone round the former, which ſtood till the other of ſtone was built. He had not the ſatisfaction to finiſh it, which was done by Oſwald his ſucceſſor. Paulinus is ſaid to have preached alſo at Lincoln, where he converted Blecca, the Saxon governor. 628. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 16.

Thus was Northumberland converted to the faith of Chriſt. But ſome time after, Edwin being ſlain in battle, ſuch deſolation enſued, that Paulinus being compelled to leave the kingdom, the Northumbrians fell back again to idolatry. Anfrid and Oſric, kings of Deira and Bernicia, followed the example of their ſubjects, though they had been inſtructed in the chriſtian religion in Scotland, where they had lived in exile. The apoſtatizing of theſe two princes, and the barbarity of Cadwallo after their death, almoſt quite rooted out chriſtianity in Northumberland. During theſe calamities, neither prieſt nor monk had the courage to attempt the reſtoring the Northumbrians to the faith. James the deacon, whom Paulinus left at York, was not able alone to put a ſtop to the general revolt [o]. Things remained in this ſad ſtate, till Oſwald aſcended the throne, who, as ſoon as he had reſtored peace and tranquillity, laboured with all his power to make religion flouriſh again. To 633. Id. cap. 20. 634. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 1, 3. S. Dunelm.

k Which was on Eaſter-day, April 12. Shortly after his two ſons Offrid and Eadfrid, and ſeveral of the nobility, were baptized. Paulinus preached ſix years together in Northumbria. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 14.

l She was daughter of Hereric, Edwin's nephew. Bede.

m Bede ſays, that Paulinus coming one time with the king and queen to a place called Adregrin, ſpent there thirty-ſix days from morning till night, in inſtructing and baptizing (in the river Glen) the people that flocked to him from all quarters, lib. ii. cap. 14. This Adregrin, as Bede obſerves, ibid. was deſtroyed in his time: but Camden affirms, that it was where Yevering in Northumberland now ſtands.

n The ſame is ſaid of Auſtin; and both the rivers are called Swale. Rapin. It may ſeem incredible, that Paulinus ſhould baptize ſo many in one day. But this difficulty is removed in an antient fragment quoted by Mr. Camden, "The "archbiſhop, after he had conſecrated "the river Swale, commanded, by the "criers and principal men, that they "ſhould with faith go in two by two, "and in the name of the holy Trinity, "baptize each other." Introduct. p. clxvi. 2d edit.

o And yet Bede ſays, that— "magnas antiquo hoſti præda docendo & "baptizando eripuit." lib. ii. cap. 20.

that end, he desired the king of Scotland to send some persons of learning to instruct his subjects. Accordingly Corman, a monk of Jona, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, was sent with some others; but he being a man of a rough temper, and disliked by the English, returned to his monastery; and making his report of his mission in a full chapter, Aidan, one of the brotherhood, found by what he said, that he had not used that condescension to the English, their circumstances required; and therefore told him, "It is my opinion, brother, that "you have dealt a little too roughly with those you designed "to convert; not remembring that the christian religion "ought to be infused in the mind, not by violent, but mild "and gentle methods." Upon these words, the monks unanimously declared, Aidan was the fittest person to be sent to the Northumbrians. He undertook the affair, and being consecrated bishop, set out for Northumberland. Bede gives Aidan the character of a pious and religious person, but adds, his zeal was without knowledge, because he kept Easter after the manner of the eastern christians, and not according to the custom of the church of Rome. However, as much a schismatic as he was in Bede's opinion, nothing can be added to his commendation of him for holiness of life. He not only (says he) instructed christians in their duty, but also gave them an example of a good life, and fervent charity, which charmed the very heathens, and allured them to the faith. His success was so great among the Northumbrians, that they returned in crowds to the profession of Christ. Oswald, who was extremely desirous of the conversion of his subjects, did all he could to promote the work, even to the becoming Aidan's interpreter, in explaining his discourses to the people. It may, perhaps, seem strange, that Oswald should not recall Paulinus, who was then bishop of Rochester, or make use of the ministry of James who was left by Paulinus in Northumberland. But it must be remembred, that Oswald, having been instructed in the christian religion in Scotland, had an aversion for the Roman missionaries, on account of the difference between the Romanists and Scots about Easter, and the ecclesiastical tonsure. Aidan dying after he had governed the church of Northumberland seventeen years, Finan, another monk of Jona, was sent to supply his place. He fixt the episcopal see in the little island of Lindisfarn [p], contrary to Gregory's

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 5.

635.

lib. iii. c. 5.

652.

[p] Or Holy-Island, on the coast of Northumberland. It was not Finan that fixed the episcopal see there, but his predecessor Aidan. What Finan did, was to erect there a cathedral church; which was built after the Scottish

Gregory's regulation, who ordered that the principal see for the northern parts ſhould be ſettled at York.

This was not the only thing wherein Finan and the other Scotch eccleſiaſticks ſhowed their independance on the church of Rome. Their obſtinate refuſal to conform to the Roman cuſtom of keeping Eaſter, was an article of much more importance, at leaſt in the opinion of the Italian prieſts, by whom it was conſidered as a principal point. England was then divided into two parties or ſects, who ſtrictly adhered to their reſpective opinions. All the Scotch prieſts and monks, who were very numerous in Northumberland, and all their converts, followed the Eaſtern churches; but the French and Italian eccleſiaſticks, in that and all other points, adhered to the church of Rome, branding with the name of ſchiſmaticks thoſe who refuſed to do the like. And therefore they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring the Engliſh churches to a conformity with them, which they thought might eaſily be done, could they but once gain over Finan to their ſide. To this end they ſent to him a Scotch prieſt, that had been educated in France to lay before him the reaſons alledged by the church of Rome upon that head. But ſo far was Finan from being prevailed upon, that he became a more profeſſed and open oppoſer of the Roman cuſtoms.

This diſpute was then carried on with great vehemence, not only among the clergy, but even among the moſt ignorant of the laity, as it uſually happens in religious differences. As long as Aidan and Finan lived, the Romaniſts, ſays Bede, on account of the veneration all men had for theſe two holy biſhops, bore with patience this diverſity of opinion. But when Colman, another Scotch monk, ſucceeded Finan in the reign of Oſwy, the diſpute was renewed with more warmth than ever. The Romaniſts, deſirous of bringing over their adverſaries to their opinion at any rate, never left till they had got Oſwy to call a ſynod [in the nunnery of Hilda] at Streanes-halh or Whitby, in order to decide this affair. The ſynod being met, each party endeavoured to procure as many votes as they could; but, as it appears from the accounts of hiſtorians, the Romaniſts were much more active and zealous than the others; and managed ſo, that Agilbert biſhop of Paris formerly biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons came to the ſynod on ſome pretence, with Agathon

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 25. 661.

664. Bede.

Scottiſh faſhion, not of ſtone, but of timber, and thatched. Edbert, one of Finan's ſucceſſors, covered the walls and roof with lead. Bede, lib. iii. c. 25. Dugdale, Hunting.

one of his prieſts. At the head of the Scotch party were king Oſwy, Colman biſhop of the Northumbrians, and the reſt of the Scotch prieſts and monks, with all that had receſved their ordination from them. On the other ſide appeared Anfleda, Oſwy's queen, Alfred king of Deira. Oſwy's natural ſon, Wilfrid a prieſt his preceptor, who had ſtudied at Rome, Agilbert biſhop of Paris, and Agathon a prieſt of the ſame church, Ronan a Scotch prieſt, James the deacon, and all who had been diſciples of the Italian prieſts and monks.

To ſee with what eagerneſs this diſpute was managed, one would have thought the very eſſence of religion had been at ſtake. And indeed the Romaniſts were of that opinion, as appears from the words of Bede: "It was not without "reaſon, ſays he, that this queſtion diſturbed the minds of "a great number of Chriſtians, who were apprehenſive, "leſt after they had begun the race of ſalvation, they ſhould "be found to have run in vain." However, this hiſtorian, though he thought all did run in vain who conformed not to the church of Rome, gives Aidan and Finan, who were of that number, the higheſt praiſes for holineſs of life. He attributes to them the gift of miracles, which leaves no room to doubt, but that he looked upon them as ſaints; notwithſtanding they were, according to his notion, actually involved in ſchiſm. Baronius treads in the ſteps of Bede. When he mentions the Scots and Britons of thoſe days, he calls them ſchiſmaticks, for refuſing to obey the pope: But when he ſpeaks of Aidan, and Finan, he makes no ſcruple of ſainting them, though they ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the independancy of their churches. Hence it follows, either theſe two biſhops were not really ſchiſmaticks. or if they were ſo, their ſchiſm hindred them not from being great ſaints, from being aſſiſted by God in working miracles, and converting nations. But to return to the ſynod of Whitby; ſince the diſpute about Eaſter was the occaſion of their meeting, and the cauſe of great commotions in England, it will not be amiſs briefly to relate the firſt riſe of it.

Towards the end of the ſecond century, a controverſy aroſe in the church, concerning the day on which the Eaſter feſtival was to be celebrated. The churches of Aſia were of opinion, it was to be kept on the fourteenth day of the moon, according to the cuſtom of the Jews, on what day of the week ſoever it ſhould chance to fall. The weſtern churches, on the contrary, put it off till the Sunday after the fourteenth day, becauſe our Saviour's reſurrection was on that day.

day. Several councils were held about this matter, as well in the eaſt as in the weſt; but neither party would recede from their opinion, each pleading apoſtolical tradition in their behalf, the eaſtern biſhops from St. John, and the weſtern from St. Peter and St. Paul. Suppoſing the truth of both theſe traditions, the inference was plain, that either of them might indifferently be followed, and that it was no material point, ſince the apoſtles had not ſettled it among themſelves. And in fact, this diverſity of cuſtom, prevented not the two parties from holding communion with each other, till Victor I. biſhop of Rome made a rupture, by excommunicating the Quartodecimans, or thoſe that kept Eaſter on the fourteenth day of the moon. This proceeding of Victor gave ſo great offence, that Irenæus, biſhop of Lyons, though of the ſame opinion with Victor, ſeverely reprimanded him for breach of charity, on account of a thing of ſo little moment. He alledged the example of Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Teleſphorus, Xiſtus, predeceſſors of Victor, who, notwithſtanding this difference, broke not communion with the churches of Aſia. Adding, he would have acted much better in imitating Anicetus, who gave the euchariſt with his own hand to Polycarp, biſhop of Smyrna, though of a different opinion from him in this very point.

Victor's haughty treatment of the churches of Aſia, inſtead of bringing them to his opinion, only made them adhere ſtill more firmly to their own. They believed, they were ſo much the leſs obliged to conform to the practice of Rome, as the pope, after all, could produce no authentic proof of his tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul; as the Aſiatics, on their part, would have found it as difficult to make out theirs from St. John. What Socrates the hiſtorian ſays upon this ſubject is very remarkable: "Neither "Chriſt nor his apoſtles have ordered any thing concerning "the paſchal feaſt, as Moſes did to the Jews, their deſign be"ing not to determine circumſtances about holy-days, but to "inſtruct Chriſtians in the precepts of piety and a good life. "It is my opinion therefore, that as certain cuſtoms have "been introduced in each country, this of the paſchal ſo"lemnity was one of them, and not built upon the authority "of the apoſtles. The Quartodecimans tell us, the keep"ing the fourteenth day was inſtituted by St. John. The "Romanists maintain, they had their practice from St. Peter "and St. Paul: But neither of them have proved by any "authentic record their aſſertion: Whence it is clear, the

"Eaſter

"Easter festival may be kept in every place according to the "custom first introduced there."

From this passage it is evident, that they who were no lovers of wrangling, looked upon this controversy as of little importance to religion. However, to avoid a diversity even in the smallest matters, the council of Arles in 314, ordered that Easter should every where be kept on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon, which happened next after the vernal equinox or 21st of March. This canon was confirmed by the council of Nice in 325, and the emperor sent orders throughout all the Roman empire to have it put in practice. His letter upon this occasion to the governors and other magistrates, showed that the reasons the council went upon, were, that the Quartodecimans were fewest in number, and stood too near the Jewish custom. Upon the same account it was, that the council ordered, Easter should be the Sunday after the full moon in March. But it is uncertain whether it was meant, people should reckon from the beginning of the fourteenth of the moon, or from the evening and beginning of the fifteenth[n]. Pursuant to this determination, all the churches kept Easter-day on a Sunday. One thing however, namely, what was to be done when the full moon fell out on a Sunday, not being settled, caused some diversity. In this case, some churches, among which was that of Scotland, began their Easter that very day, and consequently at the same time with the Jews. But the church of Rome deferred it till the Sunday following. Since that time, there have been some alterations which produced different customs in the churches. Whereas for a long while a cycle of eighty-four years was every where made use of to find the precise time of Easter, the church of Rome invented a cycle of nineteen years, much more proper for that purpose, and obliged all the churches under her jurisdiction to conform to the same. Though doubtless this was the best method, and calculated nearest the truth, yet as it was unknown to the Britons and Scots, who held but little correspondence with Rome, they adhered to their old way.

Bede. lib. iii. cap. 25.

By these various manners of finding Easter-day, it sometimes happened in Oswy's court, that whilst the king was celebrating the paschal feast, the queen, who followed the custom of the church of Rome, was still keeping Lent. This confusion made Oswy desirous of fixing Easter-day so, as all should keep it at the same time. At the opening of

n An ecclesiastical day begins at six a-clock the evening before.

the

the council, having made a ſhort ſpeech upon that head, he ordered Colman to alledge what he had to ſay in defence of the cuſtom of the Scotch church. Colman ſaid, it had been all along the practice of his predeceſſors, and of thoſe by whom he was ordained in Scotland: That Columba, Aidan, and Finan, had always kept to the old way; but if their authority was not ſufficient, he could alledge that of St. John the beloved apoſtle. After he had enlarged upon this argument, Agilbert, biſhop of Paris, was deſired to alledge what was to be ſaid againſt Colman's aſſertion. But the biſhop having excuſed himſelf on account of his unſkilfulneſs in the Engliſh tongue, requeſted that Wilfrid might be allowed to ſpeak the ſenſe of the church of Rome. Wilfrid, having the king's permiſſion, anſwered Colman with great warmth. He explained the manner of fixing Eaſter practiſed by the church of Rome, and affirmed that all the churches in the world conformed to it, except the Scots, Picts, and Britons, who ſtill perſiſted in their fooliſh obſtinacy. Colman replied, talking in that manner very much reflected on the memory of St. John, who would never have eſtabliſhed a cuſtom that was chargeable with folly. Wilfrid, being ſenſible he had ſpoke a little too freely, endeavoured to juſtify St. John, by ſaying, he was obliged to retain ſomething of Judaiſm, for fear of giving offence to the Aſiatic Jews, as St. Paul upon the like account had circumciſed Timothy. He concluded with aſſerting, that the church of Rome exactly followed what was preſcribed by St. Peter and St. Paul in this matter.

It appears from the fore-cited paſſage of Socrates, that it was as difficult for Wilfrid to prove that the cuſtom of the church of Rome had its roſe from St. Peter, as for Colman to ſhow, that the practice of the church of Scotland came from St. John. Beſides, the cycle of nineteen years then uſed by the Romaniſts, was moſt aſſuredly invented after the time of St. Peter. But as Colman and the reſt of the Scotch party knew little of what paſſed abroad, and as their aim was not ſo much to bring the Romaniſts to their cuſtoms, as to perſuade them to let them go on peaceably in their own way, they perſiſted in appealing to the authority of St. John and Columba. But Wilfrid after juſtifying St. John in the manner above-mentioned, demanded of Colman, with an air of triumph, whether he pretended to compare Columba with St. Peter the prince of the apoſtles, to whom our Saviour ſaid, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build "my church?" Hiſtory informs us not what anſwer Colman made; for it muſt be remembred, we know nothing of this council,

council, but what we have from the partisans of Rome. However this be, Oswy seemed to be convinced, St. Peter had some prerogative above the other apostles, since he declared at last for the custom established by St. Peter at Rome, before that of St. John. Bede says, he was brought to it by being told, that as St. Peter had the keys of heaven, he would refuse him entrance if he obstinately held out against the apostles own institution. Oswy's declaration immediately gained a majority of voices for the Romanists. Thus Colman and his party lost their cause in this point.

lib. iii. cap. 25.

In the same synod was debated also the controversy about the ecclesiastical tonsure. The Romanists maintained, that the head ought to be shaved round just in the place where our Saviour wore the crown of thorns, of which it was the emblem. But the Scotch priests shaved the fore-part of the head from ear to ear. Bede does not tell us how this matter was decided; but very probably it was determined in favour of the Romanists.

cap. 25.

The dispute about Easter being thus ended to the disadvantage of the Scots, Colman and all his adherents retired into Scotland, not being able to prevail with themselves to submit to a decision that appeared to them so unjust. Thus is it in matters of religion, things that seem at first perfectly indifferent, become at last of the greatest consequence by the pride and uncharitableness of the clergy. Cedd bishop of the East-Saxons, who had been interpreter to both parties in the synod, was the only one of the Scotch party, that thought it his duty not to leave his flock for a thing of so little moment, though he was of a contrary opinion to the Romanists. Tuda succeeded to Colman's see, and Eatta was made abbot of Lindisfarn in the room of him that went away with Colman.

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 25.

Thus was the storm, raised by this controversy, appeased at last, to the great satisfaction of the pope and his party, who were very sensible, that their success in this affair would greatly contribute to the establishing the papal authority over the nothern churches, as it really did. The church of Northumberland had been governed for thirty years by Aidan, Finan, and Colman, whom their adversaries could charge with nothing, but their firm adherence to the customs of their ancestors in relation to Easter. After Colman's retiring into Scotland, the government of the church of Northumberland was always put into the hands either of Saxons or foreigners bred up in the principles of the church of Rome, the Scots being entirely excluded.

Tuda

Tuda dying ſoon after, Alfred king of Deira was deſirous of having Wilfrid, his preceptor, made biſhop of York, the ſee whereof was then at Lindisfarn. To that end he ordered him to go into France to be conſecrated by Agilbert biſhop of Paris. But Wilfrid making a long ſtay in France, Chad then abbot of Laſtingham, was made biſhop of the Northumbrians [r]. Chad being gone into Kent to be conſecrated by Deuſdedit archbiſhop of Canterbury, and finding he was lately dead, applied to Wina, biſhop of Wincheſter, for conſecration, and then returned into Northumberland. Bede tells us, he was a very religious perſon, without pride or ambition, and one that accepted of the epiſcopal dignity purely in obedience to the king's order. Eddius. Bede. S. Dunelm. Malmsb.

Mean while, Wilfrid being returned into England, remained ſome time at Canterbury, to take care of that dioceſe till the arrival of Theodorus, whom the pope had made archbiſhop. After a few months ſtay at Canterbury, he went on to Northumberland, where finding Chad was made biſhop of Lindisfarn, and not daring to complain of the inconſtancy of the king of Deira, he retired to his monaſtery at Rippon [s]. Some time after, Theodorus in his viſitation of all the churches in England, coming to York, ſeverely reprimanded Chad for being conſecrated by the biſhop of Wincheſter. Chad humbly ſubmitted to his cenſure, and without endeavouring to juſtify himſelf, did all the archbiſhop required of him. Theodorus, charmed with his modeſt behaviour, conſecrated him anew, but ordered him to return to his monaſtery [t], and make room for Wilfrid whom the two kings of Northumberland had deſigned for the biſhoprick of York or Lindisfarn. Though Bede does not ſay for what reaſon Chad was ſent back to his monaſtery after his ſecond conſecration, yet it is plain Theodorus was gained by the two kings who were for Wilfrid. And indeed there ſeems to be no reaſon for depoſing of Chad, ſince all the defects of his former ordination, ſuppoſing there were any, were removed by the latter.

Wilfrid was a man of a very proud and haughty temper, one of thoſe that are for domineering where-ever they come, and cannot bring themſelves to uſe towards others that condeſcenſion they expect from all the world. His pride for ſome time was ſupported by his intereſt with the two kings Malmsb. G. Pontif. lib. iii. p. 262.

r Eddius ſays, he was made biſhop at the requeſt of the Quartodecimans, cap. 14. Malmsb. p. 259.

s Where he remained three years.

t Malmsbury ſays, that he retired to Lichfield. De Pontif. p. 261.

Eddius, p. 58.

of

of Northumberland. But at length Oſwy being dead, Alfred his ſon depoſed, and Egfrid, who had no opinion of this prelate, poſſeſſed of the throne, Wilfrid found he had not that reſpect ſhown him, as in the reign of Oſwy. This gave him great uneaſineſs, and not being able to forbear ſhowing it, perhaps in too inſolent a manner, he incurred the king's diſpleaſure. Some time after, Theodorus coming again into Northumberland, Egfrid complained to him of Wilfrid [u], and let him know, that inſtead of edifying the people, he brought a great ſcandal on religion by his pride and arrogance. The king did not accuſe him without reaſon. Hiſtorians are all agreed, that Wilfrid was exceſſively proud; that he affected to live in a royal manner; that he never went abroad without a numerous retinue; and that he was ſerved in gold. Theodorus, finding this a fit opportunity to improve the rights of his ſee, and leſſen thoſe of York, which had been dignified with the title of an archbiſhoprick in the time of Paulinus, was reſolved to embrace it. Accordingly, without hearing what Wilfrid had to ſay for himſelf, he depoſed him, and obtained the king's leave to divide Northumberland into two dioceſes. Boſa, who reſided at York, was biſhop of the firſt, containing the churches of Deira. Over the other ſee which continued fixed at Lindisfarn, and conſiſted of the kingdom of Bernicia, was placed Eatta. As Egfrid had for ſome time conquered Lincolnſhire from the king of Mercia, he made a third biſhoprick of it, of which Ethedus was was the firſt biſhop.

Wilfrid, enraged at his diſgrace, ſet out immediately for Rome, to lay his caſe before the pope. Theodorus not liking his going thither, ſent a monk to inform the pope of the reaſons of his depoſing him. However, fearing Wilfrid might gain the pope to his ſide, on account of the ſervice he had done the church of Rome at the council of Whitby, he wrote to Ebroine, mayor of the palace to the king of France, to ſtop him in his journey. Wilfrid, informed of this, reſolved to go by the way of Frieſland, where Adalgiſus the king hoſpitably received him, and diſcovered to him that Ebroine had deſired him to detain or murder him. He is ſaid, whilſt he ſtaid in Frieſland, to make a great many converts. At length, taking his leave, he went on to Straſbourg, from whence he was ſafely conducted to Rome by the king of Auſtraſia.

Malmsb. p. 262.

Agatho, who was then pope, having heard Wilfrid's complaints, held a ſynod upon them, who unanimouſly declared

Spelm Conc. vol. i. p. 157.

[u] By the inſtigation of his queen Ermenburga, ſays Eddius, p. 63.

that

that Wilfrid ſhould be reſtored to his biſhoprick. Wilfrid, having thus ſucceeded in his ſuit, returned home, and preſented to the king the decree of the ſynod at Rome, with a letter from the pope. But Egfrid had ſo little regard to this decree, that after he had upbraided the biſhop for procuring it by bribery, he put him in priſon, where he kept him a whole year; and would not then have releaſed him, had it not been for the preſſing inſtances of his aunt Ebba, and upon condition he would never more ſet foot in Northumberland.

Wilfrid meeting with all theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, withdrew to the monaſtery of Glaſſenbury, where Berthwald the abbot gave him a ſafe retreat; but it laſted not long, for Ethelred king of Mercia, and uncle to Berthwald, deſired him to diſmiſs him, on account of the king of Northumberland. In this perplexity Wilfrid fled for refuge to Adelwalch king of Suſſex, who was converted during his impriſonment in Mercia, but his ſubjects were ſtill idolaters. This prince having granted him his protection, deſired him to endeavour the converſion of the people, in which he happily ſucceeded. In a little time the South-Saxons, as well as the inhabitants of the iſle of Wight, embraced the chriſtian faith, by the pains and inſtructions of Wilfrid. At leaſt this is what the writer of his life relates, though, to ſpeak the truth, it is very difficult to clear up the chronology of theſe facts. Wilfrid remained ſome years in Suſſex, where he was made biſhop of Selſey, as will be ſeen hereafter. Eddius.

During his abſence, Theodorus having taken a third journey to Northumberland, erected a new biſhoprick at Hagulſtad [or Hexham], of which Thumbert was the firſt biſhop. This he did to make amends for Lincoln, now in the hands of the Mercians. Some time after Theodorus went thither once more, and called a council, wherein he got Thumbert to be depoſed, for daring to take it ill that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould exerciſe his juriſdiction over the churches of the north. It was indeed contrary to the regulations of Gregory I. and the pall ſent to Paulinus, firſt biſhop of the Northumbrians, plainly ſhewed, it was not the intent of the court of Rome that the churches of the north ſhould have any dependance on Canterbury. But Aidan, Finan and Colman, not having vouchſafed to demand the pall of the pope, York or Lindisfarn had only the bare title of a biſhoprick, which theſe three Scotch prelates never minded, the lording it over the church being what was far from their thoughts. And therefore Theodorus, finding he was the ſole archbiſhop in England, embraced the opportunity to extend his juriſdiction over Richard. Hagulſtad.

the

the north. For that purpoſe probably it was that he depoſed Wilfrid, from whoſe temper and character he expected oppoſition; that he divided York into three biſhopricks, on pretence it would be more convenient for the people; and laſtly, that he depoſed Thumbert, who had openly cenſured his uſurpations.

685. The ſame council that depoſed Thumbert, choſe in his room Cuthbert a monk of Lindisfarn, who was the only perſon that oppoſed his own election, out of an exceſs of modeſty and humility. The biſhops, who all judged him worthy of the epiſcopal character, found it very difficult to bring him to a compliance; and at laſt were forced to conſent he ſhould remain at Lindisfarn, where he had lived a long time; for which reaſon Eatta was tranſlated to Hagulſtad.

Some time after, Theodorus being grown old, and finding he had not long to live, was touched with remorſe for what he had done to Wilfrid, and wanted to be reconciled to him. To this purpoſe he interceded for him ſo earneſtly with Alfred, ſucceſſor to Egfrid, that he was recalled. The biſhoprick of
686. Lindisfarn being then vacant, by the voluntary reſignation of Cuthbert, Boſa was tranſlated thither, and Wilfrid reſtored to York.

687. Cuthbert, being returned to his monaſtery at Lindisfarn, died ſoon after. In proceſs of time, his body being removed to Durham, became ſo famous for miracles, that among all the Engliſh ſaints he had the greateſt veneration paid him.

Wilfrid was no ſooner ſettled in his ſee, but he undertook the annulling all that had been done during his diſgrace. He attempted the uniting again to York the biſhoprick of Hagulſtad, and claimed the revenues that had been taken from his church, and appropriated to that biſhoprick. In fine, he pretended that all the regulations of Theodorus were null and void; and perhaps he was in the right; but his haughty way of proceeding made him meet with oppoſition from all quarters. Even Alfred, his pupil and ſovereign, not being able to bear any longer his imperious temper, drove him once more
703. from his church. Thus this reſtleſs prelate was reduced to ſeek for ſhelter from Ethelred, king of Mercia, formerly his enemy, but now his friend. Mercia being then divided into four biſhopricks, and Leiceſter, one of them, happening to be vacant, Ethelred promoted Wilfrid to that ſee, which however he enjoyed but a very little while. His haughty temper was ſo diſpleaſing to the king of Mercia, that he diſpoſſeſſed him of it in a few months. Not content with incurring the diſpleaſure of the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, he took

took occaſion alſo to fall out with Berthwald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and by that means forfeited his protection, which he then ſtood in great need of. The two kings his enemies laid hold of this opportunity to humble him. They requeſted Berthwald to call a council, in order to examine into the life and actions of Wilfrid. The archbiſhop, as matters ſtood between him and Wilfrid, readily complied with their deſire. Accordingly a council was held at Oneſtreſhield in Northumberland, where Wilfrid was obliged to appear, and was charged with crimes that deſerved degradation. However, the biſhops, unwilling to carry matters to that extremity, endeavoured, by intreaties and threats, to induce him to reſign his biſhopric of his own accord. But nothing could bring him to that: he told them, it was great ingratitude in the Engliſh to uſe him in that manner, after all the ſervices he had done the church. The ſervices he boaſted of were, his contributing the moſt of any towards fixing Eaſter-day, according to the uſage of Rome, his introducing the Roman ritual into the churches of the north, and his bringing the Scotch monks to conform to the rules of the order of St. Benedict. Upon theſe accounts, "ſaid he, you ought to reward me, inſtead of threatning to "depoſe me unjuſtly for imaginary crimes. But if you will "dare to go on, know I'll appeal to the pope againſt your "proceedings. None other has power to condemn me, and "he it is alone I acknowledge for my judge." The council, not regarding his appeal, unanimnuſly depoſed him. However, this did not in the leaſt humble him. Though he was ſeventy years of age, he reſolved to go to Rome for redreſs. The pope, always favourable to thoſe that appealed to him, convened a ſynod of the neighbouring biſhops, wherein Wilfrid, upon his ſingle repreſentation of matters, was fully acquitted. After which, the pope gave him recommendatory letters to Berthwald, and the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, requiring them to reſtore Wilfrid, in purſuance to the decree of the ſynod. Eddius, vit. Wilf. c. 49.

As ſoon as Wilfrid was returned to England, he waited on the archbiſhop, who finding he came with the pope's recommendation, began to relent, and promiſe his friendſhip. On the other hand, Ethelred king of Mercia, who was now turned monk, promiſed Wilfrid his interceſſion. But Alfred at firſt ſeemed inflexible. He ſaid he could ſee no manner of reaſon for reſtoring, upon the pope's letter, and the ſentence of a foreign council that knew but little of the matter, a man that had cauſed ſo many diſturbances, and after having been baniſhed ſeveral times, had at length been lawfully depoſed by

a ſynod. But he was not long of this mind. Soon after falling ſick, it was infuſed into him, that his diſtemper was a puniſhment from God, for his diſobedience to the pope's orders; and this made ſo deep an impreſſion upon him, that he vowed to reſtore Wilfrid, in caſe he recovered. Death prevented him from performing his vow; however, he ordered Brithric, whom he left guardian to his ſon Oſred, to ſee it performed out of hand.

Although Alfred had been poſitively promiſed the affair of Wilfrid ſhould be ſoon ended, it was not poſſible to think of it immediately, by reaſon of a civil war raiſed by Edulph, who had uſurped the crown. Wilfrid behaved upon this occaſion in ſuch a manner, as ſeemed to deprive him of all hopes of ever being reſtored. As he did not doubt but Edulph, who was then beſieging the king and Brithric in Bamborough-caſtle, would ſucceed in his deſigns, he went in all haſte to him, in order to make him his friend, and ſecure his protection. This proceeding had like to have proved his ruin. Edulph, knowing he was hated by the Northumbrians, to do them a pleaſure, gave him a very ill reception, forbidding him ever to appear in his preſence. On the other ſide, Brithric informed of Wilfrid's conduct, loſt all kindneſs for him. However, after the war was ended by the death of the uſurper, Brithric was prevailed upon, though with ſome difficulty, to conſent Wilfrid ſhould be reſtored. To this end a council was held near the river Nydd, where it was agreed, Wilfrid ſhould be biſhop of Hagulſtad, with which he was obliged to be ſatisfied. John, then biſhop of that ſee, was removed to York, vacant by the death of Boſa.

Eddius, c. 58.

708.

Thus Wilfrid's affair, after many difficulties, was at length determined. John in 721 reſigned his biſhoprick, and retired to the monaſtery of Beverly, of which he was abbot. He was canonized after his death, and became very famous, by the name of St. John of Beverly. He was ſucceeded in the ſee of York by Wilfrid the Younger, his chaplain. To Wilfrid the Elder ſucceeded, in his ſee of Hagulſtad, Acca, one of the prieſts that had attended him in his journey to Rome, where he became a great proficient in church-muſick, which, ſays Bede, it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country. Wilfrid the Younger was ſucceeded in the ſee of York by Egbert, brother to Ethelbert king of Northumberland.

Bede, lib. v. cap. 6.

lib. v. c. 21.

It was neceſſary to be thus particular about the eſtabliſhment of the northern biſhopricks, the ſucceſſion of the firſt biſhops, and the alterations occaſioned by Wilfrid; without all which, it would be difficult to give a diſtinct notion of the churches of

theſe

theſe parts. Hence alſo may be ſeen, how the archbiſhop of Canterbury had opportunity of exerciſing his juriſdiction over all England, contrary to the regulation of Gregory I. To which the enterpriſing genius of Theodorus, and the depoſing of Wilfrid, likewiſe contributed. Had Wilfrid continued in the ſee of York, he would doubtleſs have obtained the pall, and by that means put a ſtop to Theodorus's proceedings.

The dignity of archbiſhop of York, and metropolitan of the north, vaniſhed with Paulinus. After that prelate left Northumberland, and the Northumbrians deſerted the faith, the monks, ſent for from Scotland by Oſwald to inſtruct the people, were contented with the bare title of biſhop, without applying to the pope for the pall, whoſe juriſdiction they did not acknowledge. Afterwards Wilfrid, ſucceſſor to Colman, having been depoſed, the biſhoprick of the Northumbrians was divided into four, namely, York, Whithern, Lindisfarn, and Hagulſtad. This diviſion was a freſh obſtacle to the biſhop of York's deſiring the pall, his ſee being ſo conſiderably leſſened. Beſides, Boſa, John and Wilfrid the Younger, who were ſucceſſively biſhops of York, were pious and good men, who thought of nothing leſs than aſpiring to more honourable titles. But Egbert, who was biſhop of York, whilſt his brother ſat on the throne of Northumberland, having more ambition than his predeceſſors, improved the reſpect they had for him at Rome on account of his birth, and procured the pall with the archiepiſcopal dignity: by which means he acquired a juriſdiction over the three other northern biſhops, who became his ſuffragans. From that time the archbiſhops of York began to be upon a level with thoſe of Canterbury, and to inſiſt on Gregory's regulation, whereby it was ordered, there ſhould be an entire equality and independency between the two archbiſhops. On the other hand, the archbiſhops of Canterbury pleaded the juriſdiction exerciſed by Theodorus over the north, and all the reſt of England. Hence aroſe a conteſt between the two metropolitans, which was not decided till many ages after. Alcuinus gives Egbert, whom he calls his maſter, the character of an able and learned prelate, and takes notice of his building a library at York, and furniſhing it with a noble collection of books. Eanbald, who ſucceeded Egbert, was living at the time of the diſſolution of the Heptarchy.

G. Malm. l.b. i. cap. 1. 744.

The CHURCH of WESSEX.

IT does not appear, that Auſtin ſent any of his companions to preach the goſpel in the kingdom of Weſſex. It was not till forty years after his arrival in Britain that the Weſt-Saxons were converted by the miniſtry of Birinus. This
634. prieſt, zealous for the advancement of the kingdom of Chriſt,
Bede, lib. iii. c. 7. being informed there were ſtill in England nations to whom the goſpel was not preached, deſired pope Honorius to ſend him thither [w]. His requeſt being granted, he received the epiſcopal character, and ſet out for England, not knowing for certain on what nation providence would throw him, or on whom in particular he ſhould beſtow his charitable care. He accidentally arrived in the kingdom of Weſſex; and finding the inhabitants idolaters, reſolved to ſtay among them, and endeavour their converſion. After ſome time he had the ſatiſfaction to baptize Cinigiſil the king, and Quicelm his brother [x]. Soon after Birinus found his audience very numerous,
635. Aſſer. Ann. multitudes following the example of their kings. He con-
636. Bede, lib. iii. c. 7. tinued for fourteen years to edify his converts by his diſcourſes and example, and at length, after a conſiderable progreſs, died at Dorcheſter, where he had built a church, and fixed his epiſcopal ſee.

After Birinus's death, Weſſex was involved in freſh troubles. Cenowald, who ſucceeded his father Cinigiſil, being as yet a pagan, was no favourer of the chriſtians. But what was ſtill worſe, Penda king of Mercia became maſter of the kingdom, and kept it three years, Cenowalch being forced to fly into Eaſt-Anglia. It may be eaſily judged, chriſtianity, during theſe three years, made no great progreſs. Beſides Penda's being an idolater, it is unlikely religion ſhould flouriſh in the midſt of wars and commotions. Cenowalch had the good fortune to be converted during his retreat in Eaſt-Anglia, and afterwards to be reſtored to his dominions. The peaceable times that enſued, afforded him means to promote religion again in Weſſex, where, after Birinus's death, none had been
630. very forward to go and ſtrengthen the new chriſtians. Whilſt the king was looking out for ſome fit perſon to preach to his ſubjects, Agilbert a Frenchman, who was juſt come from his

[w] Bede ſays, he undertook their converſion by the advice of pope Honorius, lib. iii. c. 7.

[x] Higden relates from ſome antient chronicles, that king Cinigiſil gave all the lands ſeven miles round Wincheſter for the erecting an epiſcopal ſee in that city, and for the maintenance of the perſons that were to officiate in the cathedral, p. 232.

ſtudies

ſtudies in Ireland, paſſed through Wincheſter in his way home. Cenowalch having ſeen him, invited him to ſtay with him, and inſtruct the people. Agilbert complied with his requeſt, and being conſecrated biſhop, went and reſided at Dorcheſter. But as he had not the gift of languages, he made but little progreſs. Cenowalch perceiving, he could not learn the Engliſh tongue, and that it was impoſſible his ſubjects ſhould edify by the inſtructions of one who ſpoke to them in a foreign dialect, began to grow weary of him, At length he divided his kingdom into two dioceſes, and leaving Agilbert at Dorcheſter, made one Wina, a Saxon, that had been bred and conſecrated in France, biſhop of Wincheſter[y]. Agilbert could not bear the king ſhould make this partition without conſulting him, much leſs that he ſhould give the preference to the new biſhop by placing him in his capital. His complaints upon this occaſion not being much regarded, he took his leave and retired into France, where he was made biſhop of Paris. He returned afterwards into England, to aſſiſt at the council of Whitby. In the mean time, Cenowalch not agreeing with Wina, diſmiſſed him alſo. 660. 666.

Weſſex remaining thus without a biſhop, and eccleſiaſticks fit for ſuch an employment not being very common in England, Cenowalch would have recalled Agilbert, who did not think proper to quit Paris for Wincheſter. However, he made an offer to the king of his nephew Eleutherius, a prieſt, whom he recommended as well qualified for the epiſcopal function. Eleutherius being accepted of, and conſecrated by Theodorus, became ſole biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons. Bede. 670.

After the death of Cenowalch, Weſſex was troubled with civil wars for ten years. Eleutherius dying during the troubles, was ſucceeded by Heda; after whoſe death, the number of Chriſtians being very much increaſed in Weſſex, it was found neceſſary to divide the kingdom again into two dioceſes, the ſees whereof were fixed at Wincheſter and Sherborn. Daniel was made biſhop of the firſt, and Aldhelm of the laſt, who was nephew to king Ina, and the firſt Engliſhman that wrote in Latin, a language he was better ſkilled in than any of his countrymen before him. When he was promoted to his biſhoprick, he was abbot of the monaſtery of Malmſbury, ſo named from Maidulph a Scotchman the firſt abbot, and Aldhelm, his ſucceſſor[z]. Forthere, who, according to Bede, Bede, lib. v. cap. 19.

y Where Cenowalch built a fine cathedral. W. Malm. b. p. 13.

z Maidulph-Aldhelm-bury, by contraction Malmsbury, i. e. the tomb of Maidulph and Aldhelm. Rapin. Aldhelm was alive in Bede's time, lib. v. c. 19.

was well verſed in the holy Scriptures, was biſhop of Sherborn after Aldhelm, and to Daniel ſucceeded Almund in the biſhopric of Wincheſter. From that time to the diſſolution of the Heptarchy, I meet with nothing in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Weſſex worth notice.

The CHURCH of MERCIA.

IT was above fifty years after the converſion of Kent, that the Mercians embraced the Chriſtian faith. Penda, who ſat on the throne of Mercia above thirty years, was of a too haughty and turbulent ſpirit to embrace a religion ſo contrary to his temper and character. However, Divine Providence ſo ordered matters, that this prince was induced, though not to profeſs, yet at leaſt to tolerate the Chriſtian religion in his dominions. Peda, his eldeſt ſon, whom he had made king of Leiceſter, being gone to Northumberland, to demand Alfleda, king Oſwy's daughter in marriage, could obtain her upon no other terms but his turning Chriſtian [a]. Whether the young prince was apprehenſive of the ſame obſtruction to his marriage in all the other kingdoms, which were already converted, or had a favourable opinion of Chriſtianity, he received baptiſm before he left Northumberland. At his return he brought with him four prieſts, Cedda, Adda, Beti, and Diuma, to preach the Goſpel to the Mercians; which the king his father oppoſed not, either out of complaiſance to his ſon, or becauſe all religions were indifferent to him [b]. Diuma, who was a Scotchman, and the only biſhop of the four, governed the Mercian church proſperouſly for ſome years; he and his companions having met with a plentiful harveſt in Mercia, the largeſt of the ſeven kingdoms, and the laſt that was converted. Cellach ſucceeded Diuma.

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 21. 24.

644.

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 24.

After the death of Penda, Mercia was ſubject three years to Oſwy, king of Northumberland; but he being a Chriſtian, religion received no detriment from that revolution. But when Wulfer aſcended the throne, being yet an idolater, he was carried by a falſe zeal to perſecute his Chriſtian ſubjects,

659.

[a] Bede ſays, that upon his having preached to him the doctrines of a Heavenly Kingdom, of a Reſurrection, and future immortality, he declared he would embrace the Chriſtian religion, even though he were not to have the young princeſs in marriage. Bede, lib. v. cap. 21.

[b] He ſeems to have acted upon another principle, if what Bede relates be true, that he hated and deſpiſed thoſe, who, after they had embraced Chriſtianity, lived in a manner unbecoming their profeſſion; ſaying, they were deſpicable wretches, who would not obey their God, in whom they believed. lib. iii. cap. 21.

even

even to the putting to death two of his own ſons, who refuſed to renounce their faith, if they may be credited who relate this fact, which does not ſeem to be well ſupported. Happily for the Chriſtians, this ſtorm was ſoon blown over, Wulfer being converted preſently after.

During the perſecution, Cellach retired into Scotland: ſo that Mercia being without a biſhop when Wulfer embraced the Goſpel, he ſent for an Engliſh prieſt, named Trumhere, who had been educated in Scotland, and cauſed him to be conſecrated biſhop of Mercia. To him ſucceeded Jaruman, who had the honour of replanting the Chriſtian religion in the kingdom of Eſſex, as will be related hereafter. Upon Jaruman's death, Wulfer deſired Theodorus to ſend him a biſhop. Theodorus gladly complied with his requeſt, as giving him a good opportunity of promoting Chad, whom he had deprived of the ſee of York, in the manner before related in the hiſtory of the church of Northumberland. Chad, being come to Mercia, fixed his ſee at Lichfield [c], where he died, after he had governed the church prudently and happily for many years. I am perſuaded it will not be taken amiſs, that I refer thoſe to Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who are deſirous of ſeeing a liſt of St. Chad's miracles, and the hymns the angels ſung in the air over his houſe, when he lay a dying.

Upon the death of Chad, Theodorus promoted to the ſee of Lichfield Winifrid a prieſt, whom he depoſed ſoon after, for daring to expoſtulate with him for aſſuming too great authority over the other biſhops. He had ſerved another in the ſame manner in Northumberland, upon the like account. Saxulph, abbot of Medes-hamſted [d], was made biſhop in Winfrid's room. But as the Chriſtians daily increaſed in Mercia, Ethelred, ſucceſſor to Wulfer, finding one biſhop was not ſufficient for ſo large a flock, divided his kingdom into four dioceſes, the ſees whereof were eſtabliſhed at Lichfield, Worceſter, Hereford, and Leiceſter [e]. Saxulph continued at Lichfield; Faddric was ſent to Worceſter, but dying before he was conſecrated, Boſelus was put in his place; Cuthwin was biſhop of Leiceſter; and Putta of Hereford. After Cuthwin's death, Leiceſter was united to Lichfield; but ſome time after they were ſeparated again upon Wilfrid's account, who was diſpoſſeſſed of the ſee of York, and held

Reb. de Swapham.

664. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 28. 30. and lib. iv. cap. 3.

669. lib. iv. cap. 3.

675. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 6.

680.

c This was a very large dioceſe, comprehending the country of the Mercians, Middle-Angles, and what was afterwards called Lincoln; for ſo far king Wulfer's dominions extended, Bede, lib. iv. cap. 3.

d Afterwards Peterborough.

e Or rather Cheſter.

not this long. Hedda ſucceeded Saxulph in the biſhopric of Lichfield [f].

I paſs over in ſilence the particulars of no moment relating to the Mercian churches, with the ſucceſſion of their biſhops, to come at the change that happened in the reign of Offa, by the erecting of Lichfield into an archbiſhopric. Offa, jealous of the authority exerciſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury over the churches of Mercia, and having moreover a particular quarrel to Lambert, who then filled the archiepiſcopal ſee, reſolved to withdraw the churches of Mercia from his juriſdiction. To this end he privately ſolicited pope Adrian I. to make the biſhop of Lichfield an archbiſhop, and the biſhops of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia his ſuffragans. The pope willingly conſented to his requeſt, as glad of the opportunity, by obliging this prince, to extend over the church of England his juriſdiction, which was not yet thoroughly ſubmitted to, or at leaſt not to that degree he deſired. With this view he ſent Gregory, biſhop of Oſtia, and Theophylact, biſhop of Todi, with the character of legates, to tranſact this affair. To prevent Lambert from taking meaſures to avoid the impending blow, the ſending of theſe legates was pretended to be on account of calling ſynods in England, for confirming the churches in the faith. Upon the arrival of the legates, Theophylact ſtayed ſome time with Offa, to concert meaſures how to accompliſh their deſigns, whilſt Gregory went on to Northumberland, where he convened a ſynod, of which I ſhall ſpeak in another place. At his return to Mercia, the two legates ſummoned a national council of the ſeven kingdoms, at Calcuith, where king Offa was preſent. After ratifying the canons of the Northumberland-ſynod, the erecting of Lichfield into an archiepiſcopal ſee was propoſed: Lambert oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power, but all in vain. The matter having been ſettled beforehand, the authority of Offa and the legates bore down all oppoſition. Higbert, then biſhop of Lichfield, was declared an archbiſhop, and the biſhops of Mercia and Eaſt-Anglia were made his ſuffragans [g]. He was prevented by death from receiving the pall, but Adulph, his ſucceſſor, had that honour from the pope, who ratified what the council had done. Some are of opinion Offa purchaſed this favour with the tax of the Peter-

Spelm. Con. vol. i. p. 291.

784.

784.

f Ethelbald, king of Mercia, diſcharged all the monaſteries and churches of his kingdom from all public taxes, impoſitions, etc. except pontage, and the tax for building of forts, Ingulph, p. 5. Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 257.

g Viz. the biſhops of Worceſter, Leiceſter, Sinaceſter, Hereford, Helmham, Dommuc. Vit. Offæ apud Mat. Paris. See alſo Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 302. and Camden.

pence,

pence, levied on Mercia and East-Anglia; but this is a groundless conjecture. Lichfield enjoyed the title of an archbishopric not above fourteen years. After the death of Offa and Egfrid his son, Cenulph was so far prevailed upon by the pressing instances of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, who represented to him, that according to the regulation of Gregory I. there ought to be but two archbishops in England, that he wrote to the pope with his own hand, to desire him to put things upon the ancient foot again. Adelard, archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the management of this affair at Rome, where (after a nine years sollicitation) he obtained of pope Leo III. that Mercia and East-Anglia should again be under the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury. From that time to the reign of Egbert, nothing remarkable relating to the church happened in Mercia, except the councils, of which I intend to speak elsewhere. 800.

The CHURCH of ESSEX.

MELLITUS, one of the Missionaries sent over to Austin, was the first that preached the Gospel to the East-Saxons, particularly at London. As far as can be judged, he made no great progress among the people. Probably, what success he met with was entirely owing to the authority of Sebert, king of Essex, and Ethelbert, king of Kent [h]; since, upon their deaths, all the East-Saxon Christians fell back to paganism, and expelled Mellitus [i], without ever admitting him any more. The conversion therefore of the East-Saxons is not properly to be dated from this time, but rather from the reign of Sigebert the Good. This prince living in strict friendship with Oswy, king of Northumberland, and paying him frequent visits, had the good fortune to be instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel at his court, where he was baptized. He brought home with him Cedd, a Northumbrian priest, of whom I have spoken before, and who being consecrated bishop, heartily set about instructing the East-Saxons, among whom in a short time he made a very great progress [k]. He

640. Bede, lib. i. cap. 29. and lib. ii. cap. 3, 5, 6.

614.

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22.

h This king Ethelbert founded the cathedral church of St. Paul's, about the year 610. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3. Malmsb. p. 235. Though others say, it was done by king Sebert. See Higden Polychron. p. 227, 228.

i In the year 614, Mellitus, with the assistance of king Ethelbert, founded a church and monastery near London, in a place called Thorney; which he dedicated to St. Peter: as it lay west of London, it came afterwards to be called Westminster. Malm. p. 235. See Stow's Survey, lib. 6.

k He built several churches. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22. He taught and baptized chiefly at Ithancester, near the river Pent, supposed to be about St. Peter's

He was the only Scotchman that, after the council of Whitby, was unwilling to leave his flock, though the controverſy about Eaſter was decided contrary to his opinion: nay, he went ſo far as to blame Colman, and the reſt of his countrymen for deſerting their flocks for a matter of ſo little moment. His ſtrict adherence to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline was the occaſion of Sigebert's death, or at leaſt was pretended to be ſo, as was ſaid
Id. cap. 23. in the hiſtory of the kingdom of Eſſex. As Cedd went often to Northumberland, where he had ſpent great part of his life, Adelwalt, king of Deira, made him a preſent of certain lands, lying near Leſtingham, where he founded a monaſtery. Thither he uſed to retire, and practiſe the greateſt auſterities. Here alſo it was that he died of the plague, after he had governed the church of Eſſex ſeveral years. Bede, who gives Cedd great encomiums, and mentions his auſtere way of living, takes occaſion from thence to ſay, that faſting was religiouſly practiſed by all who pretended to any thing of a regular life; and adds, that ſome faſted every Wedneſday and Friday till three o'clock in the afternoon. The Saxon Homilies alſo moſt earneſtly recommend faſting; but withal take care to warn Chriſtians againſt over-acting their part in this reſpect, as ſome did, and talk very rationally upon this article.

Bede, lib. iii. cap. 30. After the death of Sigebert the Good, and Swithelm his brother, it happened that in the reign of Sebba and Siger, the plague raged terribly in the kingdom of Eſſex, particularly at London. Siger being perſuaded that the plague was ſent upon the Eaſt-Saxons as a puniſhment from the gods, for abandoning the religion of their anceſtors, returned to idolatry, and drew after him thoſe of his ſubjects who had not been thoroughly converted. But Sebba
664. ſtedfaſtly adhered to the Chriſtian religion. Wufler king of Mercia, on whom theſe two princes were then in dependence, having been informed of what paſſed in Eſſex, ſent thither Jaruman, his biſhop, to endeavour to reſtore the Eaſt-Saxons to the way of truth. Jaruman's pains were crowned with ſo good ſucceſs, that the people at length returned to the
666. faith. Shortly after, Wulfer, who acted as he pleaſed in the kingdom of Eſſex, gave the firſt inſtance of ſimony in England, by ſelling the biſhopric of London to Wina, who had been driven from Wincheſter: he governed the church of Eſſex

Malmſb. G. Pontif. lib. ii.

Peter's on the Wall, in Dengy-hundred; and at Tilaburg, or Tilbury, near the Thames. One may infer from Bede's words, that he erected ſome kinds of monaſteries, or rather ſchools, there. See Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22. Camden, in Eſſex. Huntingd. p. 333. Brompton, etc.

till

till his death in 657. His ſucceſſor was Erkenwald, famous for his great affection to the city of London, as well as for the holineſs of his life, on account of which he was enrolled in the catalogue of the ſaints. After his death a great conteſt aroſe between the canons of St. Paul's at London, and the monks of Barking, who ſhould bury him: the firſt carried their point, and interred him in their cathedral, where it is affirmed he wrought ſeveral miracles [l]. It would be needleſs to carry down the ſucceſſion of the biſhops of London to the diſſolution of the Heptarchy, ſince nothing remarkable happened concerning them.

The CHURCH of EAST-ANGLIA.

THE firſt converſion of the Eaſt-Angles is ſaid to be in the reign of Redowald; but by whom it is not known. There ir reaſon to believe, that during this prince's life the Chriſtian religion made no great progreſs in Eaſt-Anglia: all that can be probably conjectured is, that Redowald, out of reſpect to Ethelbert, king of Kent (at whoſe court ſome ſay he was baptized) gave leave to ſome of Auſtin's companions to preach in his dominions, and did not perſecute thoſe who had a mind to embrace the Goſpel. What is ſaid of his ſuffering the true God and the pagan deities to be worſhipped in the ſame temple, ſeems to infer that he was not himſelf a Chriſtian [m], and that the number of converts in Eaſt-Anglia was very inconſiderable. Thus much at leaſt is certain, Chriſtianity flouriſhed not in that kingdom in his or his ſon Erpwald's reign [n]. And therefore we cannot be greatly miſtaken in placing the converſion of the Eaſt-Angles in the reign of Sigebert, ſucceſſor to Erpwald. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 15. Bede. ibid. and lib. iii. cap. 18.

Sigebert, who had ſpent great part of his time in France, where he had been baptized, was thoroughly inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion. When he returned to England, to take poſſeſſion of the crown, he brought along with him a Burgundian prieſt, named Felix, whom he got to be conſecrated biſhop of Canterbury. Felix, upon his arrival in Eaſt-Anglia,

l In regard of the miracles wrought at his tomb (as was generally believed) the corpſe was encloſed in a very rich ſhrine, and a great many offerings of value made at it. In the year 1386, Robert Braybroke, biſhop of London, made a conſtitution for the revival of St. Erkenwald's holyday, which of late had been neglected. This ſolemnity was kept upon the laſt day of April. Dugdale's Hiſt. of St. Paul's, p. 20. 181.

m Some ſay he was baptized in the court of Ethelbert, king of Kent. Rapin.

n Erpwald embraced Chriſtianity at the perſuaſion of king Edwin. Bede, lib. ii. cap 15.

uſed

uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring back to the right way ſuch as were gone aſtray, and inſtruct thoſe that had not yet any knowledge of the truth. His endeavours met with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time he had the pleaſure to ſee the East-Angles come in crowds to be baptized. In the mean time, Sigebert knowing nothing would make more for the benefit of his ſubjects, than permanent and continual inſtructions to confirm them in the faith, erected ſchools, after the manner of thoſe he had ſeen in France. Some will have it that the univerſity of Cambridge owes its original to theſe ſchools; but this opinion ſeems not to be well grounded [o].

Whilſt Sigebert was thus employed in works of piety, he received farther aſſiſtance from one Furſeus, an Iriſh monk, who preached to the East-Angles with good ſucceſs. Bede gives
lib. iii. c. 19. him an extraordinary commendation, attributes ſeveral miracles to him, and aſſures us he was, like St. Paul, "rapt up "into heaven." This ſame Furſeus built a monaſtery at Cnoberſburgh [p], which was largely endowed at ſeveral times by the kings of East-Anglia. The troubles that aroſe after Sigebert's reſigning the crown, obliged Furſeus to retire into France, where he founded the monaſtery of Lagny, in the juriſdiction of Meaux.

Malmſb. G. Pontif. Fellix was biſhop of the East-Angles ſeventeen years; his ſee was fixed at Dummoc, a little town by the ſea-ſide, now called Dunwich [q]. Here it was he had the ſatisfaction to convert and baptize Cenowalch, king of Weſſex, who had fled for refuge into East-Anglia. Felix was ſucceeded by Thomas, a deacon of his church: after him came Berchtigſus, ſirnamed Boniface, whom Biſus ſucceeded. Biſus being grown old and infirm, Becca and Badwin were made his aſſiſtants, and East-Anglia divided into two dioceſes: Becca reſided at Dummoc, and Badwin at Elmham, a poor village now in Norfolk. Theſe two biſhoprics continued in being till the Danes becomming maſters of East-Anglia, they both lay vacant for above one hundred years. After which the dioceſe of Dummoc was united to that of Elmham; from whence the epiſcopal ſee was removed to Thetford [r], and afterwards to Norwich [s], where it remains to this day.

o Polydore Virgil, Le'and, Bayle, etc. are of th s opinion: but their authority is much weakened by the ſilence of Bede, Florence of Worceſter, Malmsbury, and Huntingdon, who make no mention of Cambridge.

p Now Burgh caſtle, in Suffolk.

q It is in Suffolk, and is ſaid to have had fifty churches. Camden.

r Theodford, i. e. the Ford of the people, in Norfolk.

s Norwich, i. e. the North Caſtle. Wic ſignifying, among other things, a Caſtle.

The

The CHURCH of SUSSEX.

IT is no wonder the kingdom of Suſſex continued ſo long after the reſt in an idolatrous ſtate, ſince it was in ſubjection to Weſſex, where the goſpel was not preached till forty years after the arrival of Auſtin. If we may credit the author of the life of Wilfrid biſhop of York, the converſion of the South-Saxons about the year 686, was owing to the diſgrace of that prelate, who fled for refuge into their country. Adelwalch king of Suſſex, who received him into his protection, had already attempted the converſion of his ſubjects, by founding a monaſtery in his little kingdom [s]; but his endeavours anſwered not expectation. Perhaps Wilfrid himſelf would have found it very difficult to have made any impreſſion upon them, had not a favourable juncture unexpectedly paved the way for him. Not long after his arrival, the country being miſerably diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, he taught the inhabitants the art of fiſhing in the ſea, their ſkill before going no farther than the catching of eels. This improvement greatly relieving them, wrought ſo upon their minds, that they liſtened with the ſame attention to his inſtructions about their ſpiritual, as they had before to thoſe of their bodily wants. But to compleat the matter, ſeaſonable ſhowers, after a three years drought, reſtoring to the earth its former fruitfulneſs, they were thoroughly convinced that Wilfrid was an extraordinary perſon, and higly favoured by heaven. At leaſt this is what the writer of his life would fain make us believe. Wilfrid perceiving the chriſtians daily to increaſe, eſtabliſhed his epiſcopal ſee at Selſey [t], a ſmall peninſula given him by Adelwalch. He founded there a monaſtery alſo, which he furniſhed with the monks he had brought with him from Northumberland. Here he uſually reſided during the time of his baniſhment. At length, being recalled into his own country, Selſey remained a long while without a biſhop, becauſe the South-Saxons, after their becoming ſubject to the king of Weſſex, were put under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons. Some time after Weſſex being divided into two dioceſes, Suſſex was annexed to the ſee of Wincheſter; where it continued till a ſynod held in Weſſex, in the time of

Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13.

Eddius.

Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13.

686.

Malmsb. G. Pont. lib. ii.

s At Boſenham, where Bede ſays, one Dicul, a Scotſman, with five or ſix monks lived, but could not prevail with the South Saxons to turn chriſtians.

t i. e. Seals. The ruins of this city are to be ſeen at low-water. It contained, when it was given to Wilfrid, eighty-ſeven families. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13.

Daniel,

Daniel, decreed Suſſex ſhould be a diſtinct dioceſe again, and the ſee fixed at Selſey as formerly. Edbert was the firſt biſhop. His ſucceſſors reſided at the ſame place, down to the year 1070, when the ſee was removed ro Chicheſter [u], where it continues to this day.

As for the iſle of Wight, after it was converted by the furious zeal of Cedwalla, it remained all along under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

After this account of the moſt remarkable particulars relating to the converſion of the ſeven kingdoms, it will be neceſſary to take a general view of the councils held in England, during thoſe early times of the church.

COUNCILS.

I Have already ſpoken of the two ſynods convened upon Auſtin's requeſt, in order to endeavour to bring the Britons to the obedience of the pope. Though theſe were not properly Engliſh, but rather Britiſh councils, I ſhall not however lib. ii. c. 2. paſs them over without making this one obſervation. Bede, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, tells us, that Auſtin required of the Britiſh biſhops theſe four things [w]: that they would celebrate the paſchal feaſt the ſame day with the Romaniſts: that they would conform to the ceremonies practiſed by the church of Rome in adminiſtring baptiſm: that they would aſſiſt the Roman miſſionaries in converting the Saxons: that they would ſubmit to the papal authority. Had Auſtin equally inſiſted on theſe four articles, Bede would naturally have related the ſentiments of the Britiſh, concerning the three firſt, and yet we find he ſpeaks only of the laſt. Hence we may conclude, that this was the main point, and what Auſtin chiefly dwelt upon. For the ſame reaſon alſo the abbot of Bangor anſwered only to this point, being very ſenſible, that was the principal thing in diſpute.

The council of Hertford. 673. Spelm Conc. vol. i. p. 152.

There is no occaſion to add any thing to what has already been ſaid of the council of Whitby or Straneas-halh, and the other ſynods that were held upon Wilfrid's account.

In 673, Theodorus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, convened an a national ſynod at Hertford, at which were preſent all the Engliſh biſhops, with a great number of other eccleſiaſtics. The archbiſhop, who was preſident, put the queſtion to the

u Ciſſan Ceſter, i. e. the city of Ciſſa, the ſon of Ella, firſt king of Suſſex,

w Bede mentions only the three firſt: but that there was another required of the Britiſh biſhops, is evident from hence, that Bede relates only the anſwer that was given to the fourth article, by thoſe biſhops. See Bede, lib. ii. cap. 2.

biſhops,

biſhops, whether they were willing, the church of England ſhould be governed by the canons of the antient councils. To which they all having agreed, he produced a liſt of the canons, and ſelecting ten of them, ordered them to be read before the council, and aſked their conſent to each of them.

I. That the feſtival of Eaſter might be uniformly kept in all the Engliſh churches, on the firſt Sunday after the full moon in March. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 5.

II. That no biſhop ſhould encroach upon the juriſdiction of another.

III. That biſhops ſhould not meddle with the temporal concerns of the monaſteries.

IV. That no monk ſhould have the liberty to quit his monaſtery without leave from the abbot.

V. That it ſhould not be lawful for any of the clergy to abandon their dioceſe, without the biſhop's leave, and that they ſhould not be received into another dioceſe, without a recommendation under the biſhop's own hand.

VI. That biſhops and clergy, who are out of their dioceſe, ought not to exerciſe any part of their function, but ſhould be contented with an hoſpitable reception.

VII. That a ſynod ſhouldbe convened twice a year.

(This canon was altered to once a year.)

VIII. That the biſhops ſhould take their places at councils according to their ſeniority.

IX. That new ſees ſhould be erected, as the number of chriſtians increaſed. (This was thrown out.)

X. That no marriage would be annulled but on account of adultery. That if a man put away his wife, he ought not to marry another, but either be reconciled, or live ſingle.

Nine of theſe canons being agreed to, the council denounced excommunication and degradation upon all that ſhould infringe them, and then broke up.

Baronius pretends, this council was convened by the pope's order, and that Theodorus preſided as legate of the holy ſee. But when we examine the grounds of his aſſertion, we find he builds it only upon Theodorus's ſaying in his harangue, at the opening of the council, that he was conſecrated by the pope [x], as if that were eqhivalent to his being made legate. Bede, Malmſbury, Florence of Worceſter, who ſpeaks of this council, ſays not a word to ſupport the cardinal's notion.

Theodorus ſummoned another council or ſynod at Hatfield in 680, at the requeſt of the pope, who wanted to know the

The council of Hatfield. 680.

x "Ego quidem Theodorus, quamvis indignus, ab apoſtolica ſede deſtinatus Dorovernenſis eccleſiæ epiſcopus,"—are Bede's words, lib. iv. c. 5.

ſenti-

Bede, lib. iv. c. 17 & 18. Spelman vol. i. p. 168.

ſentiments of the church of England with reference to the hereſy of the Monothelites [y], which then made a great noiſe in the world. The pope had all the ſatisfaction he deſired, the Engliſh being entirely free from that error. This ſynod received the firſt five general councils [z], together with the ſynod held juſt before at Rome, againſt the Monothelites.

The council of Becanceld. 694. Id. p. 189.

The next council was convened at Becanceld in 694 [a], by Withered king of Kent, who preſided himſelf, the council being compoſed of the clergy and nobility. The conſtitutions were all drawn up in the form of a charter, wherein the king granted ſeveral privileges to the church, particularly an exemption from the payment of taxes and other ſervices and incumbrances incident to a lay-fee. He declares moreover, that the church has power to govern her own body, the prerogative royal not reaching to religious matters. This article has given occaſion to ſome to call in queſtion the genuineneſs of this council [b]. They object, for inſtance, that the five abbeſſes, who ſubſcribed this charter, not only ſigned before all the prieſts, but alſo before Botred, a biſhop, contrary to all precedent. On the other hand, others [c] are as zealous in the defence of it, as making for the independency of the church. It would carry me too far from my preſent deſign to examine the reaſons pro and con. It is ſufficient to acquaint the reader there is ſuch a diſpute.

The council of Berghamſted. 679. Spelman vol. i. p. 194.

The next year the ſynod of Berghamſted [d] was held in the reign of the ſame king. It was compoſed, like the foregoing one, of the clergy and laity. Its canons related chiefly to the ſin of adultery, and the privileges of the clergy. As for adultery, it was enacted, that the offender ſhould be put under penance; and if he refuſed to ſubmit to that diſcipline, he ſhould be excommunicated. If he was a ſtranger, he was to forfeit one hundred ſhillings.

As for the clergy, it was decreed, that the church ſhould be free and enjoy all her privileges.

That the breach of the church's peace ſhould be puniſhed with a fine of fifty ſhillings [e].

y They held that Chriſt had but one will.

z The council of Nice in 325, of Conſtantinople in 381, of Epheſus in 431, of Chalcedon in 451, and of Conſtantinople in 553.

a Suppoſed to be Beckenham in Kent. See Tyrr. vol. i. p. 209.

b Dr. Wake has wrote againſt it. State of the Church, &c. p. 149.

c Collier defends it, p. 114. Eccl. Hiſt.

d This was not Berkhamſted in Hertfordſhire, as ſome have imagined, but Berghamſted, a place in Kent. See Tyrr. vol. i. p. 210. and Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 194.

e The ſame as the king's. See Spelm.

That

That the bare affirmation of the king or a biſhop ſhould be equivalent to their oath.

That if a biſhop, abbot, or deacon, is charged with any crime, and being brought to the altar, he declares ſolemnly he ſpeaks the truth: this declaration ſhall be the ſame as his oath.

That if any clergyman ſhould be proſecuted, the cogniſance of the cauſe belongs to the church.

Thus by degrees the clergy obtained their privileges, which they have but too often abuſed [f].

The two councils that are pretended to be held at London and Alne [g] in 714, being looked upon by the beſt authors as forged, it would be loſt time to ſay any thing of them.

In 747 was held at Cloveſhoo, or Cliff [h], in the kingdom of Kent, a national ſynod, at which Ethelbald king of Mercia was preſent, with twelve biſhops, and a great number of lords. Cuthbert archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was preſident, read pope Zachary's letter, wherein the pope admoniſhed the Engliſh to reform their lives, and threatened thoſe with excommunication that continued in their wicked courſes. They made twenty-eight canons, moſt of them relating to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the government of monaſteries, the duties of biſhops and other clergymen, the public ſervice, ſinging pſalms, keeping the ſabbath, and other holidays. I ſhall mention the three following ones, as containing ſomething particular.

The synod of Cloveſhoo. 747. Malm. de G. Pontif. lib. iv. Spelm. Con. vol. i. p. 242

The Xth orders the prieſts to be thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of chriſtianity, and to teach the people the Apoſtles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in Engliſh. Agreeable to this was Bede's advice to Egbert archbiſhop of York; that it was abſolutely neceſſary chriſtians ſhould know what they ſaid when they prayed to God; and that they ſhould be inſtructed in their own native tongue, and therefore that he himſelf had tranſlated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer into Engliſh for the benefit of thoſe that did not underſtand Latin. Bede, Ep. ad Egb

f Xth, XXVth, and XXVIIIth articles, having ſomething particular in them, it will not be amiſs to lay them before the reader. The Xth runs thus: if on Saturday evening, after ſun-ſet; or Sunday evening after the ſame time, a ſervant or ſlave (Servus) ſhall do any ſervile work, let his maſter be fined eighty ſhillings.

XXVth. If a lay-man kill a thief, let him lie without any Wirecild, that is, without any ſatisfaction being made to the thief's relations.

XXVIIIth. If a ſtranger wanders about, and does neither hollow nor ſound a horn, he is to be accounted as a thief, and to be either ſlain or baniſhed. Spelman Con. tom. i. p. 194—197.

g Suppoſed to be Aulceſter in Worceſterſhire. See Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 212.

h Cliff at Hoo, is a town on a rock near Rocheſter. But the preſence of the king of Mercia at this, and ſome other councils, held at Cloveſhoo, makes it ſuppoſed that it is the ſame with Abington in Berkſhire, about the middle of the nation, antiently written Shoveſham by miſtake for Cloveſham, or Cloveſhoo.

The XXVIth warns christians from vainly imagining that by giving alms they can compound for their sins, or dispense with the discipline of the church.

The XXVIIth was made upon the account of a rich layman, who having been excommunicated, requested to be admitted again into the church, upon his having procured several persons to fast in his stead; alledging, that the penance they had undergone in his name, was more than he could have done himself in three hundred years. The canon declares with great indignation against this intolerable presumption, since at that rate, the rich might much more easily get to heaven than the poor, contrary to the express declaration of our Saviour.

Spelman, p. 253. In this canon we have the form of a prayer for the dead, which runs thus: "O Lord, we beseech thee, grant that the "soul of such a person may be secured in a state of repose, "and admitted, with the rest of thy saints, into the regions "of light and bliss."

The council of Calcuith, 785. Spelman, vol. i. p. 291. The council of Calcuith, or Calchite, held in 785, or according to others in 787, on account of erecting Litchfield into an archbishopric, ratified the canons of a synod that had been convened just before in Northumberland. Gregory and Theophylact, who presided as the pope's legates, acknowledged in their letter to the pope, that they were the first that had been sent into England with that character. These are some of the canons of the synod of Northumberland, ratified by the council of Calcuith.

I. That all in holy orders strictly adhere to the council of Nice.

II. That baptism is only to be administred at Easter and Whitsontide, unless in case of necessity. That it is the duty of godfathers to teach their godchildren the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, both which all christians are obliged to have by heart.

VII. The antient privileges of the church are carefully to be observed.

(This was a never-failing canon in all the councils.)

IX. The priests are not to eat in private, unless indisposed. (By this one would think the clergy were not dispersed in parishes, but lived all in the capital of the diocese in common.)

The Xth forbids the clergy to perform the divine service without stockings, and to use a chalice or pattin of horn.

The XIth exhorts princes to govern their kingdoms by the directions of the bishops, to whom the power of binding and loosing is delivered.

The

The XIIth excludes baſtards from ſucceeding to the crown.

The XVth condemns marriages within the prohibited degrees.

The XVIth makes baſtards, particularly the children of nuns, incapable of inheriting.

The XVIIth urges the payment of tithes from the authority of the law of Moſes.

The XVIIIth preſſes a ſtrict performance of vows.

Some irregularities in the ſubſcription liſt in the ſeveral copies of the canons of this council [i], have cauſed the council itſelf to be called in queſtion. But I doubt whether theſe irregularities are ſufficient to render the whole queſtionable [k].

In 798 a ſynod was held at Finchale in Northumberland [l], by Eanbald archbiſhop of York. The deſign of this meeting was to make ſome regulations with regard to diſcipline: but here occaſionally the archbiſhop ordered the canons of the firſt five general councils to be read, which were unanimouſly received. The ſynod of Finchale, Spelman, p. 304, 316.

The council held at Cloveſhoo, or Cliff, in 800, under Adelard archbiſhop of Canterbury, was convened for the recovery of certain church-lands, uſurped by the kings of Mercia. The ſynod of Cloveſhoo 800.

Three years after, another council was held at the ſame place, wherein, according to pope Leo's conſtitution, and with the conſent of Cenulph king of Mercia, the archbiſhopric of Litchfield was reduced to a biſhopric, as formerly. Id. p. 318. Another at the ſame place 803.

In 816, Wilfrid archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſummoned a council at Calcuith, at which Cenulph king of Mercia and monarch, was preſent, with all the Engliſh biſhops except thoſe of Northumberland. There are eleven canons made by this ſynod, whereof the IId and Vth ſeem to be the moſt remarkable. Id. p. 324. The council of Calcuith. 816. Id. p. 327.

The IId orders all churches to be conſecrated by the biſhop of the dioceſe, with the following formalities. The biſhop ſhall bleſs the holy water, and ſprinkle the church with it, according to the directions of the ritual. Then having conſecrated the euchariſt, he ſhall put it in a box with ſome relicks to be laid up in the church. In caſe there are no relicks, the conſecrated elements, being the body and blood of our Lord,

i Dilcberch biſhop Auguſtadenſis (or Hagulſtadenſis) eccleſiæ, ſigns before Eanbald his metropolitan of York.

k About the year 757, the monks of Lindisfarn who, from the firſt time of their inſtitution, were allowed to drink nothing but milk or water, obtained (through the means of king Ceolwulf, who was become a monk of that houſe) permiſſion to drink wine or beer. S. Dunelm, p. 139. Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 28.

l Now called Finckley, in the biſhopric of Durham. Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 305.

ſhall be ſufficient. Every biſhop ſhall be obliged to have drawn upon the altar, or upon the wall, the figure of the ſaint to whom the church is dedicated.

The Vth declares againſt allowing all Scotchmen to baptize, or read the divine ſervice in England.

Spelman, p. 332, 334. There is mention of two councils more convened in Mercia in the reign of Bernulph, one in 821, and the other in 824. Probably the firſt is a forgery; but they are both of ſo little conſequence, as not to be worth notice.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Primitive State of the Engliſh Church.

I Shall cloſe my account of the primitive ſtate of the Engliſh church, with a few remarks that may ſerve to give a juſt notion of the thing. It is a great miſtake to imagine, the primitive church of the Engliſh correſponded in all points with the church founded by the apoſtles immediately after our Saviour's death. The chriſtian church, in her infancy, was perfect, without ſpot or wrinkle; but in proceſs of time, ſhe loſt by degrees ſomething of her primitive purity. From the days of the apoſtles to the VIIth century, errors and abuſes crept in, which ſtrangely diſfigured her, and which daily increaſed during the VIIIth and IXth centuries, ſo that true religion by little and little degenerated into ſuperſtition. Our idea therefore of the primitive church of England muſt be conformable to the ſtate of the chriſtian church at that time. I ſhall not here undertake to ſhow wherein thoſe innovations in the doctrines and ſervices of the church conſiſted; but content myſelf with obſerving the chriſtian church, at the time of the converſion of the Engliſh, was far gone from its original purity. It can't, for inſtance, be denied, that the monks, who were grown very numerous all over Chriſtendom, had introduced ſeveral religious practices that were not of divine or apoſtolical inſtitution, as if our Saviour and his apoſtles had forgot

forgot or neglected to give mankind full inſtructions in theſe matters. Theſe voluntary acts of devotion, though introduced with a good intent, were now carried to ſo great a height, that the generality of Chriſtians looked upon them as the life and ſoul of religion. I ſhall not inſiſt any farther on this ſubject, ſince I have no deſign to enter into the controverſy, but only to make this obſervation, That the Engliſh converted in the VIIth century, are to be conſidered as in the ſame ſtate with the reſt of the chriſtian world at that time, ſeeing it was not in their power to know more than their maſters taught them.

Auſtin and his companions were the firſt that preached the goſpel to the Anglo-Saxons. However, the honour of their converſion ought not to be aſcribed to them alone. The Scotch monks of St. Columba had at leaſt as great a ſhare in it as the Italians. For after theſe laſt had begun to make converts, the new Chriſtians being ſunk again into idolatry, the Scotch monks were the perſons that ſet them right again, or rather that converted them anew. This was the caſe in the kingdoms of Eſſex, Northumberland, and Eaſt-Anglia, as hath been related. As for the converſion of the Mercians, the Italian miſſionaries had no hand in it at all. And yet Auſtin has had the honour of converting the Engliſh, when in the main the progreſs he made was not very conſiderable. 'Tis true he preached to the Saxons of Kent, as Mellitus did to thoſe of Eſſex, and that with good ſucceſs. But then very probably this work was already begun, and even in great forwardneſs, when Auſtin arrived in England. It is hard to conceive how theſe monks, who were forced to make uſe of interpreters, could poſſibly have converted ſuch numbers of pagans, even to the baptizing ten thouſand in one day, in a few months after their arrival, if the Saxons had not been prepared beforehand. This conjecture is farther confirmed by the letters of Gregory I. to Theodoric king of Auſtraſia, to Theodobert his brother, and to queen Brunichild, to deſire them to aſſiſt Auſtin in his journey to England. The pope tells them he was informed for certain, that the Engliſh earneſtly deſired to turn Chriſtians. Now is it not evident, that, if they had a ſtrong deſire to embrace the goſpel, they were as good as half converted? There is great reaſon to preſume, king Ethelbert had already ſome liking to the chriſtian religion infuſed into him by his queen, and eſpecially by Luidhard, biſhop of Soiſſons, who had attended her into England. This is what the author of the hiſtory of St. Auſtin's monaſtery poſitively affirms; and Malmſbury ſays little leſs, when he tells us, that

Ep. lib. v. c. 58, and 59.

Ethelbert was very desirous to hear what Austin had to propose. Besides, if the person, character and conduct of Austin, are considered, it will be hard to believe, he made the progress ascribed to him. Bede, who does not seem willing to lessen his reputation, says nothing that is very apt to raise in us an esteem for his preaching. Instead of imbellishing his history with the heads of Austin's first discourse before Ethelbert, he is contented with relating only the king's answer. This gives occasion to suspect, he was not over-satisfied with that harangue. Moreover, the questions which Austin wanted the pope to solve, do not much redound to his honour. This, no doubt, was the reason why Bede abridged them as much as possible, even to the rendering them sometimes so obscure, that the meaning of the question must be learnt by the answer.

To these considerations may be added, that Austin in the height of his success, for which he is so greatly honoured, established but two bishops only, Justus at Rochester, and Mellitus at London, though the pope had expresly ordered him to settle bishops where-ever there should be occasion. This is a clear evidence, that the progress ascribed to him was not so considerable as Gregory imagines. But what can one think of this same Austin, who the very first year deserts his mission, and goes to Arles to get himself consecrated archbishop, when as yet there was but a handful of Christians in England, or rather in the alone kingdom of Kent? To what end the title of archbishop and primate, at a time when there was not so much as one bishop in being? What can one think moreover of the pope's answer to him concerning the bishops of Gaul, "That he allows him no manner of jurisdiction over them?" May it not be presumed, that Austin, not content with the primacy of Great Britain, wherewith the pope had honoured him, wanted to extend his jurisdiction over Gaul too? In fine, what can one think of Gregory's letter to him, exhorting him not be elated at the gift of miracles, God had bestowed on him, unless Austin had sent him word he had wrought several? But what were these miracles? Would Bede, who has carefully related those of Aidan, Finan, Furseus, and the other Scotch monks, whom he looked upon as schismaticks, have omitted those of Austin? And yet he gives us only one, and that of a later date than Gregory's letter, and the most suspicious that ever was, since, by his own confession, it was wrought in order to bring the Britons to the obedience of the pope? What opinion can one have of Austin, when it is considered with what zeal he laboured to reduce the Britons under the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, whilst five

Saxon

Saxon kingdoms were ſuffered to grovel in darkneſs and idolatry? To what purpoſe did he complain to the pope of the want of labourers in ſo plentiful an harveſt, if he did not employ thoſe he already had? And if he did employ them, where are the fruits of their labours? What where their names? Where did they preach the goſpel? No hiſtorian ſays a word of theſe things; and except Juſtus and Mellitus, who preached at Rocheſter and London, it is not known where he ſent his companions, who according to the general opinion, were forty in number.

Again, the converts made by theſe Italian monks were not, 'tis to be feared, well grounded in their religion. This is a natural inference from the apoſtacy of the people of Eſſex, Eaſt-Anglia, Northumberland, and Kent itſelf, at a time when, had they been true Chriſtians, they would have given marks of the higheſt zeal. This makes one think, their converſion was without any previous inſtruction, and rather the effect of fear or complaiſance to their kings, than of a thorough perſuaſion and knowledge of the truth. It is therefore ſurprizingly ſtrange, that the converſion of the Engliſh ſhould be aſcribed to Auſtin, rather than to Aidan, to Finan, to Colman, to Cedd, to Diuma, and the other Scotch monks, who undoubtedly laboured much more abundantly than he. But here lies the caſe. Theſe laſt had not their orders from Rome, and therefore muſt not be allowed any ſhare in the glory of this work.

Let us now reflect a little on the manner of the converſion of the Engliſh. In the beginning of Chriſtianity, and even for the firſt three hundred years, the converts generally conſiſted of people of the loweſt rank, and we hear of nothing but perſecution and death from the princes and magiſtrates. Whereas in England, the kings were the firſt that embraced the faith, and by their authority and example induced their ſubjects to do the ſame. In the beginning of the church of England, we meet with no martyrs, except the two ſons of Wulpher king of Mercia, whoſe ſtory is of very doubtful authority. Whence could proceed this difference between the church founded by the apoſtles themſelves, in ſo many parts of the world, and that founded in England in the VIIth century? What is the reaſon the Devil leſs vigorouſly obſtructed the converſion of the Engliſh, than that of ſo many other nations, during the life and after the death of the apoſtles? Theſe things afford matter for many reflections, which I ſhall not here enter into, but leave to the conſideration of the reader. I ſhall only remark, that the eaſe wherewith the converſion of

the Engliſh was wrought, extremely weakens the force of the argument drawn in favour of the chriſtian religion, from the perſecutions of the Roman emperors.

Pearſ. de Faith. "Let a man conſider, ſays a famous writer, the eſtabliſh-"ment of Chriſtianity, that a religion ſo contrary to nature [n], "ſhould make its way in the world, by ſuch mild and gentle "means, without any violence or conſtraint, and yet ſhould "be ſo firmly rooted withal, that it was not in the power of "the moſt barbarous torments to compel the martyrs to re-"nounce their faith; and that all this ſhould be done not only "without the aſſiſtance of any prince, but in direct oppoſition "to all the kings of the earth," &c. It is eaſy to ſee this argument loſes much of its ſtrength, when applied to the converſion of the Engliſh.

What ſtill affords further matter of wonder is this: the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſpeaks of ſeveral ſaints in different parts of the world, but withal tells us, that ſcarce one of them eſcaped being terribly perſecuted, or even loſing his life in the cauſe of truth. Whereas in England alone, we find in the ſpace of two hundred years an incredible number of men and women ſaints, who never knew what perſecution meant. Moreover, if hiſtorians may be credited, theſe ſaints, for the moſt part, were endued with the gift of miracles, though the ſwift progreſs of the goſpel ſeemed to render them of little uſe. But what is more, a conſiderable number of theſe ſaints were kings, queens, princes, princeſſes, or perſons of the higheſt birth and ſtations. In the period abovementioned we have ſeven kings and ſeven queens, together with eight princes, and ſixteen princeſſes, diſtinguiſhed with the title of ſaints: beſides ten kings and eleven queens, who reſigned their crowns to turn monks, and who, according to the notions of thoſe days, might well be ranked in the number of ſaints. If it be aſked, whence is it that in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries it was ſo eaſy for the great to procure a ſainthip, I can alledge no other reaſon, but that ſanctity conſiſted then in enriching the churches and monaſteries, which the rich were much better able to do than the poor.

The Engliſh were no ſooner converted, but innumerable miracles were wrought among them. They were ſo much in vogue during the two forementioned centuries, that one or

[n] [illegible] the way [illegible] the Romans. For ſurely nothing more [illegible] to be cloaked with all [illegible] that is contrary to [illegible] now-a-days under, particularly among [illegible]

other

other happened (if I may ſo ſay) every day. Bede's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is full of them, for he was very credulous in ſuch matters, as well as Gregory I. whoſe foible in that reſpect is viſible in his works. It is no wonder therefore the miſſionaries he ſent into England ſhould take after him, or that the Engliſh ſhould be as eaſy of belief as their teachers. The Benedictine monks were the perſons that ſet all theſe miracles on foot: ſome out of pure ſimplicity, others with deſign to attract to the monaſteries the liberalities both of high and low. Before the Benedictines were ſpread over the iſland, the monks of St. Columba, leſs given to gain and worldly views, attended wholly to the ſervice of God in the places where they lived in common. But the Benedictines never reſted till they had procured great numbers of monaſteries with large revenues, and cauſed the papal authority to be recognized throughout the ſeven kingdoms.

It was not however without great difficulty that the popes extended their juriſdiction over the Northumbrians, Picts and Scots, though the Roman prieſts and monks laboured at it inceſſantly. The northern nations could not conceive the neceſſity of owning the biſhop of Rome for univerſal biſhop; and it is certain, before the ſynod of Whitby, the Britons, Picts, Scots, Iriſh and Northumbrians, unanimouſly declared againſt the pope's authority. Bede ſays as much, when he tells us, ſpeaking of king Oſwy; "He was at length convinced, that "the church of Rome was the true catholick and apoſtolical "church, though he had been educated in Scotland." As ſoon as this prince was prevailed with, he did all he could to eſtabliſh the papal authority in his dominions, and Scotland at laſt was carried away with the torrent, after Egbert an Engliſh prieſt had gained the monks of Jona.

Upon the Engliſh ſubmitting to the juriſdiction of the pope, all imaginable care was taken to keep them from falling off. One of the moſt effectual means for that purpoſe, was, the not admitting into the government of the church any but Italian prieſts or monks, or Engliſh ones educated at Rome or in France. This is evident from the Vth canon of the ſecond council of Calcuith, which forbids the allowing any Scotchman to perform divine ſervice in England. Bede plainly diſcovers the policy of Rome when he ſays, the pope ordered abbot Adrian to attend Theodorus into England, that he might have an eye over him, for fear that prelate, being a native of Cilicia, ſhould introduce into the church of England any thing contrary to the cuſtoms of Rome.

I have

I have but one more remark to make relating to the doctrine of the church of England in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, and the beginning of the IXth. It is a great miſtake to think the articles of faith in the Engliſh church were the ſame with thoſe in the Roman at this day. For inſtance, it would be very wrong to imagine the Engliſh believed, at that time, the abſolute neceſſity of baptiſm, as the Romans do at this preſent. If this doctrine had been received among them, the council of Calcuith would not have ordered that ſacrament to be adminiſtered only at Eaſter and Whitſontide. As far from the truth is it to believe the Engliſh worſhipped images. The contrary is evident from a letter the famous Alcuin an Engliſhman wrote to Charles the Great, concerning the ſecond council of Nice, where image-worſhip was carried to a monſtrous height. The neceſſity of prieſts living ſingle is alſo a doctrine unknown to the church of England in thoſe days, ſince it was not received there till at leaſt five hundred years after their converſion. To theſe I might add ſeveral other inſtances; but as they are not peculiar to England, I ſhall only obſerve in general, that all the innovations in the doctrines of the church of England, from the converſion of the Engliſh to the Reformation, owe their original to Rome.

I don't find the church of England was concerned in the controverſies that were on foot in the church during the VIIth and VIIIth centuries. Among all the councils convened in England within that ſpace, not one decreed any thing relating to the doctrines of religion, except the ſynod of Calcuith, where the condemnation of the Monothelites was ratified. Their way was to read the canons of the general councils, and agree to them. Thus during theſe two centuries, it does not appear that the church of England was troubled with hereſies or diſputes on the fundamental doctrines of religion. In thoſe days, the biſhops, prieſts and monks, were more intent upon the ways and means of augmenting their revenues, than upon the ſtudy of divinity. There were ſome alſo that were diſtinguiſhed for holineſs of life, or for zeal in propagating the goſpel. I have already mentioned ſome few; but as I had not an opportunity of making them all known, I ſhall here ſubjoin a brief account of three or four that make a conſiderable figure in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England.

Egbert. 716. Bede, Hiſt. eccl. lib. v. c. 10.

Egbert, an Engliſh prieſt, retiring into Ireland to follow his ſtudies, paſſed ſome time after into Scotland, where he prevailed with the monks of Iona to receive the rules of the order of St. Benedict, and acknowledge the papal authority. Perhaps to

this

this ſervice done the ſee of Rome, a good part of the encomiums beſtowed upon him are owing. However this be, it is ſaid that having a deſign to go and preach the goſpel to the German Saxons, he was diverted from his purpoſe by an expreſs order from heaven. But, as he had the converſion of that nation very much at heart, he ſent Wilbrod in his place.

692. Wilbrod. Bede, lib. v. cap. 11.

Wilbrod being arrived in Germany, Pipin, mayor of the palace of France, ſent him into Frieſland, which he had lately ſubdued, to preach the goſpel. After Wilbrod had made ſome ſtay there, he took a journey to Rome, where he was conſecrated by pope Sergius I. biſhop of the Frieſlanders. He fixed his ſee at Utrecht, of which he was the firſt biſhop.

Winfrid,

Winfrid, an Engliſh Benedictine monk, was ſent into Germany, where he aſſumed the name of Boniface. His preaching having met with great ſucceſs, he was made the firſt archbiſhop of Mentz, and the pope's legate for all Germany. It is ſaid he was the ſon of a cartwright, and that the archbiſhops of Mentz for that reaſon bear wheels in their arms. Boniface was barbarouſly murdered by the pagans in Frieſland in 754 [n].

754. Guthlack,

Guthlack [o] was the firſt anchoret in England. He made choice, for his retirement, of a fenny-place in Mercia called Croyland, where the famous monaſtery of that name was afterwards built [p].

714. Ingulph.

n Pit ſays he was of royal extraction. There is a collection of his letters extant, particularly his letter to Ethelbald king of Mercia, publiſhed at Mentz by Serrarius. Du Pin, Cent. VIII.

o He had been a ſoldier ſeven years, and out of humanity uſed to return the enemy a third part of the plunder taken from them.

p As the tranſlator deſigns to take notice of all the hiſtorians omitted by Rapin, he begins with

Nennius, abbot of Bangor, ſuppoſed to be one of the fifty monks that eſcaped, when twelve hundred of their brethren were ſlain by Adelfrid king of Northumberland. He flouriſhed about the year 620; though it is ſaid in the beſt copies of his book, that he wrote in 850, in 24 Mervini regis. There is nothing publiſhed of his but his Hiſtoria Britonum.

Next after him comes Bede, who wrote an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England, from Julius Cæſar's invaſion, to the year of our Lord 731, at the requeſt of Ceolulph king of Northumberland, to whom it was dedicated. He was born in 673, in the precincts of the monaſtery of Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tine in Northumberland. He was bred up from his childhood in the ſaid monaſtery, where he lived all his life. He was ordained at nineteen a deacon, and at thirty a prieſt; from which time till the fifty-ninth of his age he never ceaſed writing. His works are printed in eight tomes, beſides his Opuſcula. He died in 735, aged ſixty-two. His body was removed from Jarrow to Durham, and placed in the ſame coffin with St. Cuthbert's.

Cotemporary with Bede lived Stephen Eddi, Heddi, or Eddius, in the reign of Oſric king of Northumberland; he died in 720. Bede ſays, he was the beſt ſinger in the North; on which account he was invited to York by Wilfrid the biſhop, whoſe life he wrote in Latin,

Latin, in ſomewhat a better ſtile than could be expected from that age. This treatiſe, which contains ſeveral material paſſages relating to eccleſiaſtical as well as civil ſtate, having continued in manuſcript in the library of Sir John Cotton, and alſo in that of Saliſbury, was publiſhed by Dr. Gale in his laſt volume of Engliſh writers.

Malmsb.

In the VIIIth century lived Alcuin, or Albin, a famous Northumbrian. He was bred a Benedictine, and was made abbot of St. Auguſtin's Canterbury. He was diſciple to Egbert archbiſhop of York. Being ſent ambaſſador by Offa to Charles the Great, that prince got leave for him to ſtay at his court, and was taught by him logic, aſtronomy, and mathematics. By his perſuaſion the emperor founded the univerſity of Paris and likewiſe of Pavia. He wrote a great many books, as ſays Pit. He died in 804.

A Chronological and Synchronical Table of the Seven Kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, from ye Founding to the Dissolution of ye Heptarchy.

The Year of Christ													
440													440
450	49 Arrival of Hengist. He is put in Possession of ye Isle of Thanet. Esca & Ronvena arrive. Vortigern's Marriage. Kent given to Hengist			KINGS OF KENT 1 Hengist 1st King of Kent					MONARCHS of ye Anglo Saxons Hengist K. of Kent		KINGS OF SCOTLAND 1 Dongard	KINGS OF FRANCE 8 Merovius	POPES 40 Leo ye Great	450
460	8 Arrival of Ambrosius. Civil Wars among ye Britons 1 Britons are at Peace. Britain divided. 5 Wars between the Britons and Saxons. 7 Arthur's first Appearance										7 Constantine	8 Chilperic	1 Hilarius 7 Simplicius	460
470	5 Vortimer's Death. 6 Massacre of the Britons 7 Ella's Arrival										9 Congallus I			470
480	5 Vortigern's Death. Ambrosius alone 8 Arthur's Voyage to Jerusalem			8 Esca					8 Ella K. of Sussex			3 Clovis 1st Christian K. of France	3 Felix III	480
490	He defeats ye Saxons 5 Raises the Siege of York. Cerdick's Arrival 6 Arthurs Victories. 7 War with Pascentius		KINGS OF SUSSEX 1 Ella 1st King										1 Gelasius 6 Anastatius 8 Symmachus	490
500	3 Howel King of Armorica brings Succors to Arthur 5 Death of Ambrosius. Arthur K. of Britain										1 Coran			500
510	11 Battle of Badon 12 Arthur ravages the Country of the Picts	KINGS OF WESSEX 9 Cerdick 1st K	4 Cissa	12 Octa					4 Cerdick K. of Wessex			4 Childebert	4 Hormisda	510
520	8 Takes the Title of Emperor				KINGS OF ESSEX 7 Erchenwin 1st King								3 John I 8 Felix IV	520
530	He goes into Armorica & Modred seizes the Crown 5 Arthur's Return. War with Modred	3 The Kingdoms much enlarged 4 Kenrick		4 Hermenrick					4 Kenrick K. of Wessex		5 Eugenius III		Boniface II 1 John II 5 Agapetus I 6 Silverius 8 Vigilius	530
540	2 Battle of Camb-alan Death of Arthur & Modred Interregnum					KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND 7 Ida 1st K. of North:								540
550	1 Malgon Elected					Bernicia 9 Adda	Deira 9 Ella						5 Pelagius 9 John III	550
560		Keaulin		8 Ethelbert		6 Glappa			Keaulin K. of Wessex		8 Kinathal 9 Aydan	8 Clothayre	2 Cherebert	560
570					KINGS OF EAST ANGLIA 1 Uffa 1st K. 8 Titil	2 Fridulph								570
580	5 Malgon's death The Britons retire into Cambria, called Wales by ye Saxons		90 Dies		KINGS OF MERCIA 5 Crida 1st K	9 Theodorick	98 Alla dies					3 Chilperic II	3 Benedict I 7 Pelagius II	580
590		He gets possession of SUSSEX		7 Sledda		6 Athalarick						7 Clothayre II		590
600	ARCHBISHOPS 8 Augustin	8 Ceolulph			5 Webba	9 Redowald	3 Athelfrid		3 Ethelbert K. of Kent	THE CHURCH 97 Augustin arrives 8 Consecrated Archb. at Arles.			Gregory I	600
610	5 Lanrentius		7 Revolt Reduc'd by Ceolulph							1 Pope sends him the Pallium 2 Synods of Austin. Conversion of the East Saxons 5 Austin's death.	4 Keneth I 5 Eugenius IV		4 Sabinian 6 Boniface III 7 Boniface IV	610
620	9 Mellitus	OF YORK 11 Cinigisil 12 Wicelm		6 Ebald	16 Saxred Seward and Sigebert 3 Sigebert the Little	4 Cearlus	7 Edwin		7 Redowald K. of E. Anglia	4 Falling off of East Saxons 5 Ebald's Conversion			4 Deus dedit 7 Boniface V	620
630	4 Justus 8 Honorius	Paulinus				5 Penda	4 Erpwald		4 Edwin K. of North:	5 Paulinus Bish. of North. 7 Conversion of the North ns	2 Ferchard I	8 Dagobert	6 Honorius I	630
640		6 Cinigisil alone		Ercombert			3 Interregnum 6 Sigebert	Interregnum Bernicia Osfrid 4 Oswald	Deira Osrick	3 Interregnum 8 Oswald K. of North:	2 Their falling off again Paulinus's Flight 4 Oswald restores Religion Conversion of the W. Saxons	3 Donald IV.	8 Cloris II	8 Severinus 8 John IV	640
650	1 Deus dedit	Vacancy Bishops of York 6 Ceadda 9 Wilfrid	3 Cenowalch 5 Dethron'd by Penda & Restor'd Adewalch		Sigebert the Good 5 Swithelm	5 Interregnum Osmy Rules 9 Wulfer	4 Egrick 4 Annas	30 Osmy	4 Oswin 2 Athelwalt	2 Interregnum 5 Osmy K. of North:	5 Eastanglos 630 3 Conversion of the Mercians 5 —— of ye E. Saxons 9 Wulfer persecutes, is converted	50 Ferchard II	5 Clothayre III	1 Theodorus 9 Martinus 2 Eugenius I 5 Vitalian	650
660	Vacancy													660

600	5 Lanrentius		7 Revolt Reduc'd by Ceolulph				9 Redwald		K of Kent	9 7 Augustin arrives 8 Consecrated Archb.p at Arles.			4 Sabinian	590
610										1 Pope sends him the Pallium 2 Synods of Austin. Conversion of the East Saxons 5 Austin's death.	4 Keneth I 5 Eugenius IV		6 Boniface III 7 Boniface IV	600
620	9 Mellitus	OF YORK	11 Cinigisil 12 Luicelm		6 Ebald	16 Saxred Seward and Sigebert	4 Cearlus		7 Edwin	7 Redowald K of E. Anglia	4 Falling off of East Saxons 5 Ebald's Conversion			610
630	4 Justus 8 Honorius	Paulinus				3 Sigebert the Little	5 Penda	4 Erpwald		4 Edwin K. of North:	5 Paulinus Bish. of North. 7 Conversion of the North.ns	2 Ferchard I	8 Dagobert	6 Honorius I	620
640			6 Cinigisil alone		Erconbert			3 Interregnum 6 Sigebert	Interregnum Bernicia divid 4 Oswald	Deira Osrick	3 Interregnum 8 Oswald K. of North:	2 Their falling off again Paulinus's Flight 4 Oswald restores Relative Ma. Conversion of the West Saxons 5 Eastlingles 630	3 Donald IV.	8 Clovis II	8 Severinus 8 John IV	630
650	1 Deus dedit	Vacancy Bishops of York 6 Ceadda 9 Wilfrid	3 Cenowalch 5 Dethron'd by Penda & Restor'd	Adowalch		Sigebert the Good 5 Ecfrithelm	5 Interregnum Osmy Rules 9 Wulfer	4 Ethelrick 5 Adelwalt	3 Osmy	4 Oswin 2 Athelwalt	2 Interregnum 5 Osmy K of North:	3 Conversion of the Mercians 5 ——— of th E. Saxons 9 Wulfer persecutes, is converted	3 Ferchard II	5 Clothayre III	1 Theodorus 9 Martinus	640
660	4 Vacancy 8 Theodorus				4 Egbert	Sebba and Siger		4 Aldulph		Deira united to Bernicia Alfred		6 He Sells the Bish.k of London 8 Theodorus arrives			2 Eugenius I 5 Vitalian	650
670		8 Bosa	2 Isaxburga 3 Centus Escwin 4 & Centwin 6 Centwin alone		3 Lothair		5 Ethelred		7 Egfrid	Egfrid K. of North.		8 Wilfrid Bp of York deposd Council of Hatfield	8 Maldwyn	Childeric 4 Theoderic I	9 ADeodatus 6 Domnus 8 Agatho	660
680			5 Cedwalla 8 Ina	6 Authun & Berthun Authun alone	5 Edrick 6 Widred & Swabert	Sebba alone			3 Alfred	6 Cedwalla K. of Wessex 9 Ina K of Wessex	5 Cuthbert BP of Lindisfarn 6 Wilfrid restor'd Theodore's death 6 Council of Berghamsted	8 Eugenius V. 2 Eugenius VI.	1 Clovis III	5 Childebert II	3 Leo II 4 Benedict II 85 John V 86 Conon 87 Theodorus II 87 Sergius I	670
690	3 Barthold				5 Widred alone	4 Sighard & Cenofrid		Alfwald								680
700		John of Beverly				5 Offa 9 Ceolred	4 Kenred 9 Ceolred		5 Osred		3 Wilfrid deposd 8 Council of Nydd Wilfrid restor'd to Hagulstad	2 Ambir Keleth 5 Eugenius VII			1 John VI 5 John VII 8 Sisinnius 8 Constantine	690
710				Albert			6 Ethelbald		6 Kenred 7 Osrick				1 Dagobert II 5 Chilperic II		4 Gregory II	700
720		9 Wilfrid	32 Ina Subdues SUSSEX and unites it to WESSEX. 7 goes to Rome. 7 Adelard	5 Ethelbert II & Edbert						7 Ethelbald K of Mercia	1 John of Beverly resigns his Bishoprick 7 Romescot by Ina	3 Mordac	2 Theodoric II		710
730	1 Tatwine 3 Nothelm	ARCHBISHOPS 5 Egbert						Beorna and Ethelbert	2 Ceolulph 7 Edbert		5 Bede dies	Elsin 3 Interregnum	3 Interregnum	1 Gregory III	720	
740	Cuthbert		Cudred		8 Ethelbert alone	6 Swithred					4 York made an Archbis.k 7 Synod of Clift 2		2 Childeric II	1 Zacharias	730	
750			4 Sigebert deposd 4 Cenulph				7 Beornred Usurper 7 Offa	Beorna alone	8 Osulph 9 Mollon Adelwalt	7 Offa K of Mercia			2 Pepin	2 Stephen II 3 Stephen III 7 Paul I.	740	
760	9 Bergwin			Aldrick											750	
770	2 Jambert or Lambert	7 Athelbert						Ethelred	5 Alcred			1 Eugenius VIII 4 Fergus III 7 Sol.athius	8 Charlemain	8 Stephen IV	760	
780									4 Ethelred 9 Alfwald I			1 Achaius		2 Adrian I	770	
790	1 Adelard	1 Eanbald Lichfield Arch Higbert Ardulph	4 Brithrick					9 Ethelbert	9 Osred 9 Ethelred restor'd		4 Gregory & Theophilact Legates 5 Lichfield Archp. at Calcuith				780	
800			Ecbert		4 Edbert Pren 8 Cudred		6 Egfrid 6 Cenulph	2 Kill'd by Offa who Seizes East Anglia	6 Osred or Oswald 6 Ardulph	6 Egfrid 6 Cenulph K.s of Mercia	3 St Albans Tomb discovered 4 Peter Pence established 8 Councils of Cliff & Becanfield 9 Synod of Finchale			6 Leo III	790	
810	4 Wilfrid				5 Baldred				8 Arfwald II 10 Andred		3 Synod of Cliff 3 Lichfield reduc'd to a Bishoprick	9 Congal			800	
820		12 Volvius					9 Cenelm 9 Ceolulph			Ecbert K. of Wessex	Council of Calcuith	4 Dongal	4 Lewis le Debonnaire	6 Stephen V 7 Paschal I	810	
830	9 Theolagild Ceolnoth			Conquer'd by Ecbert	Conquer'd by Ecbert	1 Bernulph 3 Ludican 3 Wiglaph Mercia made Tributary by Ecbert			Northumberland becomes tributary.					4 Eugenius II 7 Valentinus I 7 Gregory IV	820	
															830	

To be placed at the end of Book III. Rapin's Hist.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Origin of the DANES. *Their continual irruptions from the reign of* EGBERT *to* EDWARD *the martyr, with whoſe reign this book concludes. A particular and curious account of the laws and cuſtoms introduced by* ALFRED *the* GREAT, *which are the baſis of the preſent laws of* ENGLAND. *The ſtate of the church and religion, from* EGBERT *to* EDWARD *the martyr inclusive.*

ENGLAND now grown more powerful by the union of the ſeven kingdoms, ſeemed to be better ſecured than ever from foreign invaſions. And yet, preſently after this union it was, that the Danes began their deſcents with a fury, equal to that wherewith the Engliſh themſelves had formerly attacked the Britons. For above two hundred years theſe new enemies were ſo obſtinately bent upon the ruin of the iſland, that it cannot be conceived either how their country could ſupply them with troops ſufficient for ſo long and bloody a war, or the Engliſh hold out againſt H. Hunting lib. v.

againſt ſo many repeated attacks. This war is to be the chief ſubject of our fourth book, and of great part of the fifth. But before I enter upon particulars, it will be neceſſary to premiſe ſome account of theſe Danes, who in the IXth century became ſo formidable to all Europe, and eſpecially to England.

Origin of the Danes.

Scandia, or Scandinavia [a], ſituated in the north of Europe, contains a tract of land in length from north to ſouth about four hundred leagues, and in breath from eaſt to weſt about one hundred and fifty. If the northern hiſtorians are to be credited in what they ſay of the origin of their anceſtors, this country was peopled ſoon after the flood, by two nations, or rather two branches of the ſame nation, I mean, the Goths and Swedes, who founded two large kingdoms in this part of the world. From theſe two nations, who were ſometimes united and ſometimes divided, ſprung, as they ſay, all thoſe colonies which after the decline of the Roman empire, over-ran the reſt of Europe. But without ſtaying to examine whether all they advance concerning the conqueſts of theſe adventurers is authentic, I ſhall take them for guides in what they ſay of thoſe that remained in the northern countries.

In the reign of Eric the ſixth king of the Goths [b], Gothland was become ſo very populous, that the country was unable to maintain its inhabitants. To remedy this inconvenience, which daily increaſed, Eric was compelled to ſend away part of his ſubjects to ſeek their fortune in the neighbouring iſles [c]. Theſe colonies at length not only peopled the iſlands, but alſo Jutland on the continent, formerly known by the name of Cimbricia Cherſoneſus. The people thus ſpread over the iſles and the Cherſoneſe, acknowledged above ſeven hundred years the kings of Gothland for their ſovereigns. Humel, the ſixteenth king of the Goths, firſt made them independent, by letting them have for their king Dan his ſon, from whom Denmark received its name [d]. Norway alſo very probably was peopled by Gothic colonies, ſince it remained a long while under the dominion of the kings of Gothland. In proceſs of time, and after many revolutions, Norway was governed by judges independent of Gothland,

Janus Kelding.

Suaningius Chron. Dan.

a It contained Norway, with as much of Sweden as lay weſt of the Golf of Bothnia. It was alſo called Baltia, whence the Baltic ſea.

b They pretend he was cotemporary with Terah, Abraham's father. Rapin.

c As in thoſe days none had a permanent intereſt in land, which was cantoned out to the people to be poſſeſſed for one year only, it was decided by lot, who were to leave their country in queſt of new habitations. Cæſ. de Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 20. & P. Warnfrid. de Geſtis Longobard. cap. 2.

d Dan, according to northern hiſtorians, was cotemporary with Gideon. Rapin.

till

till about the end of the IXth century, when it became ſubject to a king.

The Danes and Norwegians, being thus ſeparated from their anceſtors the Goths and Swedes, became ſo powerful as to be in condition to make head againſt them both in ſeveral wars. The ſituation of their country, and the great plenty of all things neceſſary for building and equipping a fleet, ſoon made them ſuperior at ſea to all their neighbours. In time, they employed all their naval forces in plundering of ſhips, and ravaging the coaſts of Europe. France, England, and the Low-Countries, were moſt expoſed to their robberies. For above one hundred and fifty years the ſea was covered with Daniſh pyrates. They were grown ſo powerful, that Charles the Great could never ſubdue the Saxons, whilſt aſſiſted by the Danes. Hiſtory obſerves, that this emperor having ſent his ſon Pepin to make war upon the Saxons, this prince was prevented in his deſigns by Gothric king of Denmark's ſending a reinforcement of Danes on board three hundred veſſels. A northern hiſtorian affirms, that Charles the Great was never better pleaſed than at the news of Gothric's death, having deſpaired of accompliſhing his ends, as long as that prince was alive.

Meurſius Hiſt. Dan.

Jo. Magnus, lib. xvii. cap. 1.

As people encreaſe and multiply exceedingly in cold countries, it often happened that Denmark and Norway were over-ſtocked with inhabitants, and therefore forced, in order to make room for the reſt, to ſend away large colonies. Their natural inclination to a ſea-faring life made theſe colonies readily abandon their country, as it procured them greater liberty of roving and playing the pyrate, on pretence of looking out new habitations. This was chiefly the riſe of thoſe pyracies committed by the Danes and Norwegians, in the IXth century, in France, England, the Low-Countries, and Germany. The great booty the firſt adventurers brought off, tempted the richeſt and moſt powerful of their countrymen to try their fortune in the ſame manner. They entered into aſſociations, and fitted out large fleets to go and ravage foreign countries. Theſe aſſociations were much of the ſame nature with thoſe entered into now a-days in time of war, by the inhabitants of the ſea-port towns in France and Flanders, and always by the corſairs of Barbary. In ſhort, they were ſo uſed to this gainful way of trading, that very conſiderable fleets were put to ſea. They had the authority of their kings for what they did, who, having always a ſhare in the ſpoils, provided them with admirals and generals, and when a conſiderable booty was in view, made no ſcruple even to command

mand them in perſon. Theſe are the fleets that made ſuch devaſtations in ſeveral parts of Europe, and cauſed the inhabitants of France, England, and the Low-Countries, to make ſad lamentation for the miſeries brought upon them by the northern nations [c]. They were called in France, Normans, that is to ſay, men of the north; but in England, they were generally ſtiled Danes or Goths. There is no doubt but the Swedes and Goths very often joined with the Danes, in order to ſhare in the booty. Nay, it appears that the Frieſlanders were concerned with the Danes in ravaging the coaſts of France and England. This doubtleſs is the reaſon, the Engliſh hiſtorians call them indifferently, Getes, Goths, Jutes, Norwegians, Dacians, Danes, Swedes, Vandals, Frieſlanders, their armies being compoſed of theſe ſeveral nations.

Rog. de Hov.

It is eaſy to ſee, from what has been ſaid of the Danes, that their intent, when firſt they invaded the coaſts of England, was only to plunder. And therefore they made war, not like regular troops, with ſome fixed and ſettled deſign; but like pyrates, ſacking and deſtroying what they could not carry away. As they were divided into ſeveral independent bands, it frequently happened that no ſooner was one gone, but another came, by which means the inhabitants had ſcarce any reſpite from their incurſions. This way of making war was very inconvenient for the Engliſh, it obliging them to be upon their guard at all times, and in all places, ſince the iſland was liable to be attacked on every ſide. On the other hand, their enemies, whoſe numbers were continually encreaſing, being headed by leaders who had no authority over each other, there was no entering into treaty with them, one band not looking upon itſelf bound by what another did. Thus the Engliſh having nothing to gain, but much to loſe, were at a loſs what meaſures to take againſt theſe enemies, who carried deſolation wherever they came. I am very ſenſible the Daniſh hiſtorians ſet theſe matters in quite another light. They expreſs the advantages the Danes had over the Engliſh in their firſt incurſions by the name of conqueſts, and ſtile the ſtruggles of the Engliſh to free themſelves from oppreſſion, ſo many revolts. But notwithſtanding their giving things theſe ſpecious names, their advantages are to be conſidered as before repreſented, at leaſt for the firſt hundred years after they began their ravages.

Sax. Gram. Magnus. Meurſius. Pontanus.

c A furore Normanorum libera nos, Domine. Rapin.

Before

Vertue Sculp

Before I leave this ſubject, it will be proper to obſerve, that the Engliſh and Daniſh hiſtorians give very contradictory accounts of theſe wars. Each endeavours to the utmoſt of his power, to magniſy the advantages of his own nation, and leſſen thoſe of the oppoſite party. However, it is but too viſible that the Danes could not have got ſuch footing in England, had not victory generally inclined to their ſide. But this is not all wherein hiſtorians diſagree. They differ chiefly in chronological matters, and in the names of the perſons of whom they are ſpeaking, which muſt of neceſſity breed the greateſt confuſion in hiſtory.

Through all theſe difficulties I am obliged to ſteer my courſe, with all imaginable circumſpection and warineſs, leſt I ſhould be put to a ſtand by the obſtacles that every moment occur. If the readers do not find that connection, and thoſe other embelliſhments they could wiſh for, it muſt be remembered, that the narration of a war carried on for the ſake of plunder only, is hardly capable of connection or embelliſhment.

After theſe remarks, which ſeemed to me neceſſary for the better underſtanding of the ſequel, it is time to return to the reign of Egbert, which was left unfiniſhed in the foregoing book, where he appeared only as king of Weſſex. He is now to make his appearance as king of all England, and as real mo- of the ſeven kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

EGBERT, the firſt king of ENGLAND.

EGBERT, who began his reign over the Weſt-Saxons in 800, finiſhed not his conqueſts till 827, or 828, from which time his title of king of England is to be dated. But to avoid miſtakes, it muſt be remembered, that the kingdom this prince was in actual poſſeſſion of, conſiſted of the ancient kingdoms of Weſſex, Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex, that were peopled by Saxons and Jutes. As for the other three kingdoms, whoſe inhabitants were Angles, he was contented with reſerving the ſovereiguty over them, permitting them to be governed by kings who were his vaſſals and tributaries [a].

EGBERT. firſt king of England. 828. Tyrrel, p. 254.

It

a It is to be obſerved, he was not perfectly abſolute, though he became monarch of England; for ſome, if not all the petty kings, notwithſtanding they were tributaries, held their titles for many years, and ſome ſucceſſions

It has been ſeen how this prince, before he turned his arms againſt his countrymen, attacked and ſubdued the Britons of Cornwal and Wales. Though his power after that was greatly encreaſed, yet the Welſh by their proceedings plainly ſhewed they deſigned to ſhake off his yoke. Egbert, informed of their intent, gave them no time to purſue it. He marched into their country with ſo numerous an army, that they were forced to ſubmit, without offering to come to a battle.

The Danes make a deſcent. 833. Sax. Ann. Malm. lib. ii.

Whilſt Egbert was enjoying the fruits of his victories, the Danes, who had before made two deſcents on England [b], arrived at Charmouth [c], with thirty-five veſſels. As they met with no oppoſition, they landed and ravaged the country. Egbert upon the firſt news of this deſcent, marched againſt them with what troops he could haſtily draw together, verily believing at his approach they would repair to their ſhips, which though he found they did not do, but on the contrary firmly ſtood their ground, he reſolved to attack them. But he ſoon experienced, he had to deal with much more formidable enemies than he imagined. After a long and bloody battle [d], he had the vexation to ſee them victorious, and his own army entirely routed. Nay, he found himſelf ſo very hard preſſed that he was forced at length to follow his flying troops, being indebted to the darkneſs of the night for his very life. This mortification, very grievous to a prince hitherto always victorious, cauſed him to take other meaſures for his defence againſt theſe new invaders. Mea ntime the Danes, having no deſign to make conqueſts, were ſatisfied with plundering the country, and rteurned to their ſhips.

Egbert worſted by the Danes.

The Danes make another deſcent 835. Sax. Annal.

Two years after, another band of Daniſh pyrates, having been informed by their ſpies that the Corniſh Britons [e] were extremely deſirous of throwing off the yoke of the Engliſh, went and landed in their territories, where they were gladly received. Being reinforced with ſome Britiſh troops, they began their march in order to give the Engliſh monarch battle. They were in hopes to ſurpriſe him, but were themſelves

of monarchs after him: as Witlaf, king of Mercia, under Egbert; and Bertulph under Ethelwulf his ſon, Beorred king of Mercia, and Edmund king of the Eaſt-Angles; and ſo they continued, at leaſt until Edward the Elder. See Ingulph, p. 8, 11, &c. Brady, p. 114.

b Viz. in 789, at Portland; and in 832, in the iſle of Shepey, which they laid waſte. Aſſer. Ann. p. 154. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

c In Dorſetſhire.

d There were ſlain in this battle, among others, the two biſhops of Wincheſter and Sherborn, Hereferth and Wigferth, and the two earls Dudda and Oſmond. Hunting. p. 345. Sax. Ann.

e For they ſtill inhabited Cornwal, paying tribute to Egbert. Rapin.

aſtoniſhed

aſtoniſhed to hear he was marching directly towards them with the ſame intent. His former misfortune having made him more cautious, he had kept his army in readineſs to march upon the firſt notice of their arrival. Accordingly being informed, they were landed in the weſt, he haſtened thither with all his forces. He engaged them near Hengiſtdun [f] in Cornwal, and obtained a ſignal victory, which quite defaced the diſhonour of his former defeat. Egbert gains a great victory.

After this fortunate blow, which delivered the Engliſh for a ſhort ſpace from the Daniſh invaſions, we find but one remarkable particular in Egbert's reign. It is ſaid, that this prince, by a public edict, approved by the general aſſembly of the nation, ordered, that for the future the name of England ſhould be given to that part of Great Britain, conquered by the Anglo-Saxons, and erected into ſeven kingdoms [g]. But it is much more likely, he only confirmed or revived this name, which certainly is more ancient than the reign of Egbert. We find in Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that before that time the three nations ſettled in Great Britain, are indifferently called Angli or Engliſh. And indeed Bede himſelf, who wrote long before Egbert, gives his hiſtory the title of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Engliſh Nation, though it much more relates to the churches of Kent, Weſſex, Suſſex, and Eſſex, than to thoſe of Mercia, Northumberland, and East-Anglia. I have already ſaid, that the change of the name of Britain into that of England, ought to be referred to the year 585, or 586. In confirmation of which, and to ſhew the improbability of Egbert's being the author of this change, I ſhall alledge the following proofs, which to me ſeem very ſtrong. In the firſt place, Egbert had no reaſon to call the ſeven kingdoms England, ſince he himſelf was a Saxon, and the provinces, his own kingdom conſiſted of, were peopled with Saxons and Jutes. Beſides the Angles or Engliſh Egbert confirms the changing the name of Britain into that of England.

Proofs of his not being the firſt author of that change.

f Now called Hengſton-hill. Rapin.

g The whole account of this matter is thus; "Egbert having ſubdued the "ſix Saxon kingdoms, and forced them "to ſubmit to his dominion, called "a great council at Wincheſter, where-"to were ſummoned all the great "men of the whole kingdom; and "there, by the general conſent of the "clergy and laity, Egbert was crowned "king of Great Britain: and at the "ſame time, he enacted, That it "ſhould be for ever after called "England; and that thoſe who "before were named Jutes or Saxons, "ſhould now be ſtiled Engliſhmen." Annals of the cathedral church of Weſtminſter, in Monaſtic. Anglican. vol. i. p. 32. R. de Diceto, p. 449. Chronol. St. Auſtin's Monaſt. Cant. in X. Script. 2238; and after them in all our modern chroniclers. Egbert may indeed have publiſhed an edict for the confirming or reviving of that name; but that it was in uſe long before this time, is evident (as Rapin obſerves) from the laws of king Ina; from Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; from Mat. Weſtm. p. 200, &c.

inhabiting Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, were his vaſſals and tributaries. Now is it at all likely, that the conqueror ſhould impoſe on his victorious ſubjects the name of thoſe they had ſubdued? This might indeed be done by degrees, but it is not probable a conqueror ſhould enjoin it by an edict: But as this amounts to no more than conjecture,

Jo. Sarisb. I ſhall proceed to more ſubſtantial proofs. An hiſtorian poſitively affirms, that a little after the founding of the ſeven kingdoms, the name of England was given to Britain by the unanimous conſent of the ſeven kings. But this can by no means be applied to the time of Egbert (above two hundred and fifty years after) ſince that prince could not have publiſhed his edict till after the diſſolution of the Heptarchy. Beſides, how came Bede, who lived one hundred and fifty years before Egbert, to call the three nations ſettled in Britain, Engliſhmen, if that monarch was the author of that name? But what is ſtill convincing, though the ſubjects of Ina, king of Weſſex, were Saxons or Jutes, that prince however,

Brompt. Leges Ina. lib. xxvi. lex 78. in his laws enacted for the Weſt-Saxons, only ſtiles them Engliſhmen. If an Engliſhman, ſays he, commits theft.—Again, If a Welſh ſlave ſhall kill an Engliſhman.—Is it not plain that unleſs this name had been common to the three nations, Ina would not have called his ſubjects Engliſhmen, but Saxons? In ſhort, it is not at all ſtrange that immediately after founding the ſeven kigdoms, the Anglo-Saxons ſhould term their conqueſt England, ſince the Angles were in poſſeſſion of a larger and more conſiderable tract of land than both the Saxons and Jutes. But it was not natural this name ſhould be introduced in the reign of Egbert, when the three kingdoms of the Angles were gone to decay, and the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons in a flouriſhing ſtate.

The death of Egbert. 838. Sax. Ann. Egbert died in 838 [h], after he had reigned thirty-ſeven years, twenty years as king of Weſſex only, ſeven years with the dignity of monarch, and ten years as real ſovereign of all England. Redburg his ſpouſe had never aſſumed the title and port of a queen, becauſe of the law made in Weſſex, on

J. Beaver. account of the death of Brithric. She is ſaid to have perſuaded the king to forbid the Welſh, on pain of death, to come beyond Offa's Dike, the boundary of Mercia and Wales.

Egbert left but one ſon, named Ethelwulph, who ſucceeded him both as king of Weſſex, Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex,

h Some place his death in 836 or 837. Rapin. He was buried at Wincheſter. Malmsb. p. 37 Brompt.

and

and as ſovereign of the other three kingdoms. Egbert had doubtleſs another ſon, ſince this was deſigned for the church. A modern author gives the name of Ethelbert to Egbert's eldeſt ſon; but I know not whence he had his information. Some ſay he had alſo a daughter called Edgith, who founded the abbey of Polleſworth [i], but this is uncertain. Rudb. Hiſt. Mon. Winceſt. Tyrrel. J. Tinmuth.

By all that has been ſaid of Egbert, it is eaſy to ſee this prince had all the qualifications of a great warrior. He accompliſhed his ends, not by ſuch methods as Hengiſt and Offa had taken, but by way of arms, which though no leſs criminal, tarniſhes not the reputation of thoſe that make uſe of it, eſpecially when crowned with ſucceſs. It is a ſad thing that ambition, by which princes are led to invade the property of others, ſhould paſs in the world for a virtue, and that a hiſtorian, by reaſon of mens depraved notions, ſhould not dare to repreſent it in its true colours, ſince, generally ſpeaking, they are your ambitious princes that are honoured with the ſirname of Great.

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2. ETHELWULPH.

ETHELWULPH, Egbert's only ſon, came to the crown after his father's death. Some ſay he was forced to have a diſpenſation from the pope, becauſe he was in holy orders. But it is not very likely, that after the death of his elder brother, Egbert would ſuffer him to be bred a church-man, ſince he had no other ſon to ſucceed him [a]. ETHELWULPH, 2d king of England. 838. Sax. Annal. H. Hunting. lib. v.

Ethelwulph was hardly warm in his throne, when a fleet of Danes appeared near Southampton. After they had hovered up and down for ſome time, they landed and ravaged the flat country. Ethelwulph, a lover of peace and his eaſe, ſent Wulfherd his general againſt them, who beat them back to their ſhips. But the king had not reaſon long to rejoice at this victory. Before his army returned, news was brought him that more Daniſh forces, having landed at Portland, were plundering and deſtroying the country. Tho' he had no cauſe to be diſpleaſed with Wulfherd [b], he ſent The Danes land at Southampton. Sax. Ann. H. Hunt. lib. iii.

i In Warwickſhire.

a Brompton and Huntingdon ſay, that he had been conſecrated biſhop of Winchester; but upon his father's death, other heirs failing, he took upon him the reins of the government, p. 802, 348.

b Wulfherd was probably then dead; for he died in 837, according to the Saxon Annals, which place Egbert's death in 836.

earl Ethelhelm to command the army, who was ſhamefully beaten and put to flight [c]. Herbert the ſucceeding general, was ſtill more unfortunate, for he was not only vanquiſhed, but loſt his life in the battle. Theſe two victories gave the Danes opportunity to over-run ſeveral counties, particularly Kent and Middleſex [d]. Canterbury, Rocheſter, and London were great ſufferers on this occaſion, the enemy committing unheard-of cruelties before they returned to their ſhips.

839. Some make Witglaph, king of Mercia, die this year, 839. Others place his death two years ſooner, in 837. But this difference is of little moment, this prince making but a very mean figure after he became vaſſal to the king of Weſſex [e]. Berthulph, his brother ſucceeded him.

Berthulph king of Mercia.

840. The next year Ethelwulph, not at all ſatisfied with his two laſt generals, was reſolved to go in perſon againſt a body of Danes, that were arrived in thirty-five ſhips, and landed on the coaſt of Weſſex. The two armies engaging at Charmouth, the Engliſh were worſted, and thought themſelves happy, that the enemy, after their victory, were contented with carrying off their booty, the only end of theſe Daniſh expeditions.

Aſſer, Ang. Huntingd.

Deſtruction of the Picts.

This year (or as ſome ſay the year before) was very remarkable for the entire deſtruction of the Picts. After a long war with the Scots their neighbours, they loſt two ſucceſſive battles, which diſabled them from making any farther reſiſtance. Keneth II. king of Scotland, exaſperated againſt them for having ſlain his father, and inhumanly mangling his corpſe, told the Scots, they ought not to loſe the preſent opportunity of rooting out a nation that had been their perpetual enemies. His advice was approved of, and executed with ſuch a barbarous fury, that from that time nothing remains but the bare memory of that miſerable nation, which had ſo long flouriſhed in Great Britain. It is chiefly owing to his extirpating the Picts, that Keneth II. was looked upon by the Scots as an illuſtrious prince, and one of the founders of their monarchy.

Buchan. Boeth. Hollinſhed.

Ethelwulph reſigns part of his dominions to his natural ſon.

The Danes continuing their incurſions, Ethelwulph, who was naturally indolent, thought himſelf unable to govern alone all his dominions, expoſed as they were to the perpetual inſults of foreigners. This conſideration, and perhaps ten-

c In this battle earl Ethelhelm was ſlain. Sax. Annal. H. Huntingd. p. 307.

d They killed abundance of people in Lindſey, Eaſt Anglia, and Kent. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 347.

e He was buried at Rependune, or Repton in Derbyſhire. Flor. Wigorn.

der

der affection for Athelſtan his natural ſon [f], made him reſolve to reſign to him the kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex [g], with the title of king of Kent, reſerving to himſelf the ſovereignty of all England, with the kingdom of Weſſex.

ETHELWULPH, in Weſſex. ATHELSTAN, in Kent.

Andred, king of Northumberland, died in 841, and was ſucceeded by Ethelred, his ſon.

Roderic, ſirnamed Mawr, i. e. the Great, was then king of Wales. This prince, to whom the Britiſh hiſtorians give the higheſt commendations, attacked Berthulph, king of Mercia, with great ſucceſs. As little inclined to war as Ethelwulph was, he was obliged to march in perſon into Mercia, to ſtop the progreſs of the Welſh prince. He eaſily ſaw the dangerous conſequence of ſuffering the Welſh to recover any part of the country taken from them by the Engliſh: and therefore without ſtaying to be ſollicited, he went and joined forces with the king of Mercia. Whilſt Roderic had to deal with Berthulph alone, he imagined he was powerful enough to diſpoſſeſs, him, if not of the whole, yet at leaſt of good part of his kingdom. But when he found Ethelwulph engaged in the quarrel, he deſiſted from his enterprize, and ſued for peace, which he obtained without any difficulty, both the ſovereign and his vaſſal deſiring only to live in peace and quiet. Roderic left three ſons, among whom he ſhared his dominions, which by that means were divided into the three kingdoms of Venedotia, Demetia, and Powis. 841. Ethelred king of Northumberland. S. Dunelm. M. Weſtm. Ann. Sax.

Ethelred, who aſcended the throne of Northumberland in 841, was driven out of the country three years after, by one of the factions that for a long time prevailed by turns in that kingdom, and Redowald put in his place. The new king being ſlain ſhortly after by the Danes, in a deſcent made on Northumberland, Ethelred was recalled by his party, who were now become powerful enough to ſupport him in the throne. Ethelred king of Northumberland expelled and reſtored. M. Weſt.

The Danes never failed to viſit England once a year, purely for the ſake of plunder. In 845, the earls Enulph and 845.

f The Saxon Annals, W. Malmſbury, and Ethelwerd, call him only the ſon of Athelwulph, p. 37, and 841. Chron. de Mailros ſtyles him Ethelwulph's brother, p 37. and M. Weſtm. ſays, that he was his natural ſon, p. 301. So little agreement is there between the ancient hiſtorians in this and other matters.

g Together with Surry. Sax. Ann.

The Danes defeated. Sax. Ann. Fl. Wig.

Oſric, with biſhop Alſtan, gave them battle near the river Parret [h] and obtained a ſignal victory, which probably was the reaſon the Engliſh remained unmoleſted for ſome years.

Oſbert king of Northumb.

The king of Northumberland reigned but three years after his reſtoration. The oppoſite party having put him to death,

848. Fl. Wigorn. S. Dunelm.

a lord, named Oſbert, was placed on the throne. The troubles and diviſions in that kingdom, gave the Danes opportunity of making frequent incurſions. Whenever they came, they were ſure of being welcome to the weakeſt party: neither of the factions ſcrupling to join with the Danes in order to be ſuperior.

851. The Danes land in Weſſex, and are defeated. Sax. Ann.

Whilſt the Danes were thus employed in the north, the ſouthern provinces enjoyed ſome tranquillity. But at length, in 851, they landed on the coaſt of Weſſex, where they committed unſpeakable cruelties. After ravaging the country, they were met, as they were returning to their ſhips, with their booty, by earl Ceorle, Ethelwulph's general [i], who waited for them at Wenbury [k]: being encumbered with their ſpoils, they fought in ſuch diſorder, that they were entirely routed. Some time after king Athelſtan going on board his fleet, fought the Danes near Sandwich, and took nine of their ſhips. He could not however prevent another band from wintering in the iſland of Shepey.

Aſſer. Vit. Alf.

852. Another deſcent of the Danes. Aſſer. Huntingd.

The ill ſucceſs of the Danes did not in the leaſt diſcourage them. The next ſpring they came up the Thames with three hundred ſail, and nothing being able to oppoſe them, landed near London, where they began their uſual ravages. The two kings not expecting this ſudden invaſion, did not dare to take the field till they had an army capable of withſtanding them, which they endeavoured to raiſe with all poſſible expedition.

Whilſt the two princes were making preparations, the Danes made uſe of their time to plunder. They were not content with ravaging the country, but attacked the towns, which, for the moſt part, being unable to reſiſt, were forced to open their gates to their enemies. London and Canterbury were great ſufferers on this occaſion. Having pillaged theſe two cites, they marched into Mercia, and overthrew an army led againſt them by Berthulph, in defence of his country. Nothing more oppoſing their progreſs, they would have over-run all England, if the news that Ethelwulph and

h In Somerſetſhire.

i He was earl of Danmonium, or Devonſhire. Sax. Ann. Aſſer. S. Dunelm. Dugdale's Baron. vol. i.

k In Devonſhire, not far from Plymouth. It is called in Saxon, Wicganbeorche. See Sax. Annal. and Camden.

Athelſtan

Athelſtan deſigned to intercept them in their return, had not made them halt. They repaſſed the Thames, with deſign to give the two kings battle, now encamped at Okely in Surrey. They committed in their march ſuch barbarities, that the very mention of them would ſtrike one with horror. In ſhort, they engaged the two kings in the very place where they had encamped in expectation of the enemy. Here a bloody battle was fought, wherein the Engliſh at length were victorious, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter of the Danes, that very few eſcaped.

Battle of Okely. Flor. Wig. H. Hunting. lib. v.

Berthulph, king of Mercia, died this year, and was ſucceeded by Buthred, with the conſent of Ethelwulph, whoſe daughter he had married.

Buthred king of Mercia. Sax. Ann. H. Hunting. Fl. Wig.

After the batle of Okely, we hear no more of Athelſtan, and therefore preſume he did not long ſurvive that great victory, to which his valour greatly contributed. Although Ethelwulph had ſeveral ſons born in wedlock, that were old enough to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of affairs, yet he would not give Ethelbald, his eldeſt, Athelſtan's kingdom. Beſides his having no great affection for him, he dreaded his reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit. The young prince, who thought himſelf no leſs worthy of a crown than Athelſtan, his baſtard-brother, was very much diſguſted at this pretended injuſtice.

Athelſtan's death. G. Malmsb. lib. i. cap. 2.

ETHELWULPH, alone.

Ethelwulph was extremely addicted to religion, both by temper and education. He would willingly, if permitted, have ſpent whole days together in converſation with the monks, whilſt the Danes were ranſacking his kingdom in a mercileſs manner. The victory of Okely procuring him ſome reſpite from theſe formidable enemies, he was at liberty to follow his natural inclination. He had two favourites who equally ſhared his affection and confidence: they were both biſhops, but of very different characters, the firſt named Swithin, biſhop of Wincheſter, was continually entertaining the king upon the vanity of all worldly glory, and the joys of heaven. The ſecond, called Alſtan, biſhop of Sherborn, was not at all pleaſed with the king's giving himſelf up wholly to his devotions. He could have wiſhed he would have exerted himſelf more vigorouſly in repulſing the Danes, and employed his time in making preparations againſt their next return. To that end he never ceaſed animating him, by laying before him the glorious deeds of his anceſtors, particularly thoſe of his father Egbert, in which he was moſt nearly

Character of Ethelwulph and his two favourites.

H. Hunting. Malm. lib. ii. cap. 2. et de Pontif.

nearly concerned. He was not ſatisfied with exciting him by lively exhortations, but furniſhed him alſo with money to haſten his warlike preparations.

Theſe two prelates bore an abſolute ſway over the king, who was naturally of a ſlothful and indolent temper: the one had the aſcendant in peace, the other in war. Alſtan kept his ground a long while, by reaſon of the frequent invaſions of the Danes, which robbed the king of great part of the time he would have employed in his devotions. But as ſoon as he found he was likely to enjoy ſome quiet, he was entirely guided by the biſhop of Wincheſter. This prelate taking advantage of the king's religious diſpoſition, ſo engroſſed him to himſelf, that Alſtan, whoſe advice was not ſo conformable to the king's inclinations, found his credit by degrees to diminiſh. Swithin, who now ruled the king, confirmed him more and more in his natural biaſs to a religious life: above all he inſtilled into him an extreme affection for the church and clergy, wherein the main of religion was then made to conſiſt. By his advice it was, that this prince, as it is pretended, granted to the church the tithes of all his dominions[l], Hitherto the revenues of the church were not very conſiderable; but by this new grant they were increaſed to that degree, that Ethelwulph's ſucceſſors had frequent occaſion to wiſh he had left the clergy in their former ſtate. To this zeal for religion it was owing alſo that he ſent to Rome his youngeſt ſon Alfred, then about five years of age. As he was very fond of this child, he imagined, no doubt, the pope's bleſſing would be ratified in heaven, and procure him great happineſs. If we may believe certain hiſtorians, Leo IV. did not only bleſs the young prince, but gave him alſo the ceremony of the royal unction[m]. But this appears to have no foundation, unleſs it is pretended the pope knew by revelation that Alfred would one day come to the crown, though the youngeſt of four brothers. Beſides, Alfred had not the title of king till long after, when the crown was devolved to him by the death of his three elder brothers. There are ſome, who, on ſuppoſition of this ſame unction, maintain that the pope only anointed him with chriſm at the ceremony of his confirmation, which gave occaſion for

A grant of the tithes to the clergy. Ingulph. p. 17. G. Malmsb, Huntingd.

853. Alfred ſent to Rome. Fl. Wigorn. Aſſer.

Tyrrel.

l In the laws of Ina and Offa, tithes are ſettled on the clergy. But in all likelihood theſe laws were not obſerved, or perhaps Ethelwulph extended the law all over England. Rapin. This charter is at length in the State of the Church.

m The words of the hiſtorian are, "Leo — infantem ordinans unxit in "regem, et in filium adoptionis ſibi- "met accipiens confirmavit." S. Dunelm. p. 120. Aſſer. Vit. Ælfr. Sax. Huntingd. etc.

ſome

ſome to imagine that Alfred received the royal unction beforehand, becauſe he was one day to aſcend the throne of England [n].

Ethelwulph's great zeal for religion would not let him be eaſy, without the ſatisfaction of paying a viſit to the pope in perſon, and receiving his benediction. As England was then in profound peace, he reſolved upon going to Rome, and accordingly did ſo in 855 [o]. At his arrival, Leo gave him an honourable reception, and in return met with all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion that could be expected from ſo devout a prince. During his ſtay at Rome, he diligentiy viſited the churches, chapels, holy relics, and every thing capable of feeding his devotion. The Engliſh college, founded by Ina, and enlarged by Offa, having been burnt down [the year before] he cauſed it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner than before; and deſiring to endow the college with greater revenues than his predeceſſors had done, extended the tax of Peter-pence all over his dominions, which till then had been levied only in Weſſex and Mercia. He obliged himſelf moreover to ſend to Rome yearly the ſum of three hundred mancus's [or marks] [p], two hundred whereof were to be expended in wax-tapers for the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the remaining hundred for the pope's private uſe. Theſe were the liberalities that gave occaſion to certain hiſtorians to aſſert, that Ethelwulph made his kingdom tributary to the holy ſee. But what wrong uſes ſoever might be made of them in time, it is certain they were no more originally than charitable donations to the churches and Engliſh college.

853. He goes himſelf to Rome. Aſſer. S. Dunelm. G. Malm.

Peter-pence extended over all England. Brompton. G. Malm.

Sigonius de Reg. Ital.

Ethelwulph having ſatisfied his devotion and curioſity by a twelve month's ſtay at Rome, returned home through France, where he married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, a young princeſs of twelve years of age [q]. This unſuitable as well as unſeaſonable match, he having already ſeveral chil-

He marries Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. Sax. Ann. G. Malm.

n This ſame year, 853, earl Alcher with the inhabitants of Kent, and earl Huda with thoſe of Surry, fought with an army of Danes in the Iſle of Thanet; the Engliſh got at firſt ſome advantage, but great numbers were killed and drowned on both ſides; and the two Engliſh generals at length loſt their lives. Sax. Annal. Aſſer. S. Dunelm. p. 120. Huntingd. p. 348. The next year they wintered, for the firſt time, in the Iſle of Shepey. Sax, Annal.

o Carrying his ſon Alfred along with him. Aſſer Vit. Alfr. p. 2

p John Brompton is miſtaken in calling them three hundred talents, p. 82. Rapin.

q This does not appear from our Engliſh hiſtorians. R. Higden ſays, that he married her in the twelfth year of his reign, p. 253. Ethelwulph's firſt wife was Oſburga, the daughter of Oſlac his cup-bearer, who was deſcended from Stuff and Withgar. Aſſer. Vit. Alfr. p. 1.

dren,

dren, was made another pretence for the conſpiracy forming againſt him in England.

Whilſt Ethelwulph was employed at Rome in Acts of devotion, Alſtan, biſhop of Sherborn, formerly his favourite, but, ſince the loſs of his credit, his enemy, took advantage of his abſence to ſeduce Ethelbald, his eldeſt ſon, by way of revenge. This young prince being of an evil diſpoſition, was already very angry with his father for not inveſting him with the kingdom of Kent after Athelſtan's death; and therefore very readily cloſed with Alſtan's pernicious counſels. The prelate repreſented to him, that Ethelwulph lived more like a monk than a king; and by his negligence would, it was to be feared, expoſe his kingdom to dangers and ruin; that ſince he delighted ſo much in converſing with the monks, it was fit he ſhould paſs the reſidue of his days in a monaſtery, and leave his kingdom to a ſon, more capable than himſelf of governing it. The young prince, burning with deſire and impatience to enjoy the crown, was ſhaken with this diſcourſe. As his heart was not ſound, there was no need of repeating it often in order to gain him. The news of Ethelwulph's marriage coming at that very time, put the finiſhing ſtroke to the matter. He thought he had reaſon to fear that, if there ſhould be any children by this ſecond marriage, they would be able to diſpute with him the ſucceſſion to the crown, by help of the king of France. Theſe conſiderations moved him to cabal with the nobles how to prevent the king's return. Alſtan, author of the plot, did all that lay in his power to gain the nobles and people to the prince's intereſt, and it was not long before he formed a powerful party in his favour. Ethelwulph, informed of theſe proceedings, immediately left France, and arrived in England, before his ſon had taken all neceſſary meaſures to hinder his landing. However, Ethelbald purſued his deſign, and openly declared his intent to dethrone his father. As Ethelwulph had dignified his new wife with the title of Queen, in conſideration of her illuſtrious birth, Ethelbald made uſe of that pretence to give ſome colour to his revolt. He alledged, that by the expreſs terms of the law made upon the account of Brithric's murder, the Weſt-Saxons were abſolved from their oath of allegiance to the king. All things now tended to a civil war, which could not but prove fatal to England, ſince, beſides other miſchief, it would undoubtedly bring on freſh invaſions from the Danes. But ſome of the wiſeſt of the nobility of both parties, foreſeeing the calamities that might enſue, by their mediation endeavoured to bring matters to an accommodation

Ethelbald conſpires againſt his father. Aſſer vitt. Ælfr. G. Malm. lib. ii. c. 2.

The king returns.

Ethelbald purſues his revolt. Selden, Titles of Honour, cap. vi. p. 83. G. Malm. lib. ii. c. 2.

commodation. Though right and juſtice were entirely on the king's ſide, yet he conſented to peaceable meaſures. But as he was old and eaſy-natured, and his ſon highly threatned his oppoſers, the balance very much inclined to Ethelbald's ſide. By the treaty, which was managed by the umpires, Ethelwulph was obliged to reſign to his ſon the ancient kingdom of Weſſex, and to ſit down contented with that of Kent for himſelf, under which were compriſed alſo Eſſex and Suſſex. Some of his courtiers adviſed him not to ſign ſo partial and unequal a treaty; but he would not hearken to them. He told them, he did not ſet ſo high a value on the dominions allotted to his ſon, as to purchaſe them at the price of a civil war; and though it might be in his power to recover them, yet his death would ſoon put his ſon in poſſeſſion again.

ETHELWULPH in Kent. ETHELBALD in Weſſex.

Ethelbald's character.

One would think Ethelwulph foreſaw his death, ſince he out-lived this partition but two years, which he ſpent in a manner worthy of a chriſtian prince, in doing acts of charity, adminiſtring juſtice to his ſubjects, and endeavouring, by the force of his example, to induce them to lead lives conformable to the precepts of the goſpel. Ethelbald, on the contrary, depending upon many years to come, thought only of ſpending his days in licentiouſneſs and debauchery.

Edmund king of Eaſt-Angla. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig. J. Tinmouth in Sanctis.

The Saxon Annals tell us, that about this time, Edmund a youth of fifteen years of age, was crowned king of Eaſt-Anglia. He was ſon to Alcmund, a prince of the royal blood, who fled into Germany when Offa ſeized upon Eaſt-Anglia. It is not ſaid whether this was done with the conſent of Ethelwulph and thelbald, or Ewhether taking advantage of the diſſenſion between the father and ſon, the Eaſt-Angles reſolved to have a king of their own. Edmund was guided, during his youth, by the advice of biſhop Humbert, who took care to form him to a virtuous life, and inſtil into him ſentiments of juſtice and equity, of which his ſubjects reaped the benefit. I paſs over in ſilence all the miracles that are ſaid to attend his birth, and ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of his tragical end, honoured with the name of martyrdom.

Ethelwulph's laſt will. Aſſer. vit. Ælfr.

Ethelwulph, finding death approaching, made his will [r], wherein he diſpoſed of his dominions to Ethelbert his ſecond

r Hereditariam, immo commendatoriam, ſcribere imperavit epiſtolam—— Aſſer. vit. Alf. p. 4.

ſon,

ſon, and after his deceaſe to Ethelred his third ſon, and after him to Alfred his youngeſt. I am not ſure, whether it was cuſtomary then for the kings to diſpoſe of their dominions by will, or whether Ethelwulph was the firſt that did ſo. However this be, it is certain Ethelwulph's ſons ſucceeded one another by virtue of this will. Wherein he alſo ordered his heirs to maintain one poor perſon for every tithing in his hereditary lands. He died ſoon after in 857, having reigned twenty years [s], leaving behind him four ſons and one daughter, who was married to Buthred king of Mercia, and died at Pavia in 888. Ethelbald, eldeſt ſon of Ethelwulph, being already in poſſeſſinn of the kingdom of Weſſex, Ethelbert his brother had only for his ſhare Kent, Eſſex, Surrey and Suſſex, compriſed under the name of the kingdom of Kent. As for Ethelred and Alfred [t], his other ſons, they were at firſt but ill provided for; but in the end they mounted the throne alſo. Beſides Athelſtan ſpoken of before, ſome give Ethelwulph another natural ſon called Neot, who was afterwards profeſſor at Oxford. But I very much doubt whether Neot, was his ſon. It is more likely he was only his relation, of the blood-royal of Weſſex.

Malmsb. M. Weſtm.

His death. 857.

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3. ETHELBALD in Weſſex.

ETHELBERT in Kent.

Malmsb. lib. ii. cap. 3. Aſſer. Ann. Ingulph.

ETHELBALD's reign was remarkable neither for any event of moment, nor for any action of his own, worth recording. All hiſtorians agree, that he was a prince of little merit, and of an evil diſpoſition. He is ſaid by the Engliſh hiſtorians to make no ſcruple of marrying Judith of France, his father's widow. But the French writers mention not this marriage. They tell us her marriage with Ethelwulph not

s The Saxon Annals allow Ethelwulph to have reigned but eighteen years, and yet tell us his father began to reign in 800, and that he reigned thirty-ſeven years ſeven months, and that Ethelwulph died in 857. Rapin. The Saxon Annals ſay he reigned eighteen years and a half. He was buried at Wincheſter with his father Egbert, Sax. Ann. Aſſer. in the life of Alfred, ſays he was buried at Stemrugan; and in his Annals, he calls the place Steningham, which Mr. Camden takes to be Stening in Suſſex, p. 205.

t Here the Saxon Annals inform us, that when the pope heard of Ethelwulph's death, he anointed Alfred king, and preſented him to a biſhop to be confirmed, as his father, when he ſent him thither, had ordered, p. 77.

being

being conſummated by reaſon of her youth, ſhe returned to France, from whence ſhe was carried away by Baldwin Iron-hand earl of Flanders. Perhaps they knew nothing of her ſecond martiage, or, it may be, did not think proper to mention it, as reflecting on the family of Charles the Great. Be this as it will, the Engliſh hiſtorians ſpeak of it as certain. And one of them adds [u], Ethelbald was brought to a ſenſe of his fault, by Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter, and underwent a ſevere penance for it. This penance, which probably conſiſted in ſome grants or donations to the monaſteries, made an hiſtorian [w] ſay, his death, which happened in 860, was much lamented. He had reigned two years in Weſſex during his father's life, and about two years and a half after his deceaſe. Ethelbert his brother, already in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Kent, ſucceeding to Weſſex by virtue of their father's will, re-united the two kingdoms.

He dies in 860.

ETHELBRT alone.

The Danes, having left England for ſome years unmoleſted, immediately after Ethelbert's coronation renewed their invaſions. As they had not been heard of for ſome time, they were almoſt forgotten, and conſequently no preparations were made to repulſe their attacks. This neglect gave them great advantages, and helped them to penetrate as far as Wincheſter, the metropolis of Weſſex, which they reduced to aſhes. They would have proceeded to much greater miſchiefs, had not Oſric and Ethelwulph, two Weſt-Saxon earls, with ſome troops drawn together in haſte, beat them back to their ſhips.

The Danes return to England. Sax. Ann.

They burn Wincheſter.

They are repulſed.

Another time they came in autumn, and landed in the iſle of Thanet, where they wintered, in order to begin their incurſions in the ſpring. Ethelbert, very uneaſy at their being ſo near him, but not knowing how to help it, offered them a ſum of money to go off quietly [x]. They accepted of his offer; but when they had received the money, they ruſhed into Kent, and deſtroyed all [y] with fire and ſword, Ethelbert not being in condition to be revenged of them. However, having learnt by this treachery, that nothing but force could free him from his enemies, he ſet about levying an army, to

Another deſcent.

Ethelbert gives them money to go off, which they take, and fall to plundering. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Huntingd.

u Thomas Rudbourne in his hiſtory of Wincheſter---M. and alſo Matthew of Weſtminſter. But Aſſer, who lived in thoſe days, ſays no ſuch thing.

w Huntingdon, who tells us he was buried at Sherborn. See Sax. Ann. Malmsb. p. 42.

x The Sax. Ann. ſay, it was the Kentiſh men that offered them money, and made a peace with them.

y All the eaſtern part of Kent. Sax. Ann.

inter-

intercept them in their retreat, and prevent them from carrying off their booty. The dread of theſe preparations made them embark with their plunder ſo haſtily, that it was not poſſible to hinder them.

He dies in 866.

Ethelbert's reign, which laſted but ſix years, affords little matter for hiſtory. He died in 866 [z], leaving two ſons, Adhelm and Ethelward, who did not ſucceed him, his younger brother Ethelred aſcending the throne by virtue of Ethelwulph's will.

5. ETHELRED. I.

THE reign of Ethelred was ſhort and troubleſome. From his coronation to his death, he had one continued conflict with the Danes. They began with attacking Northumberland, which at length they became maſters of. They proceeded next to Eaſt-Anglia, which they alſo ſubdued. And after extorting money from the Mercians, they entered Weſſex. Notwithſtanding the valour of Ethelred, and the many battles he fought, he had the vexation at his death to leave them in the heart of his kingdom, and in condition of ſoon compleating the conqueſt of the whole. Theſe are the principal event during this reign, the moſt remarkable circumſtances whereof I am going to relate.

Malmſb. lib. ii. cap. 3.

The authority reſerved by Egbert over the kingdoms of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, and enjoyed alſo by his ſon Ethelwulph, was now much weakened by reaſon of the frequent invaſions of the Danes. Whilſt the kings of Weſſex were employed in the defence of their own dominions, it was hardly poſſible for them to think of improving their ſovereignty over the three kingdoms of the Angles, to whom Egbert was willing to leave a ſhadow of liberty. And therefore, by degrees, the Northumbrians, as moſt remote from Weſſex, had freed themſelves from ſervitude. The factions that had long reigned among them were grown cooler, and ſo far agreed at laſt, as with unanimous conſent to place Oſbert on the throne. This happy union would have reſtored Northumberland to its ancient ſplendor, if an unexpected accident had not revived their diſſentions, and plunged the

The Northumbrians ſhake off the yoke of the king of Weſſex.

Freſh troubles there, which draw the Danes thither.

z And was buried at Sherborn. Malmsb. p. 42.

coun-

country into a gulph of remedileſs miſery. The occaſion of theſe new troubles, which proved not only deſtructive of Northumberland, but fatal to all England, was this [a].

The cauſe of theſe troubles.

Oſbert, who kept his court at York, returning one day from hunting, had a mind to refreſh himſelf at the houſe of a certain earl named Bruern-Bocard, guardian of the coaſts againſt the irruptions of the Danes. The earl happening to be from home, his lady, to whoſe charming beauty was joined the moſt engaging behaviour, entertained her ſovereign with the reſpect due to his quality. Oſbert, raviſhed at the ſight of ſo much beauty, became in an inſtant deſperately in love with her, and reſolved, let the conſequence be what it would, to gratify his paſſion without delay. Accordingly, on pretence of having ſome matters of importance to communicate to her, in the abſence of the earl, he led her into a private room, where after ſeveral attempts to bring her to comply by fair means, he fell at length to downright force. Entreaties, tears, cries, reproaches, were ineffectual to put a ſtop to his raging paſſions. After the commiſſion of this infamous deed, he left the counteſs in that exceſs of grief and vexation, that it was not poſſible for her to hide the cauſe from her huſband. So outrageous an affront is hardly ever forgiven. Though Oſbert was king, and earl Bruern his ſubject, he reſented ſo highly this injury, that he reſolved at any rate to be revenged. He had a great intereſt with the Northumbrians, and the baſe action of Oſbert was naturally apt to alienate the minds of his ſubjects from him. Accordingly, by the management of the

[a] Tho' Rapin, as the moſt probable opinion, makes Osbert's raviſhing earl Bruern's lady the occaſion of the Danes coming to Northumberland, there is alſo another reaſon given of that, and the barbarous murder of Edmund. The ſtory goes, that Lodebroch king of Denmark going a hawking in a boat, was driven out at ſea by a ſtorm, and caſt upon the Engliſh coaſt near Yarmouth. He was ſeized and brought to Edmund's court, then king of Eaſt-Anglia, who finding him a great ſportſman, was pleaſed with his company. Bern, the king's faulconer, perceiving himſelf outdone in his own buſineſs by this ſtranger, drew him into a wood, on pretence of ſhowing him game, and barbarouſly murdered him. Lodebroch's dog, almoſt ſtarved, comes to the palace, and being fed, goes away again. The dog doing this ſeveral times, made the king's ſervants follow him, and thus were brought to a ſight of the corpſe. Bern was tried for the murder, and being found guilty, was condemned to be put into Lodebroch's boat, and committed to the mercy of the ſea, without tackling or proviſion. He had the good fortune to be carried to the Daniſh ſhore. The boat being known, Bern was apprehended and examined about Lodebroch. He told them, that being caſt on the coaſt of Eaſt-Anglia, he was put to death by king Edmund's order. Upon which, Ivar and Hubba, Lodebroch's ſons, ſailed for Eaſt-Anglia, with a numerous army, but were forced by bad weather into Northumberland. Brompton. M. Weſt. Ingulph only ſays, that they ſlew him upon account of the faith of Chriſt, and for his ſtanding up in the defence of his country, p. 24.

Ella chosen king of Bernicia. Sax. Ann.

earl, the Bernicians in a little time revolted; and looking upon Osbert as unworthy to govern them, elected another king named Ella, whom they placed on the throne, with resolution to support him in it. Thus the old divisions, which seemed to be quite extinguished, were kindled afresh; and Northumberland once more divided between two kings and two factions, who continually aiming at each other's destruction, were but too successful in their endeavours.

A civil war was the fatal consequence of this discord. The two kings frequently strove to decide their quarrel by arms; but the equality of their forces preventing the scale from inclining to either side, they both maintained themselves in the throne. The injured earl, one would think, should have been satisfied with Osbert's losing half his dominions. But his revenge seemed to him incomplete, whilst he saw him on the throne of Deira. Mean while, deeming it very difficult to carry it any farther, without a foreign aid, he fatally resolved to go and procure the assistance of the Danes. This was not the first time the like injury had produced the like effect. Spain, under the dominion of the Moors, felt at that very time the mischiefs an affair of this nature had occasioned.

Earl Bruern brings the Danes into England.

As soon as the earl arrived in Denmark, he immediately applied to king Ivar [or Hinguar] [b], and giving him a particular account of the distracted state of Northumberland, intimated to him, that if he would improve the present juncture, he might with ease become master of the kingdom. Ivar very readily came into an enterprize, to which he was prompted by the desire of revenge as well as ambition. Regnerus, his father, having been taken prisoner in England, was thrown into a ditch full of serpents, where he miserably perished. So barbarous a treatment having inspired Iva with a furious hatred against the English, he embraced, without hesitation, the present opportunity of being revenged. With this view he concerted with earl Bruern all the necessary measures to execute their design. In the spring he entered the Humber with a numerous fleet, which spread a terror over all England. He was conducted by Bruern, and attended by his brother Hubba, the most valiant person of his time. As the Northumbrians had received no intelligence of this invasion, they were in no readiness to dispute his landing. So Ivar, without any difficulty, became master of the northern side of

Ivar makes a descent on Northumberland. S. Dunelm.

[b] Pontanus, in his history of Denmark, places not Ivar among the kings of that country: but Meursius assures us, that this prince was crowned in 836, wherein he agrees not in his chronology with the English historians. Rapin.

the

the Humber [c], from whence he marched directly [d] to York, where Osbert was preparing an army to oppose him.

In this great extremity Osbert applied to Ella, though his enemy, for assistance. Ella, conscious of his cruel treatment of Iva's father, and dreading the son's revenge, very willingly agreed to suspend their private quarrel, and join their forces against the common enemy. Accordingly, he proceeded with all possible expedition to bring him a powerful reinforcement. If Osbert could have resolved to stay in York till Ella's arrival, who was upon the march, he would doubtless have embarrassed the king of Denmark, who by that means would have been forced to oppose the enemy in two places at once. But his great courage would not suffer him to take so good a resolution. Perhaps it was with regret that he saw himself constrained to have recourse to his enemy, or it may be, was afraid of some treachery. However this be, without expecting Ella's approach, he sallied out of York, and attacked the Danes so vigorously, that they could hardly stand the shock, and were very near being put into disorder. But their obstinate resistance having at length cooled the ardour of their enemies, they pressed them in their turn, and compelled them at last to retire in confusion into the town [e]. Osbert inraged to see a certain victory, as he thought, snatched out of his hands, used his utmost endeavours to rally his troops, but was slain in the retreat, with abundance of his men.

Osbert applies to Ella for aid. Asser.

Malmsb. Sax. Ann.

Osbert defeated and slain.

This victory having opened the gates of York to the Danes, they entered the town to refresh themselves, whilst Ella was advancing in hopes to repair the loss occasioned by Osbert's precipitation. Ivar having just triumphed over one of the kings, and not believing the other to be more formidable, saved him some trouble, by going to meet him. This battle was no less bloody than the first, nor less fatal to the English. Ella lost his life, and his army was entirely routed. Some say, this prince was not slain in battle; but being taken prisoner, Iva ordered him to be flead alive, in revenge for his father's death. The field of battle was called Ellescrost, that is, Ella's Overthrow.

Meurfius. Hist. Dan.

Defeat and death of Ella.

c They came over the Autumn before, and wintered in East-Anglia. (Sax. Ann. Asser. vit. Alfr. S. Dunelm.) Entering into a treaty with the East-Angles, they got horses from them; which put them in a capacity to over-run the neighbouring counties. Hunting. p. 348. Sax. Ann.

d By all the accounts of the ancient historians, it appears, that in the spring of the year 867, Ivar marching from East-Anglia, passed the Humber, and ravaged all the country northwards, &c. See Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Hoved. Flor. Wig. M. Westm. &c.

e Into which the English shut themselves up; but the Danes setting that city on fire, most of the English perished in the flames. Malmsb. p. 42.

868. Ivar enters Mercia. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

After those two signal victories, Ivar, without any difficulty, took possession of all Northumberland. But this not satisfying his ambition, he marched into Mercia, plundering and ravaging without mercy, whatever came in his way. Buthred king of Mercia, having had time to prepare, had called to his assistance Ethelred his brother-in-law, who was come to join him with all the forces of Wessex. Ivar was now advanced as far as Nottingham [f], in expectation to surprize the king of Mercia; but when he was informed Ethelred had joined him, he stopped short, surprized himself to find his forces inferior to those of the English prince. The two armies stood near one another for some time, expecting every moment to engage. But the consequence of a battle, which in all appearance would determine the fate of both sides, kept them in suspence. At last, having faced one another a good while, they parted without fighting. Buthred chose rather to bribe the enemy to retire, than hazard a battle, the success whereof was doubtful. Besides, he was sensible there was nothing to be got by the Danes, though fortune should favour him, whereas all his was at stake in case of a defeat [g].

Ethelred assists the king of Mercia.

Buthred buys the Danes off with a sum of money.

Sax. Annal. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.

Ivar, from the time he arrived in England, had cruelly ravaged all the places wherever he came, particularly the monasteries, where the English endeavoured to conceal the most valuable effects. It may be easily conceived, the idolatrous Danes had no great regard for the nuns, and that multitudes of them were exposed to their brutal lusts. We have a remarkable story upon this subject: the abbess of Coldingham [h], upon the approach of the Danish army, prevailed with her nuns, to cut off their noses and upper-lips, in order to screen themselves from the outrages they were threatened with. This notable expedient, it is true, preserved their honour, but cost them their lives. The soldiers beholding, contrary to their expectations, such monstrous visages, set fire to the monastery, causing them in the flames to complete the sacrifice of their persons, which they had already begun offering to God.

M. West. Monastery of Coldingham destroyed.

870. Ivar subdues East-Anglia.

Ivar not having all the success he expected in Mercia, turned his arms another way, where in all likelihood he should meet with less opposition. He left Hubba, his brother, in

f Where the Danes took up their quarters, and winter'd; here they were besieged by the English, but neither side being very forward to come to an engagement, they struck up a peace. Sax. Ann. Asser. Ingulph. &c.

g After the conclusion of the peace, the Danes went back to York, where they remained one year. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm, p. 124.

h A famous nunnery in the county of March in Scotland.

Nor-

Northumberland, and embarking with the flower of his troops, made a deſcent on East-Anglia [i], where Edmund was king, of whom I have already ſpoken. This young prince, more uſed to acts of devotion than to the exerciſe of arms, having given the Danes battle, was eaſily overthrown, and compelled to ſave himſelf by flight. He thought of concealing himſelf in a church, but being diſcovered, was brought before Ivar at Hegilſdon [k]. The conqueror offered to leave him in poſſeſſion of his kingdom, provided he would acknowledge him for ſovereign, and pay him tribute. Edmund refuſing theſe terms, Ivar ordered him to be tied to a tree, and ſhot at with arrows, and then to have his head cut off. Humbert biſhop of the East-Angles, was alſo put to death by Ivar's order. Edmund's head being found ſome time after, was interred with his body at St. Edmund's-Bury, ſo called from him. Whilſt the Roman catholic religion flouriſhed in England, great numbers of miracles were pretended to be wrought at his tomb. I do not know by what accident his corpſe came to be at Toulouſe, where it is ſaid to have been diſcovered in 1667.

Aſſer. Annal. An. de Toul. de la Faille.

Ivar being thus maſter of East-Anglia, appointed a Daniſh captain named Godrim, or Gothurn, governor of it. Afterwards, having recalled his brother Hubba from Northumberland, to be near his perſon, he made Egbert, by birth an Engliſhman, but entirely at his devotion, king of that kingdom.

Ingulph. Brompt.

The good ſucceſs the Danes had met with, during this war, inſpiring them with hopes of becoming maſters of all England, they began to form new projects. Ivar, having perfect information of the ſtate of the iſland, found he muſt begin with Weſſex, in order to accompliſh his deſign. He was in hopes, could he once ſubdue that kingdom, the reſt would follow of courſe. On the other hand, he was ſenſible that all his conqueſts elſewhere, would be unſecure, as long

871. Ivar invades Weſſex. Sax. Ann. Aſſer. Ann.

i The Danes paſſed through Mercia, and wintered at Thetford. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. But the fulleſt account of this and other matters within this period, being given by Ingulph, it will not be improper to give an abſtract of his relation. In the ſpring of the year 869, the Daniſh army putting out to ſea, landed at Humberſton, and deſtroyed the whole country, and Bardney monaſtery in particular, killing every one of the monks. Then, about Michaelmaſs, they paſſed into Keſteven, and there deſtroyed every thing that came in their way. About a year after, earl Algar, and ſome others, aſſembled an army, and coming to an engagement with the heathens, defeated them, and ſlew three of their kings [or chiefs] but Algar himſelf was ſoon after ſlain. Whereupon the Danes continued their ravages, and plundered and burnt the monaſteries of Croyland, Peterburgh, and Ely; killing every perſon they met there. From thence paſſing into East-Anglia, they cut off, with all his forces, earl Ulfketull, who was come out againſt them, and ſo taking poſſeſſion of that kingdom, wintered there. Ingulph. p. 14—24. Brompt. p. 807.

k Now called Hoxon in Suffolk.

as the king of Weſſex was in condition to aſſiſt his neighbours. Theſe conſiderations having determined him to attack Ethelred, he embarked his troops and ſailed for the coaſt of Weſſex, where landing his army, he advanced as far as Reading. Ethelred, who had foreſeen his deſign, marched his army towards that quarter, accompanied by Alfred his brother. It would be tedious, and perhaps impracticable, to relate the particulars of this war [l]. It is ſufficient to ſay in a few words, that within the compaſs of one year, Ethelred fought nine pitch'd battles, and upon all occaſions gave ſignal proofs of his courage and conduct, though fortune did not always prove favourable. In the laſt battle, which was fought near Wittingham, he received a mortal wound, whereof he died in 872 [m], after a reign of five years [n].

Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 3. Aſſer. Ann. Sax. Ann.

872. Ethelred's death. Brompton.

Ethelred ſeems not to be entirely free from blame, for ſuffering the Danes to over-run Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, without endeavouring to ſtop their progreſs. But probably this prince, ſurprized at the defeat of the two kings of Northumberland, and the ſwift progreſs of Iva's arms, did not think himſelf in a condition to repair the misfortunes cauſed by the diſſenſions of the Northumbrians. Beſides, he did not care, doubtleſs, to expoſe in the defence of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, the forces he foreſaw he ſhould want for the preſervation of his own kingdom. It may farther be ſaid in his juſtification, that the terror, ſpread over all England, put it out of his power perhaps, to diſpoſe of his army as he could have wiſhed. This terror was ſo great, that it was no eaſy matter to prevail with the Engliſh to march againſt

l The particulars, delivered by Huntingdon and the Saxon Annals, are as follow:—The firſt battle in theſe parts, between the Engliſh and Danes, (three days after the coming of theſe) was fought at Inglefield in Berkſhire, in which the Engliſh got the victory, Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. Four days after, there was another fight at Reading, in which Ethelred and Alfred were overcome. But, four days after, they defeated the Danes at Aſton near Wallingford; and Eaſrege, the two Sidrocs, and ſeveral thouſands of Danes were then ſlain. A fortnight after, the Engliſh were beat at Baſing in Hampſhire; and again, two months after, at Marden in Wiltſhire, in which laſt battle Ethelred received his death's wound. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 43.

After the battle of Baſing, there came a freſh army of Danes from beyond ſea, and joined thoſe that were already in England. Aſſer. vit. Alfr. p. 7.

m The Sax. Ann. place his death under the year 871, after Eaſter. Neither they, nor Aſſer, Ingulph, or S. Dunelm, mention of what death he died.

n He lies buried at Winburn in Dorſetſhire, where this inſcription was formerly to be read on his tomb: "In hoc "loco quieſcit corpus S. Ethelredi regis "Weſt-Saxonum, martyris, qui anno "Domini DCCCLXXII. xxiii. Aprilis "per manus Danorum paganorum occubuit." Camb. This inſcription was taken away in the civil wars. See Spelman's life of Alfr. p. 43. note. Some call this epitaph in queſtion, and ſay he died of the plague which happened at this time.

ſo

K. ALFRED.
Mo Grave

ſo formidable enemies, till compelled to it in their own neceſſary defence.

Though Ethelred was noted for his great bravery, yet his piety is ſaid to ſurpaſs even his valour. An hiſtorian tells us, that being at prayers on a day of battle °, he reſolved not to move till the ſervice was over, though the fight was begun, and the Danes had ſome advantage. He adds, God rewarded his piety with a ſignal victory that day. Ethelred's piety. Aſſer.

Ethelred left ſeveral children, of whom Alfred, the great grandfather of Ethelwerd the hiſtorian, was one. Some ſay alſo he had a daughter called Thyra, married to Trotho VI. king of Denmark. Ethelred's ſons were deprived of the crown for the ſame reaſons the ſons of his elder brother Ethelbert were ſet aſide, I mean, Ethelwulph's will. After his death, Alfred his brother was placed on the throne, without any one's queſtioning his title.

During Ethelred's reign, the Danes demoliſhed the famous monaſteries of Croyland, Ely, Peterborough or Medeſhamſted, beſides that of Coldingham before-mentioned. It is chiefly on the deſcription of what befel the abbies that hiſtorians have enlarged, whilſt, doubtleſs, they omitted events more remarkable, and more worthy the notice of a curious reader. Several monaſteries deſtroyed. Ingulph. S. Dunelm.

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6. ALFRED the GREAT.

ALFRED was no leſs infeſted with the Danes than his predeceſſor. This prince, as well as his brother Ethelred, had frequent occaſion of exerciſing his valour, firmneſs, and all the other virtues heaven had adorned him with. Their fortune however was different; as Ethelred was never reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as Alfred, ſo on the other hand, he was never raiſed to that height of glory. Divine providence ſeems to have ſhown in the perſon of Alfred, with what eaſe God caſts down and ſets up princes, according to his good pleaſure. This is what I am going to ſhow in the life of Alfred, taking for my principal guide a celebrated hiſtorian, who has given an exact account of his actions. Alfred the Great. Spelman.

Ethelred had left the affairs of his kingdom in a deplorable condition. The Danes, already maſters of Northumberland The ſtate of the kingdom.

° The battle of Aſton juſt now mentioned. This thing is alſo mentioned by S. Dunelm, p. 125, 126. Brompt. p. 808, 809. Higden, p. 255.

often and ſo terribly laid waſte as their own. England being thus divided between the Engliſh and Danes, peace and tranquillity ſeemed to be going at laſt to be reſtored. The Danes appeared ſatisfied with their lot, and Alfred thought himſelf happy in the preſervation of his paternal dominions. But the calamities of England were far from being at an end.

Halfden arrives in Eaſt-Anglia. 875. Aſſer. H. Hunting. lib. v.

Whilſt Alfred flattered himſelf with the enjoyment of ſome quiet, new troubles were preparing for him in Denmark. Halfden, a Daniſh general, had fitted out a fleet, with which he made a deſcent on Eaſt-Anglia [x]. The ſeaſon being far advanced, he lay ſtill all the winter, expecting the ſpring in order to invade Weſſex. The arrival of Halfden, with freſh Daniſh troops, ought to have put Alfred upon his guard, ſince it was but too plain they were deſigned againſt him. However, truſting to the treaty he had lately made with the Danes, he remained unconcerned, of which Halfden did not fail to take the advantage. In the beginning of the ſpring he put to ſea, and went and took by ſurpriſe Warham-caſtle [y], the ſtrongeſt place in all Weſſex. The Engliſh hitherto ſeemed not to know what ſort of enemies they had to deal with: they conſidered the Daniſh irruptions as a regular war, wherein the whole nation was concerned. Accordingly they imagined that a treaty concluded with one band or party, was obligatory to all the reſt. But the Danes had other thoughts of theſe matters. They entered, with the conſent of their kings, into private aſſociations to man out fleets and go ſhares in what booty they could get in England and other countries. For this reaſon, the ſeveral bands were independent one of another, each thinking themſelves bound by no other treaty but what they entered into themſelves. Alfred had made an agreement with Hubba; but Halfden did not look upon himſelf as included in it. However, the Engliſh conſidering the ſurprize of Warham as a real treachery, called heaven and earth to witneſs the violation of the treaty. But

Takes Warham.

x This does not appear from the ancient hiſtorians: on the contrary they affirm, that anno 875, the Danes left Repton, and dividing themſelves into two bands, one part went along with Halfden to Northumberland, and wintered there near the Tyne; theſe plundered the Picts, and Strecledenſes, i. e. the inhabitants of Galway; and Halfden making himſelf maſter of Northumberland, divided it among his followers, who began to cultivate it. The other body of Danes, with their three generals Godrun, Oſcytel, and Anand, went and wintered at Cambridge, where they ſtaid about a twelve-month; and the next year went out privately from Cambridge, and ſeized Warham-caſtle; without any mention of Halfden's being concerned in that expedition. See Sax. Annal. Aſſer. Huntingd. p. 349. S. Dunelm. What Rapin ſays here of Halfden, Huntingdon relates it of Halfden's brother, p. 350.

y In Dorſetſhire.

Halfden,

Halfden, regardleſs of their complaints, was about to penetrate farther into Weſſex, had not Alfred prevented him by entering into a particular treaty with him [z]. The author of his Life ſays, the Danes ſwore by the holy relics of the church, that they would never ſet foot again in Weſſex [a]. In all appearance it coſt the king dear to bring them to theſe terms. It is ſomething ſtrange, that Alfred ſhould inſiſt upon mens ſwearing by the holy relics, who, being yet pagans, could not think themſelves more ſtrongly bound by this, than their uſual oath, their bracelets. Perhaps his reaſon was, that in caſe they ſhould break their oath, he thought heaven would the more aſſuredly puniſh them for it. However this be, they made no more conſcience of this than of their former oaths, but broke it even before they were out of Weſſex. As they were marching towards Mercia, they met a body of Engliſh horſe who were riding in a careleſs manner, by reaſon of the treaty's being concluded, and unexpectedly ſetting upon them, ſlew the greateſt part of them. The horſes they took were of ſervice to carry them with the more ſpeed towards the weſtern parts of Weſſex, where they laid ſiege to Exeter [b].

Alfred treats with Halfden; Aſſer. S. Dunelm. H. Hunting.

who breaks the treaty.

Aſſer. Fl. Wigorn.

and beſieges Exeter.

Alfred finding it was in vain to conclude treaties with ſuch perfidious people, reſolved to take more effectual meaſures to ſecure himſelf from their treachery. To this purpoſe he convened a general aſſembly, and in a pathetic ſpeech plainly ſhowed them they had nothing to truſt to but their valour and courage to deliver them from their miſeries; that upon ſo urgent an occaſion there was a neceſſity of venturing their lives in defence of their country, and of ſacrificing part of their eſtates to preſerve the reſt: in fine, that a generous reſolution was the only means left to avoid the calamities their neighbours were fallen under. Theſe remonſtrances having produced the deſired effect, an army was levied, with which he engaged the enemy ſeven times in one campaign. But as

876. The war is renewed.

z Aſſer and Huntingdon ſay, this treaty was made with the Daniſh army, Vit. Alfr. p. 8. Huntingd. p. 350. and the Sax. Annal. that it was with the heathens, without the leaſt mention of Halfden.

a The moſt ſolemn manner of ſwearing among the Danes, and other northern nations, was, "By their arms" Olaus Mag. lib. viii cap. 2.

b Hunting. and the Sax. Ann. tell us, that they who had horſes, breaking the treaty, rode to Exeter in the night; by which it ſeems probable it was only the Daniſh cavalry that went and ſeized Exeter, where they wintered. The next year, part of the foot that remained at Warham, marched to Exeter, and were purſued by Alfred, but got into Exeter before he could come up to them; the other part going by ſea, were ſhipwrecked near Swanwick in Hampſhire, and a hundred and twenty of their ſhips loſt. Huntingd. p. 350. Aſſer. Vit. Alfr.

fortune

Alfred makes a new treaty with the Danes. Sax. Ann. Aſſer.

fortune was not equally favourable to him in all theſe engagements, he was once more conſtrained to treat with the Danes. Though he could not rely upon their promiſes, it was the beſt way he could take to end this dangerous war. The new treaty, by which the Danes were obliged to return no more into Weſſex, was better kept than the former.

Rollo arrives in England. 876. Aſſer. Ann.

The Weſt-Saxons looked upon the retreat of theſe formidable enemies as a great deliverance. But they were not yet at the end of their miſeries: this band, that had ſtruck them with ſuch terror, were ſcarce gone, when a new ſwarm arrived under the command of Rollo, the famous Norman general, that became afterwards the ſcourge of France. By good fortune, Alfred was prepaired to receive them. After ſome attempts, Rollo deſpairing of procuring a ſettlement in England, reſolved to ſeek one in France. In all probability, finding the beſt part of England in poſſeſſion of his countrymen, and Alfred ready to diſpute the reſt with him, he imagined he had a better proſpect in France. Some affirm, it was revealed to him in a dream, what great ſucceſs he ſhould meet with on the other ſide of the water.

Goes to ſeek his fortune in France.

Alfred fits out a fleet.

After Rollo's departure, Alfred enjoyed ſome repoſe, which afforded him leiſure to think of means to prevent theſe frequent invaſions. He found no better or readier way than to equip a good fleet, and engage the Danes before they came to land, where they generally had the advantage. As hitherto, the engaging them at ſea had not been thought of; their ſhips were only fit for tranſports, whereas thoſe, now built by Alfred, were contrived on purpoſe for ſervice. It was not long before he reaped the fruit of this wiſe precaution: his fleet meeting with ſix Daniſh veſſels, gave chace to them, and one of the largeſt being taken, the ſoldiers and mariners were thrown overboard. This firſt engagement was followed by one much more conſiderable. An hundred and twenty ſail of Daniſh tranſport-ſhips making to the ſhore, in order to land their men, the king's fleet attacked them, and ſunk the greateſt part of them. The next year another Daniſh fleet ſailing weſtward, met with ſo violent a ſtorm, that all the fleet periſhed, except a few which fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

Aſſer.

Sax. Ann. Aſſer.

The Danes quit Weſſex. Sax. Annal.

Alfred, encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, reſolved to attack the Danes in the weſt, where they had fortified themſelves by the taking of Exeter. Beſides, the Corniſh men had all along ſided with them. He executed this reſolution with that courage and ſucceſs, that in the end he obliged the Danes to give him hoſtages, and entirely abandon Weſſex. They retired

tired into Mercia, where being weary with leading such unsettled lives, they were incorporated with their countrymen, who were in poſſeſſion of that kingdom. After that, they depoſed, with one conſent, Ceolulph, and divided the land among themſelves [c]. What kind of government they eſtabliſhed we know not; the Engliſh hiſtorians, paſſing over in ſilence the civil affairs of the Danes, relate only their wars. Thus ended the kingdom of Mercia, after having ſubſiſted near three hundred years. 877. The end of the kingdom of Mercia, Sax. Ann. Aſſer. H. Hunting.

The year before, the kingdom of Northumberland had met with the ſame fate. Halfden, who was gone thither, made Egbert king in the room of Ricſige, who died in 876. The new king, or vice-roy, was of no long continuance: in the firſt year of his reign, Halfden dethroned him, and divided the land among his countrymen; which no doubt gave occaſion to the Danes in Mercia to do the ſame thing. Thus the kingdom of Northumberland which had laſted three hundred and thirty years, from the time of Ida the firſt king, was divided among the Daniſh officers. It proved very difficult to drive them from thence, as will hereafter be ſeen. and of Northumberland. Aſſer. Sax. Ann.

Though the Danes were in poſſeſſion of three of the ancient kingdoms of the Heptarchy, yet was there not room enough for all thoſe that were already in England, and for thoſe that were continually coming over with intent to ſettle. The new-comers beheld Weſſex with a greedy eye. On the other hand, they who had ſhared the lands of the other kingdoms among them, perceiving their countrymen envied their good fortune, were apprehenſive they might think of diſpoſſeſſing them, if they were not otherwiſe provided for: this made them all agree to invade Weſſex, and exert their utmoſt to conquer that kingdom, which hitherto had ſo bravely withſtood their attacks. They carried on their deſign with all poſſible ſecrecy and expedition. On the ſudden appeared in the field a more formidable army of Danes than had yet been ſeen [d], and advancing towards Weſſex, before Alfred could poſſibly put himſelf in a poſture of defence. They marched directly to Chippenham [e], one of the fineſt and ſtrongeſt cities of the kingdom. The taking of this place, which the Danes made themſelves maſters of in a few days, inſpired the Weſt- The Danes invade Weſſex, 878. Aſſer. Vit. Alf. and take Chippenham. Sax. Annal. S. Dunelm.

c Ingulph ſays, Alfred annexed it to his dominions.

d Aſſer ſays it was the army that left Exeter. Vit. Alfr. p. 9.

e In Wiltſhire, by the Saxons called Cyppanham, now only famous for its market, whence it had its name; for Cyppan ſignifies To Traffic, and Cypman a Merchant: and we ſtill retain Cheapen and Chapman. Camden. Of the ſame original is Cheapſide, London.

Saxons

Saxons with such a terror, that they had no longer the courage to defend themselves. Some fled into Wales, or beyond sea, whilst others ran over to the Danes, and swore allegiance to them. In this so general a revolt, Alfred was left alone with a few domestics, who, out of duty and affection, were unwilling to abandon him in his adversity. But as they were chargeable to him, and could do him little service, he dismissed them all, that he might with more ease shift for himself. Such was his distress, that he was forced to conceal himself at a neat-herd's in the Isle of Athelney in Somersetshire [f]. This place was surrounded with a large morass, through which there was but one narrow foot path leading to the neat-herd's cottage, that was hid by bushes and briars. In this place the king lay concealed for some time, from his friends as well as his enemies, without being so much as known by the neat-herd's wife, who employed him about her little household affairs [g]. This was a wretched situation for a prince; but God, who designed only to exercise his patience, left him not long in these circumstances. He had not been six months in his retreat, when the scene was shifted by a lucky and unexpected turn in his affairs. It is pretended that this happy change was revealed to him in a dream by St. Cuthbert, formerly bishop of Lindisfarn, who appeared to him, and told him, he should suddenly be raised to an infinitely more glorious state than that from whence he was fallen. But without insisting on these idle tales of the monks, who could not find in their hearts to pass over an extraordinary event without introducing some apparition or miracle, I shall relate how this great revolution was brought about by means of a desperate undertaking.

Alfred deserted by all. Asser.

Is forced to lie concealed at a neat-herd's.

Hubba ravages Wales, and enters Wessex. Sax. Annal. Asser.

Hubba, who commanded the Danish troops in the absence of his brother Ivar [h], had invaded Wales, and destroyed all with fire and sword: after which he entered Devonshire in the kingdom of Wessex, with the same intent. At his approach the earl of Devon [i], with a handful of brave men, re-

f Formerly called Athelingey, i. e. the Island of Nobles. It lies near Taunton, where the Thone and Parret join. The firm ground is not above two acres.

g She having one day set a cake on the coals, and being busied in something else, the cake happened to be burnt; upon which she fell a scolding at the king for his carelessness in not looking after the cake, which she told him he could eat fast enough. Alfred was then sitting in the chimney-corner, making bows and arrows, and other warlike instruments. Asser. Vit. Alfr. p. 9.

h The Sax. Annal. Asser. Hunting. Flor. Wigorn. etc. say it was the brother of Ivar and Halfdan: but Sim. Dunelm. and Chron. de Mailros affirm, it was Ivar, and Halfden themselves, with twenty-three ships. p. 144. 146.

i Odda. See Dugdale's Baron.

tired

tired into Kinwith-caſtle [k], to avoid the firſt ſhock of the Daniſh fury. Hubba was not long before he land ſiege to the caſtle, not doubting but the garriſon, being few in number, would ſoon be obliged to ſurrender. The earl of Devon, finding all the defence he could make would be to no purpoſe, took a ſudden reſolution: he repreſented to the beſieged the danger they were in of falling into the hands of their mercileſs enemies, and aſſured them they had but one way to eſcape, which was, by opening themſelves a paſſage with their ſwords through the enemies army. He told them the enterprize was not ſo very raſh and deſperate as they might imagine; that undoubtedly the Danes were very negligent and ſecure, not regarding a few men pent up within walls; that therefore what he propoſed was far from being impracticable, provided they gave the enemy no time to prevent it; that after all, they ventured only their lives and liberties, which would be in much greater danger by ſtanding a ſiege. This remonſtrance had ſuch an effect upon the beſieged, that without farther deliberation they ſallied out ſword in hand upon the Danes, and by their ſudden and furious attack put them immediately in extreme diſorder. This happy beginning made them forget their firſt deſign, and inſpired them with a reſolution to purſue their advantage: they continued therefore to preſs the Danes with a freſh impetuoſity, without giving them time to recover themſelves; and having entirely diſperſed them, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them [l]. Hubba was ſlain [m], and his famous ſtandard, called Reafan, or the Raven, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. The Danes had a notion there was a ſecret virtue in this ſtandard, which Ivar's ſiſters had wrought with their own hands [n]: by the help of a ſtrong fancy, or the deluſion of the devil, they imagined they ſaw this Raven, before a battle, clap his wings in token of victory, or hang down his head as a preſage of their defeat. This at leaſt is what hiſtorians tell us, adding, that the loſs of their ſtandard did not a little contribute to diſhearten them afterwards.

Hubba ſlain, and his famous ſtandard taken. Aſſer. Vit. Alfr.

k Which ſtood on the river Tau, below Ralegh. There are at preſent no footſteps of it. Camd, p. 35. See Aſſer. Vit. Alfr. p. 10.

l The place was afterwards called Hubbeſtow or Hubbelow, from the mount raiſed on the place where Hubba was buried: for it was the common way of burial among the Danes to raiſe mounts upon the bodies of their famous men, which were called Lowes. See Spelman's Life of Alfr. p. 61.

m S. Dunelm ſays, that Inguar and Halfden were alſo ſlain in this battle, p. 146.

n They pretend it was worked magically in almoſt an inſtant; in one forenoon. Aſſer. Vit. Alfr. p. 10.

The

The news of this defeat, and the death of the Daniſh general, having reached Alfred in his retreat [o], he immediately conſidered how to improve this advantage. He ſent word to his friends where he was, to the end they might come and conſult what was to be done in this juncture. After he had conferred with them, he gave them orders to draw together, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, ſmall bodies of troops, which at a minute's warning might be ready to join one another. The moſt difficult as well as moſt important point was, to know exactly the poſture of the enemy, that meaſures might be concerted accordingly. Alfred not knowing who to chuſe for this neceſſary ſervice, took the boldeſt reſolution that ever entered into the thoughts of a prince; which was, to go himſelf into the Daniſh camp, and be informed by his own eyes of the condition of the enemy. To this end, having diſguiſed himſelf like a harper, he entered the Daniſh camp, and continued there ſeveral days, obſerving every thing he wanted to know: among other things he took notice, that whereas generally the Danes were wont to encamp and entrench themſelves on a hill, they had neglected to do ſo now. They had not ſo much as placed any advanced guards to ſecure the avenues to their camp, as having nothing to fear, ſince the enemy had no army in the field. Having obſerved every thing, he returned to his friends at Athelney, and appointed Selwood-foreſt [p] for the general rendezvous of all their troops. This affair was tranſacted ſo ſecretly and expeditiouſly, that in a little time the king, at the head of an army [q], appeared near the Danes, before they had the leaſt intelligence of it. They were in the utmoſt conſternation when they ſaw on a ſudden the Engliſh army approaching to attack them. Alfred was unwilling to give them time to come to themſelves, and therefore briefly exhorting his troops not to have the leaſt dread of an army already vanquiſhed by their fears, gave the ſignal of battle. The Danes, though aſſaulted thus unexpectedly, defended themſelves however with a great deal of courage. But whether they had not time to draw up their troops in order, or the loſs of their ſtandard had poſſeſſed

Alfred conſults how to regain his kingdom.

Goes to the Daniſh camp in diſguiſe. Ingulph. G. Malmsb.

Gains compleat victory Aſſer. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

o Brompton affirms, that Alfred was in the battle, p. 809.

p This is, the Great Wood, in Somerſetſhire. This was done ſeven weeks after Eaſter, and the rendezvous was Petra Ecbrichti, ſuppoſed to be Brixſtan in Somerſetſhire, ſtaying there one night, he marched away the next morning to Æcglea, or Okely, where he encamped one night: the next day he came to Ethandun, or Edington, in Somerſetſhire, where the battle was fought. Aſſer. Vit. Alf. p. 10. Sax. Annal.

q Conſiſting of the inhabitants of Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and Hampſhire, that had not fled beyond ſea. Aſſer. Vit. Alfr. p. 10.

them

them with a notion that their gods were averſe to them, they were at length entirely routed, and almoſt their whole army cut in pieces: the few that eſcaped, betook themſelves to a caſtle, where they were immediately beſieged. Alfred taking advantage of their conſternation, preſſed them ſo briſkly, that they were ſoon brought to capitulate. The terms, he granted them, were more advantageous than they had room to expect in their circumſtances [r]. He articled to give up the lands of Eaſt-Anglia to thoſe that were willing to turn Chriſtians, but required the reſt immediately to quit the iſland, never more to ſet foot in England, and to give hoſtages for the performance of articles. Guthurm, governor of Eaſt-Anglia, who, ſince the death of Hubba, commanded the Daniſh army, agreed to theſe conditions, and came to Alfred, with thirty of his chief officers, having ſhipped off all thoſe that refuſed to be baptized [s].

Grants the Danes advantageous terms.

This great victory ſet Alfred at the height of his wiſhes. He had, by a ſingle battle, driven out the Danes, and recovered his kingdom, and ſaw every day his ſubjects flock to him, whom fear had diſperſed or conſtrained to ſubmit to the enemy. He gave Guthurm and his officers a very civil reception, and kept his word faithfully with them. All the hiſtorians agree, that he inveſted the Daniſh general with the title of king of Eaſt-Anglia. But it is not known whether he did this by virtue of ſome private treaty made before with him, or deſigned by it to gain his affection to that degree that he might entirely confide in him. However this be, it is certain Guthurm held, with the title of king, the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia, which was wholly inhabited by Danes, and whereof Ivar had made him governor. He divided the lands among his countrymen, and exerciſed the regal authority as long as he lived. Some, particularly Aſſerius, add, that Alfred gave Guthurm the kingdom of Northumberland alſo. But this is very improbable, ſince the Danes had long been maſters of Northumberland, and had ſhared the lands among themſelves [t].

He confirms to the Danes the poſſeſſion of Eaſt-Anglia, and gives them Guthurm for king.

Malmsb.

r See the treaty between Alfred and Guthurm, among Alfred's laws, in Dr. Wilkins's and Lambard's Leg. Sax. and in Brompt. p. 828, 829.

s Alfred ſtood godfather to Guthurm, and named him Ethelſtan. He was baptized about three weeks after the concluſion of the treaty at Alre, near Athelney, with thirty of his officers. Aſſer, p. 10. Sax. Ann.——And with almoſt all his people. Malmsb. p. 43. Hoved. p. 418.

t In the year 883, Alfred having ſlain the two Daniſh generals, Hinguar and Halfdene, cauſed the waſted parts of Northumberland to be again inhabited; and Guthred, a youth, ſon of Ardecgnute, who had been ſold to a widow at Whitingham, being redeemed by abbot Edred, was made king of York, and Egbert of Northumberland. Chr. de Mailros, p. 145. S. Dunelm. p. 147.

The caſe was not the ſame with reſpect to Eaſt-Anglia, where the Danes had no fixed abode, and which was ſtill conſidered as part of the Engliſh monarchy, though the Danes were moſt powerful there. So that Alfred did nothing more than confirm them in the poſſeſſion of that kingdom, by granting them a king of their own nation, who was to be his vaſſal [u].

All the Danes own Alfred for their ſovereign.

In all that has hitherto been ſaid, it may be obſerved that at the time of the laſt battle, there were in England two ſorts of Danes, thoſe that were already ſettled, and thoſe that were endeavouring to procure themſelves habitations. With theſe laſt it was properly that Alfred treated. As for the others, having ſeen their brethren ſo roughly handled, they thought themſelves happy in the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions. As the event was uncertain, they choſe rather to ſit down contented, and acknowledge Alfred for their ſovereign, than run the riſk of loſing their all, by continuing the war. Accordingly the Danes, ſettled in the three kingdoms of the Angles, ſubmitted to Alfred and ſwore allegiance to him. It was, however, almoſt impoſſible that all ſhould be equally ſatisfied with their lot. Several accepted of the terms of the laſt treaty only becauſe they knew not where to go, having elſewhere neither houſe nor home. If they ſeemed deſirous to turn Chriſtians, it was to procure a ſubſiſtence, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to return to their old courſe of life. That this was the caſe, evidently appeared from what followed.

879. When it was leaſt expected, the moſt conſiderable among them, headed by one Haſtings, earneſtly ſollicited Guthurm to renew the war in Weſſex [w]; but not prevailing [x], they put to ſea, and went and ravaged the coaſts of Flanders. Shortly after, another and no leſs numerous troop informed of the great booty the firſt ravagers had met with at Ghent, ſhipped off to join them. Theſe two bands thus united over-ran Brabant, Haynault, Flanders, Picardy, and Artois, acting unheard-of cruelties. After which, being again divided into two bodies, one of them ſailed back for England, in hopes of plundering the country, where they imagined they ſhould come unexpected. Having landed in Kent, they marched towards Rocheſter, with deſign to ſurprize the city. But Alfred, who, contrary to their expectation, had his army in

Aſſer. S. Dunelm.

885. The Danes return to England, and are repulſed.

u Anno 879, the Danes removed, in purſuance of the treaty, from Chippenham to Cirenceſter, where they ſtaid one year; and from thence went away to Eaſt-Anglia, where they ſettled. Sax. Ann. Aſſer. vit. Alfr. p. 11.

w They came up the Thames and wintered at Fulham. Aſſer. Sax. Ann.

x The Daniſh army here, was not ſo ſcrupulous; for they joined them, notwithſtanding their oaths and engagements to Alfred. Aſſer, p. 11.

a rea-

a readineſs, ſpeedily marching that way upon the firſt notice of their arrival, his approach made them fly to their ſhips in ſuch haſte, that they left their plunder behind them. The vigilance of this prince having prevented their deſigns upon England, they returned to France, and rejoining their companions, continued their devaſtations in that kingdom.

Hithero the Engliſh had been only upon the defenſive. Expoſed to the continual invaſions of the Danes, and uncertain where the enemy would land, they were generally ſurprized, before it was in their power to defend themſelves. The ſea-coaſt remaining uninhabited, there was nothing to hinder theſe rovers from landing where they pleaſed. Alfred being in peace, which he had never enjoyed till now, reſolved to put his affairs in better order. His firſt care was to equip a conſiderable fleet, the advantage of which he had already experienced. As ſoon as his fleet was in condition to ſail, the admiral had orders to cruiſe along the coaſts, and attack all the Daniſh ſhips in what place ſoever he ſhould meet them. He ſurprized ſixteen in the port of Harwich [y] in East-Anglia, of which taking ſome and ſinking the reſt, he brought off a conſiderable booty [z]. Guthurm incenſed at this act of hoſtility in one of his harbours, ſuffered the parties concerned to endeavour to retrieve their loſſes, and even furniſhed them with means. It was not long before they found an opportunity of attacking in the night the king's ſhips [a], and had ſome advantage over them. However, the fleet kept the rovers in awe, and freed England from their ravages.

882. Alfred increaſes his naval forces. Sax. Ann.

Alfred fits out a fleet.

Sax. Ann.

Alfred having thus ſecured the ſea-coaſts, diligently ſet about fortifying the reſt of the kingdom with caſtles and walled towns, which he ſtood in great need of. He repaired thoſe that were gone to ruin [b], and built others in ſo ſtrong a manner, that they could not eaſily be aſſaulted. In a word, there was not a paſs or avenue capable of being fortified, but what was defended by ſome works, to prevent the ſudden incurſions of the Danes. But however, he could not be entirely guarded againſt them, without one important place, the poſ-

He fortifies ſeveral towns.

887.

Aſſer.

y In Eſſex, famous for its harbour, its name importing an Haven where an army may lie. The walls are built and the ſtreets pitched with a ſort of petrified clay falling from the cliffs thereabouts. From the ſide of the cliff between the beacon and the town, iſſues a ſpring that petrifies wood as well as clay: a large piece ſent from hence is reſerved in the repoſitory of the royal ſociety. Camd. Addit. to Eſſex.

z Aſſer ſays, that all their ſhips and booty were taken, and Alfred ordered all the men to be put to death. Vit. Alfr. p. 11. Flor. Worc. p. 592.

a They attacked them in the mouth of the Thames, when the ſoldiers were aſleep and defenceleſs. S. Dunelm. p. 130. Huntingd. p. 350.

b Particularly Shaftsbury. Spelman, p. 161.

ſeſſion whereof would be of great conſequence to him in all reſpects. This was the city of London, conſiderable both for largeneſs and ſituation, and which being in the hands of the Danes would give them a free paſſage into Weſſex, whenever they had a mind to invade his dominions. This conſideration made him reſolve to inveſt it, knowing the garriſon to be weak and unable to ſtand a long ſiege. Accordingly, the beſieged were in a little time forced to capitulate. He was no ſooner maſter of this great city, but he very much added both to its ſtrength and beauty [c]. He committed the government of it to Ethelred, who had married his daughter Elfleda, or rather gave it him in fee, with the title of earl of Mercia [d]. Some will have it he conferred on him the title of king; but I doubt they have no ground for what they advance. By creating Ethelred earl of Mercia, he did not inveſt him with power over any part of Mercia, but only over London. All the reſt of Mercia was in poſſeſſion of the Danes, over whom he aſſerted no other right but that of ſovereignity, to which they had lately conſented. Ethelred therefore was honoured with an empty title, till ſuch time as by his valour he became maſter of great part of that province.

Beſieges and takes London, and gives it to his ſon in-law Ethelred. Aſſer. Flor. Wor.

The great number of towns repaired and fortified by Alfred, found him employment ſome years. Theſe fortifications ſerved equally to defend the kingdom againſt the foreign Danes, and to keep thoſe in awe that were ſettled in the iſland; who ſeeing all the precautions taken by this wiſe prince, were much more diſpoſed to remain in ſubmiſſion. They even permitted ſeveral of the Engliſh, whom they had driven from their habitations, to return and live among them under the king's protection.

The Danes ſtood in awe of Alfred. Aſſer, Ann.

Then it was that Alfred had the ſatisfaction to ſee peace and tranquility reſtored, after ſo many years of troubles. This

England is in quiet twelve years

c We have no certain account of the original of this famous city. But as it is not evident there was any ſuch place in Cæſar's time, and yet a great town in Nero's, it is probable it was founded in the reign of Claudius, and inhabited by the Britons and Romans together, being a trading, though not a military colony from the very beginning. The walls are ſaid to be built by Conſtantine the Great, at the requeſt of Helena his mother, containing within them an oblong ſpace of three miles in compaſs. That part which ran along the ſide of the Thames is quite waſhed away, the reſt remains to this day. There are ſeven gates, Ludgate, Newgate, Alderſgate, Biſhopſgate, Cripplegate, Moregate, and Aldgate. The origin of its name is unknown. Cæſar's ſaying, the Britons called the places fenced round with woods and groves, cities or towns, made Camden conjecture London was ſo named from Llhwn, which ſignifies in Britiſh Such a Town, as if we ſhould ſay by way of eminence, The City. Camd. Addit. to Midd. See Stow's Survey, b. i.

d See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 7.

happy

happy calm lasted twelve years [e], during which this monarch had leisure to rectify the disorders, introduced by so long a war, both in church and state. As I design hereafter to give a particular account of the regulations made by this prince during the peace, I shall pass over these twelve years, and finish the relation of his wars. It suffices at present to say, that in this interval he laid out his constant endeavours in procuring the good and benefit of his subjects, till he was interrupted by fresh invasions, of which I am now going to speak.

893. The Danes renew their invasions; Sax. Annal. Flor. Wig. Huntingd.

The Danes, who under the conduct of Hastings, ravaged for twelve or thirteen years together France and the Low-Countries, were not satisfied with the prodigious booty they had gained. According to the custom of pyrates, as they prodigally squandered away what they had acquired without pains or labour, they were always under a necessity of renewing their ravages, in order to have wherewithal to subsist. However, disheartened by two terrible checks given them by Eudes and Arnulph, kings of France and Germany, they resolved to return into England, not so much for the sake of settling there, as plundering the island. To that purpose, they fitted out three hundred ships, which they divided into two fleets. With the first, consisting of two hundred sail, they arrived on the coast of Kent, and took Appledore [f]. This place, which was then very considerable, made them masters not only of that province, but also of Sussex and Surry. The other fleet commanded by Hastings, entered the Thames, and landed at Middleton [g]. It would be difficult to describe the miseries inflicted on the inhabitants of these unfortunate provinces by the barbarians. But when we consider they were idolatrous rovers and pyrates, we shall easily conceive they made no scruple of committing the most enormous crimes. Alfred was then in East-Anglia, on account of Guthurm's death [h]. As he had received no intelligence of their designs, he had made no preparations for his defence. All he could do for the present was to take a new oath of fidelity from the

and take Appledore and Middleton.

e Spelman says, it lasted ten or twelve years, p. 77. But he, Milton, and others, say, the Danes infested England in 885, and in 893 they came again. So there could be but eight years peace.

f Where they built a strong castle. Asser Ann. p. 172.

g Now Milton in Kent. The Danes built a castle here, part whereof is still remaining at Kemiley-Downs. They now call it Castle-Ruff. On the other side of the water, the ditches of Alfred's fortifications with some stone work, remain also by the name of Bavord-Castle, near Sittinghurn. Camd. Add. to Kent.

h And upon some complaints of his subjects against the inland Danes. Spelman, p. 79. Guthurm died in 891, and was buried at Headlaga (Hadley) in Sussex. Asser.

East-Anglian Danes, which they regarded only whilſt he ſtaid with them. After his departure, being no longer reſtrained by his preſence, they went and joined Haſtings, in order to ſhare in the plunder. Alfred, amidſt all theſe dangers, was not however diſcouraged. He drew together what troops he could, and marched againſt the Danes, who were pillaging Kent. But being informed by the way, that another body of Danes had entered Weſſex, he altered his courſe, and advanced towards theſe laſt, as judging them moſt dangerous. The Danes, who were now before Exeter, haſtily raiſed the ſiege, and went and vented their fury in ſome other place.

The Danes of East-Anglia join them.

Confuſion in the hiſtory of theſe wars.

It is impoſſible to give the particulars of this war, ſo confuſedly are they related by the hiſtorians. The reaſon no doubt was, becauſe there were ſeveral bands of Danes ravaging England, one in Kent, and another in Weſſex, and roving continually from place to place. This is what the Engliſh hiſtorians could not have a very diſtinct knowledge of, ſince a war, undertaken ſolely for plunder, muſt needs be very irregular. Accordingly we find in their hiſtories, the ſame leaders, ſometimes in one province, ſometimes in another, without being able to perceive when or how they got thither.

The Danes go off on a ſudden.

We are ignorant alſo by what fortunate accident Alfred ſaw himſelf freed on a ſudden from his cruel enemies, who were ſpread all over his kingdom. Thus much however is certain, after they had reduced England to a deplorable ſtate, the laſt comers retired, though hiſtorians have not been pleaſed to tell us the cauſe of their retreat. I am apt to believe their ſudden departure was owing to the plague, which raged then in England, and ſwept away great numbers of Danes as well as Engliſh. To this may be added, their having plundered the country in ſuch a manner, that there was nothing left to pillage. The greateſt part of the Daniſh rovers returned to France under the command of Haſtings; but they did not ſtay there long. Preſently after, Haſtings formed new projects. The terror he had every where ſpread along the ſea-coaſts having put all upon their guard, he reſolved to ſteer his courſe where he was not expected, and ſailed for the Mediterranean. Whilſt there, he found means, by an impious and perfidious ſtratagem, to become maſter of Luna, ſituated on the coaſt of Tuſcany. He pretended to be mighty deſirous of turning Chriſtian, and was actually baptiſed by the biſhop, whom he had ſent for. Some days after, the biſhop was told, his new convert was departed this life, and died like a good Chriſtian, earneſtly deſiring to be buried in the church of Luna, to which he had bequeathed a conſiderable legacy. By

this

this device, a great number of Danes, on pretence of attending the corps, entered the city, and immediately fell to murdering and plundering the inhabitants.

Haſtings, after ſo much miſchief done to England, France, and the Low Countries, choſe at length for his retreat the city of Charters, which Charles the Simple preſented him with, on purpoſe to keep him quiet. Here it was he ended in peace, a life, almoſt wholly ſpent in plundering the maritime countries of Europe. The Danes, that refuſed to follow him when he left England, put themſelves under the command of one Sigefert ſettled in Northumberland. For ſome time, theſe likewiſe committed ravages on the coaſt of Weſſex [i], without venturing however to advance into the country, by reaſon of their ſmall number, and at laſt they retired to ſeek their fortune elſewhere.

Haſtings retires to Chartres, and ends his days thereabouts.

Alfred, being at length freed from his enemies, paſſed the reſt of his days in profound tranquility. Hitherto I have conſidered this prince as a warrior only, ſometimes victorious, and ſometimes vanquiſhed; but, whether proſperous or unfortunate, ſhowing on all occaſions ſignal marks of valour and military conduct [k]. It is now time to diſplay his other virtues, and ſet him in another light. Henceforward he is to appear as a juſt, learned, and religious prince, a lover of his ſubjects, and an indefatigable promoter of arts, ſciences, juſtice and religion. But, not to confound his political with his moral virtues, I ſhall begin with what he did for the good of his people, as ſovereign, and then ſpeak of his private life, and manner of regulating his domeſtick affairs.

The kingdom is freed from the Danes.

As ſoon as the Danes ſetted in England, found they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, they bethought themſelves how to ſecure their preſent poſſeſſions. The continuation of the war was ſo far from being likely to encreaſe their advantages, that they had reaſon to fear they ſhould by that means loſe what they already poſſeſſed. But ſuppoſing they were able to maintain their ground by force of arms, yet a war, which obliged them to have always their ſwords drawn, and prevented them from manuring their lands, could not but be very prejudical to them. Theſe conſiderations induced them at length to ſubmit to the dominion of Alfred, and acknowledge him for ſovereign of all England. Hiſtorians do

The Danes acknowledge Alfred for their ſovereign.

i But Alfred having cauſed ſhips, twice longer, taller, ſwifter, and more ſteddy than thoſe the Engliſh or Danes uſed to have, and of forty oars, and above, he puts to ſea with nine of them, took twenty or more of the enemies ſhips, and ordered the men to be hung up along the ſea-coaſts, for a terror to the reſt. Sax. Ann. Spelman, p. 90.

k He is ſaid to have fought fifty ſix pitched battles with the Danes.

not inform us whether he was obliged to uſe force to bring them to this: but it is certain, his authority was acknowledged, as well in Northumberland, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia, as in Weſſex[l]. The Welſh themſelves, who had been terribly plundered by the Danes, finding they were in no condition to reſiſt, became his tributaries[m]. It is further added, the king of Scotland paid him homage alſo. But this is too diſputable a point to be affirmed for truth[n].

Alfred makes a body of laws.

The firſt thing Alfred had in his thoughts, the moment he ſaw himſelf thus peaceful and abſolute, was to uſe his power for the good and benefit of his ſubjects. As the laws during the wars, had been very much trampled upon, and were become almoſt unknown to the people, he laid out his pains for ſome time, in making a collection of the beſt laws he could find. He inſerted ſome of the judicial laws[o] of the Old Teſtament, and ſeveral of thoſe formerly enacted by Ina, king of Weſſex, and Offa king of Mercia[p] in their reſpective kingdoms. To theſe he added many of his own, adapted to the circumſtances of his people. Throughout theſe laws may eaſily be obſerved, an ardent zeal for juſtice, and a ſincere deſire of rooting out oppreſſion and violence[q]. They were

l And Eſſex, which was part of the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia, was taken into Alfred's hands; who created Bertheolf, a Saxon, duke or earl of it. Spelman, p. 91. Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 16.

m This is to be underſtood of the inhabitants of South Wales, who, though they had been reduced before, obſerving Alfred engaged in other wars, had thrown off their obedience. As for North-Wales, the Ordovices, people of a fierce and troubleſome ſpirit, are ſcarce to be reckoned entirely ſubdued before Edward the Firſt's time, two hundred years after the Norman conqueſt. Spelman.

n It is ſaid that Gregour king of the Scots obeyed him, and ſerved him in all his wars, and that Donald his ſucceſſor aided him with five thouſand horſe, and died in his ſervice. Spelman. Hollingſh. p. 121. See Buchan.

o With the decalogue at their head. See them in Wilkins Leg. Saxon. and Lambard. Theſe laws of Alfred's were uſed at Weſtminſter, as low as the reign of Edward IV. Spelman, p. 99. Note.

p And likewiſe Ethelbert king of Kent, who was the firſt that reduced the Saxon laws into writing.

q If king Alfred, as is ſuppoſed, drew up a compleat body of law, it is now loſt: for thoſe lately publiſhed by Dr. Wilkins, (who has given us all the laws extant from Ethelbert, the firſt chriſtian lawgiver in England, down to the Magna Charta of Henry III.) fall ſhort of an entire ſyſtem of law. Alfred's laws are ranked under two heads, 1. The laws of Alfred, forty in number. 2. The league between Alfred and Guthurm, which ſeems to be no more than articles of pacification, and conditions on which Guthurm was to hold Eaſt-Anglia. The 37th law ſecures the entail of eſtates, and enacts, "That thoſe who "have book-land (or eſtates in land) "left them by their parents, ſhould "not alienate it from their heirs, pro-"vided there could be proof made that "he that firſt granted the eſtate, ſettled "it upon condition of non-aliena-"tion." Another law forbids, "the "buying a man, a horſe, or an ox, "without a voucher to warrant the "ſale."

were indeed mild, if compared to thoſe of later ages, ſeeing they puniſhed moſt offences by mulcts and fines [r]. But the ſtrictneſs wherewith Alfred cauſed them to be obſerved, counterbalanced their lenity. If with reſpect to private perſons the rigour of the law was ſomewhat abated, it was not ſo with regard to corrupt magiſtrates; to ſuch Alfred was ever inexorable. He was very ſenſible it would be in vain to oblige his ſubjects to an exact obſervance of the laws, if care were not taken that the magiſtrates ſhould give them a good example. Hiſtory takes notice of his executing four and forty judges within the ſpace of a year, for not doing juſtice [s].

Inſtitution of Juries.

Theſe precautions ſeemed to be ſufficient to hinder the poor and low, from being oppreſſed by the rich and great. But as Alfred was ſenſible the ſpirit of oppreſſion naturally grew upon men in authority, he ſtudied to prevent that inconvenience. To that end, he ordered, that in all criminal actions, twelve men, choſen for that purpoſe, ſhould determine concerning the fact, and the judge give ſentence according to their verdict. This privilege, enjoyed by the Engliſh to this day, is doubtleſs the nobleſt and moſt valuable, that ſubjects can have. An Engliſhman accuſed of any crime, is to be tried only by his peers, that is, by perſons of his own rank. By this means, he is out of all danger of being oppreſſed, how powerful ſoever his accuſers may be. Theſe twelve men, choſen out of many others, with the approbation of the perſon accuſed, are called by the collective name of Jury. Theſe are properly the perſons, by whom the life or death of the party accuſed is determined. Happy the people that enjoy ſo glorious a privilege!

"ſale." The occaſion of this law was this: When the Danes firſt ſettled in England, it was a common practice between the two nations, not only to ſteal horſes and oxen, but alſo men and women, and ſell them to one another. By which means owners not only loſt their cattle, but men were wrongfully made ſlaves. To remedy which this law was enacted. Afterwards fairs and markets obtained the ſame privilege, vouchers had. But as to horſes, the frauds were ſo common, that the ſtatute of 31 Eliz. 12. revived the expreſs law of Alfred.

r The 40th law ſets a certain value upon every limb and member, as well as upon every perſon, from a king to a bond-ſlave.

s He uſed to re-examine the cauſes tried in his abſence, and in caſe he found any injuſtice done out of favour or intereſt, he puniſhed the judges ſeverely. If they pleaded ignorance, he ſharply reprimanded them, and aſked how they durſt preſume to take a commiſſion to determine about life and property, when they knew themſelves ſo wretchedly unqualified! and ordered them either to know better or quit their poſt. Thus the earls and great men, rather than be turned out of their office with diſgrace, applied themſelves to ſtudy. See Mirror of Juſtice, c. 20. and Malm. lib. ii. p. 25. Brompton ſays, juſtice was ſo ſtrictly adminiſtered in Alfred's reign, that though there were gold bracelets hung up at the parting of ſeveral highways, no man durſt touch them, p. 818.

The

Diviſion of the kingdom into ſhires, hundreds, and tythings.

The wars had cauſed ſuch diſorders and licentiouſneſs in the kingdom, that vagabonds and vagrants every where abounded, who committed all manner of crimes with impunity, their poor and mean condition ſcreening them from juſtice. As they had no ſettled abode, upon committing any offence, they ſhifted their quarters, and went where it was difficult to diſcover them. Alfred beholding with indignation honeſt men thus expoſed to the inſults of villains, was extremely deſirous to put a ſtop to ſo great miſchief. Having conſulted thoſe whom he judged capable of giving him good advice, he took the following method to prevent any perſon from living in his dominions, without being obliged to give an account of his actions. He divided all England into ſhares [t], or counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. This being done, all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to belong to ſome tything; whoever did not, were looked upon as vagabonds, and as ſuch denied the protection of the law. Every houſholder was to anſwer for his wife, his children under fifteen years of age, and his domeſticks. If any one by his way of living fell under ſuſpicion, he was obliged to give ſecurity for his good behaviour. In caſe he could find none, the tything threw him into priſon, to prevent their being liable to the penalty, he ſhould incur by any offence [u]. Thus the houſholders being reſponſible for their families, the tything for the houſholders, the hundreds for the tythings, and the counties for the hundreds, every one was watchful over his neighbours actions. If a ſtranger guilty of any crime made his eſcape, information was taken of the houſe where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the maſter of the family was condemned to pay his fine. But in caſe he had not ſtaid ſo long as three days, the houſholder was acquitted upon making oath he was not privy to his crime. I might add here many particulars not ſo entertaining to foreigners, as to the Engliſh, who behold with pleaſure in theſe regulations, the origin of thoſe laws they ſo happily live under at this preſent time. But it ſuffices to ſay, theſe wiſe inſtitutions produced ſuch good order and tranquility as the like had never before been known in England [w].

Ingulph. Malm. lib. ii.

t From the Saxon word Scyre, i. e. to branch or divide. Spelman ſays, that Alfred was not the firſt that divided the kingdom into ſhires, but only fixed their number and limits. Rapin.

u There is much the ſame regulation in China, See Hiſt. of Menaaca. Rapin.

w Spelman aſcribes alſo to Alfred the inſtitution of ſheriffs, under-ſheriffs, and original writs, &c. p. 113, 114.

In

In ſhort, to prevent the kingdom from being infeſted any more by foreign enemies, Alfred diſpoſed the militia in ſuch manner as enabled him to make head againſt an invaſion, in caſe the Danes ſhould renew their incurſions. He kept in each county, a body of troops always ready to march under the conduct of the earl or governor. Upon the firſt notice of an invaſion, the earls had orders to join forces at certain places, under the command of a generaliſſimo appointed by the king. By this means, together with a numerous fleet which was always either ready to put to ſea, or cruiſing round the iſland, he kept the foreign Danes ſo in awe, that during the reſt of his reign, they durſt not attempt to make a deſcent. And for the ſame reaſon, thoſe that were ſettled in the iſland, found themſelves conſtrained to be quiet.

Alfred regulates the Militia.

When by theſe wiſe regulations Alfred had provided for the ſafety of the ſtate, he endeavoured to make the people reliſh the fruits of peace, by introducing trade and commerce. He ordered a good number of merchant-ſhips to be built, which he let out to the principal merchants, for the encouragement of traffic. So that by degrees the Engliſh were in a condition to repair by this means the loſſes occaſioned by ſo long a war. It is affirmed that ſome of theſe merchants traded as far as the Eaſt-Indies, from whence they imported ſeveral things, before unknown to the Engliſh [x].

He cauſes trading ſhips to be built.

Trades to the Eaſt-Indies. Sax. Ann.

After this great prince had thus regulated matters, he turned his thoughts to the arts and ſciences, which the wars had almoſt entirely frightened from the land. To this end he invited over from foreign countries learned men, to whom he gave penſions, and diſperſed them in the ſeveral dioceſes, to inſtruct the people. But not ſatisfied with this, and deſirous of having in his own kingdom a nurſery of learning, he founded four ſchools or colleges at Oxford. In the firſt, the abbot Neots and Grimbald read divinity. In the ſecond, Aſſerius, 886.

Alfred invites ſeveral learned men into England. Aſſer.

x It is not likely they traded to the Indies by ſea, at a time the mariner's compaſs was not found out. Rapin. You have a large account of this matter in Spelman's life of Alfred, lib. ii. cap. 28. Malmſbury ſays, he ſent a preſent to the Indies in honour of St. Thomas. Sigelin biſhop of Sherborn was employed to deliver it, who performed the voyage ſucceſsfully, and brought back precious ſtones, perfumes, and other commodities, which were then great curioſities in England. It is thought Alfred cauſed with theſe diamonds a more auguſt and imperial ſort of crown than had been uſed before to be compoſed. For in the arched roof in the cloiſters of Weſtminſter-Abby, where the antient regalia of the kingdom are kept, upon a box, the cabinet of the moſt ancient crown, there are the words, "Hæc eſt prin-"cipalior Corona cum qua corona-"bantur Reges Alfredus, Edwardus, "&c." This crown is of a very ancient work, with flowers adorned with ſtones of ſomewhat a plain ſetting. Spelman.

a Be-

He founds the University of Oxford.

a Benedictine monk, taught grammar and rhetoric. In the third, John, a monk of St. David's, set up a chair for logic, arithmetic, and music. In the fourth, Johannes Scotus professed geometry and astronomy. This last was surnamed Erigena, that is, the Irishman, from the word Erin or Irin, the true name of Ireland. He was also called Scotus no doubt upon the same account, the inhabitants of Ireland being then termed Scots. It is related of this Johannes Scotus, so famous in the republic of Letters, that he was stabbed to death by his pupils with pen-knives. But some say, he taught in Malmsbury-Abby, and not at Oxford[a]. We find moreover among the learned men encouraged by Alfred, Plegmund, a Mercian, who became archbishop of Canterbury, and some others, whose names, as they will not serve to make them more known, it is needless to repeat. It is also unnecessary to stay to examine whether the colleges founded by Alfred, were the first foundations of the university of Oxford, or whether before that, there were at a place called Greeklade, the like schools, which were removed from thence to this city. Besides, that the dispute would lead me too far, it would be of little use to examine it thoroughly, considering how few are concerned in it. It is enough to observe, that from these small beginnings, the University of Oxford, famous throughout all Europe, has grown up to its present height.

Brompt.

Original of the several Councils.

Though Alfred was very capable himself of knowing the best means of promoting his designs for the good of his people, yet he consulted others, eminent for their abilities, and paid a great deference to their opinions. He had ordered matters so, that all resolutions relating to the public were to pass through three several councils. The first was a cabinet council, to which none but those the king had a particular esteem for, were admitted. Here all affairs were first debated that were to be laid before the second council, which consisted of bishops, earls, viscounts, judges, and some of the principal thanes, called afterwards barons. This resembled the present privy-council. None belonged to it but those the king was pleased to appoint. The third was a general council or assembly of the nation, called in Saxon, wittenagemot, to which quality and offices gave a right to sit, in-

[a] Camden says, Alfred founded but three halls or schools; the first at the end of High-street for grammarians, was called Little-University-Hall; the second in School-street for philosophy, was styled Lees University-Hall; and the third in High-street, more to the west than the first, for divinity, was named Great University-Hall, now University-College.

dependent

dependent of the king. This aſſembly, ſtyled at preſent the parliament, a name taken from the French, was compoſed of the two archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops, earls, viſcounts or high-ſheriffs of the counties, and the thanes of the firſt rank or barons. It is now diſputed with great warmth, whether the people had a right to ſend repreſentatives to this aſſembly. But this point ſhall be diſcuſſed in another place. However this be, we behold in theſe three councils the original of the cabinet and privy councils, as well as the antiquity of Parliaments. Theſe councils, and particularly the wittena-gemot, which was convened generally once a year, being for the moſt part held at London, it is eaſy to conceive that the city received by it a greater air of ſplendor than before. The Danes, who had been maſters of it for ſome time, had demoliſhed it in ſuch manner that it was hardly to be known. It was a pleaſure to Alfred to beautify and augment its privileges. The figure it afterwards made, and ſtill continues to make, is in ſome meaſure owing to the care of this prince [z].

Matters of greater moment being ſettled as well as could be expected, Alfred, ever mindful of what might be advantageous to his people, believed he ought not to forget one thing in itſelf uſeful and to the kingdom very ornamental; and that was to induce the Engliſh to build their houſes for the future in a ſtronger and more regular manner than they had been uſed to. At that time, there were ſcarce any but timber-houſes. It was a rarity to ſee a houſe built with other materials. Alfred having raiſed his palaces with ſtone or brick, the nobility by degrees began to follow his example. But this cuſtom did not become general till ſeveral ages after. The monaſteries, we may believe, that were deſtroyed by the Danes, and afterwards rebuilt, had their ſhare of this improvement, as places that were held in ſtill greater veneration in the following than in the preſent century. The religious houſes however, did not begin to be inhabited again till the following reigns. At the time I am ſpeaking of they were almoſt forſaken, for the lands deſigned for the maintenance of the monks being waſted by the Daniſh wars, there was ſcarce a man to be found willing to embrace a monaſtic life; which is a clear evidence, that it was not ſo much devotion, as the hopes of being maintained without labour, that filled the religious houſes. During the reign of Alfred, the

Alfred introduces the way of building with brick and ſtones. Aſſer. vit. Alfr.

Aſſer.

z He repaired alſo, or rebuilt Winchester and Norwich. Spelman, p. 162, 164.

back.

backwardneſs to a monkiſh life was ſo great, that the king was forced to ſtock the monaſteries with foreigners, there being ſcarce ſuch a thing as a monk in the kingdom. But after his death, when the lands were reſtored to the monaſteries, the zeal for that way of life began to rekindle. Whereas in Alfred's days, there were more monaſteries than monks, in a few years after, the monks were grown ſo numerous and encreaſed daily in ſuch a manner, that there were not religious houſes enough to contain them.

His private life.

Hitherto we have conſidered Alfred ſo taken up with the care of the public, that he ſeems to have had no time or leiſure for his own private concerns. But we muſt have a very different idea of this prince. He was one of thoſe happy geniuſes that ſeem born for whatever they do, and are continually employed, without appearing to be ſo. He knew too well the value of time, to loſe any part of it. So far was he from being like moſt princes, who imagine their high ſtation gives them a privilege of ſpending all their time in diverſions and trifles, that he endeavoured to improve every moment. Whilſt he lay concealed in the iſle of Athelney, he made a vow to dedicate to the ſervice of God, the third part of his time, as ſoon as he ſhould be reſtored to a ſtate of tranquility. He was punctual to his vow, and allotted eight hours every day to acts of devotion, eight hours to public affairs, and as many to ſleep, ſtudy, and neceſſary refreſhment. As the uſe of clocks and hour-glaſſes was not as yet introduced into England, he meaſured the time by means of wax-candles, marked with circular lines of divers colours, which ſerved as ſo many hour-lines [a]. And to prevent the wind from making them burn unſteadily, it is ſaid he invented the expedient of incloſing them in lanthorns [b]. But it is a queſtion whether this invention be of ſo modern a date.

The diſtribution of his time.

Aſſer.

Origin of Lanthorns in England.

His charities were very extraordinary conſidering his revenues, and ſo much the more praiſe-worthy as they were done privately, or at leaſt without oſtentation. He educated,

His Charities.

a He ordered juſt ſuch a quantity of wax to be made into ſix candles, each twelve inches long, with the diviſion of the inches marked out diſtinctly. Theſe being lighted one after another, did orderly burn four hours apiece, that is, every three inches an hour, ſo that the whole ſix candles laſted juſt twenty-four hours, the watching of which was committed to the keepers of his chapel, whoſe office it was to put him in mind how each hour paſſed. Spelman.

b Glaſs was then a great rarity in England, ſo that the king was forced to order ſome fine white horn to be ſcraped ſo thin as to become tranſparent, and put into cloſe frames of wood, which defended the candles from the injury of the wind. Thus Lanthorns, though of vulgar uſe and eſtimation, were the invention of a king. Spelman. Aſſer. vit. Alf. p. 20.

at

at court or at Oxford, a great many young noblemen, who were inſtructed in all things neceſſary to render them one day ſerviceable to their country. But this was not his only method to cauſe the arts and ſciences to flouriſh. His own example greatly contributed towards it, for never was prince more given to his ſtudies. The progreſs he made in learning, notwithſtanding his being ſo long employed in his wars, and the adminiſtration of the government, demonſtrate how well he improved his intervals from public buſineſs. The author of his life aſſures us, he was the beſt Saxon poet of his time, an excellent grammarian, orator, philoſopher, architect, geometrician, and hiſtorian. He compoſed ſeveral works that were in great eſteem. Among others, he tranſlated into Saxon, Gregory's Paſtoral, Boetius de Conſolatione [c], and Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory [d]. What a ſhame and reproach was it for the Engliſh nation to be ſo ignorant, when they had ſo learned a king at their head? This excellent prince complained bitterly that from the Humber to the Thames there was not a prieſt that underſtood the liturgy in his mother tongue, and that from the Thames to the Sea, there was not one that knew how to tranſlate the eaſieſt piece of Latin. This univerſal ignorance, and the little reliſh the Engliſh had then for arts and ſciences, cauſed the king to ſeek all occaſions of earneſtly inviting into his dominions foreigners that were eminent in their profeſſions. He took particular care to have always about him the moſt noted workmen and architects, and to keep them employed, with the ſole view of improving their ſkill. He placed in the chairs at Oxford men famous for their learning, and allowed them handſome ſalaries. His aim was to excite the emulation of the Engliſh, and provoke them to uſe their endeavours to come out of that ſtate of groſs ignorance they were in. The fame of his great wiſdom and piety reaching as far as Rome, the pope ſent him a large quantity of Relicks, and upon his account granted ſome new privileges to the Engliſh college. Abel patriarch of Jeruſalem, willing alſo to ſhow him marks

and inclination for ſtudy.

Aſſer.

Ethelwerd.

Aſſer.

c Publiſhed at Oxford, Ann. 1698, 8vo, by Chriſtopher Rawlinſon, gentleman-Commoner of Queen's College. Some ſay it was tranſlated by Werefrid, biſhop of Worceſter; but Dr. Plot tells us Alfred did it at Woodſtock. Alfred was ſo delighted with this book that he always carried it about him in his boſom.

d Publiſhed at Cambridge in 1644, by Mr. Whelock, who obſerves, it is rather a paraphraſe than a tranſlation. He is likewiſe ſaid to have tranſlated the Old and New Teſtament. However, it is on all hands agreed he undertook a verſion of the Pſalms, but died when it was about half finiſhed. For an account of the reſt of his works, ſee Spelman.

of

of his eſteem, ſent him a preſent of relicts, which the king received with great ſatisfaction.

His diſtribution of his Revenues. Aſſer.

It is time now to take a view of the manner of his ordering his domeſtic concerns, where his prudence was no leſs conſpicuous than in his management of ſtate affairs. He made three diviſions of his attendants, who were to wait monthly by turns: a cuſtom, which though not practiſed then in other courts, was afterwards followed by other princes. As for his revenues, he divided them in two parts, one whereof was wholly aſſigned for charitable uſes, and ſubdivided into four portions. The firſt for alms to the poor. The ſecond for the maintenance of the monaſteries he had founded. The third for the ſubſiſtance of the profeſſors and ſcholars at Oxford. The fourth for poor monks, as well foreigners as Engliſh [e]. The other half was thrown into three diviſions; one was expended in his family; another in paying his architects and other curious workmen; and the reſt was beſtowed in penſions upon ſtrangers invited to his court for the encouragement and inſtruction of his ſubjects. When I ſpeak of his revenues, I mean his own hereditary eſtate. It was not cuſtomary in thoſe days, for princes to levy taxes upon the people, in order to ſquander the money in luxury and extravagancies.

What has been ſaid of this illuſtrious prince, may ſuffice to make known the principal events in his reign, and to give an idea of his perſonal qualities. I might add many more particulars, ſince his life alone affords matter for a large volume. But I believe I may venture to ſtop here, without injuring the memory of this monarch, who is juſtly diſtinguiſhed with the ſirname of Great. No hiſtorian charges him with any vice, but all unanimouſly agree to repreſent him as one of the moſt glorious princes that ever wore the crown [f].

900. His death.

He died in 900, and in the 52d year of his age, after a reign of twenty-eight years and ſix months [g], the greateſt part whereof was ſpent in wars and troubles, and the reſt in peace [h].

His

e He ſent money to the monaſteries throughout his dominions: and alſo in Wales, Ireland, France, Armorica, &c. Aſſer. p. 20.

f We have the ſum of his character given us by a great man, to the following effect. O Alfred, the wonder and aſtoniſhment of all ages! if we reflect on the devout part of him, he ſeems to have lived always in a cloyſter. If on his conduct and exploits in the field, one would think he had ſpent his days in a camp. If on his writings and ſtudies, one would conclude the univerſity had ingroſſed him: And, laſtly, if we regard his prudence and ſkill in the adminiſtration of government, he ſeems to have made law and politics his whole ſtudy.

g Aſſer. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wigorn. &c. ſay he reigned twenty-nine years and a half; and the two laſt place his death under the year 901.

h He was born at Wanating, now Wantage in Berkſhire, which was formerly

His hiſtory ſhows, that both in war and peace he governed with prudence and ſteadineſs. But what chiefly diſtinguiſhes him from the generality of princes, was his ſincere and conſtant love for his people. Of this he gave demonſtration, not by words only, as is too commonly the caſe, but by real and ſubſtantial deeds. Accordingly never was prince better beloved by his ſubjects. No doubt this mutual affection contributed to deſtroy in the Danes ſettled in England all hopes of ſhaking off his yoke, when once they had ſubmitted to it.

His children. Aſſer.

Alfred had ſeveral children by Alſwitha his queen. Some of them, particularly Edmund his eldeſt ſon, whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor, died before him. Of thoſe that ſurvived him, Edward mounted the throne after him. Ethelward, who was bred a ſcholar at Oxford, was a very learned man, and died in the fortieth year of his age, in 922. Elfleda his eldeſt daughter, wife to Ethelred earl of Mercia, became very famous in her brother Edward's reign. Alſwitha, or Ethelſwitha, called alſo Eltrude by the Flemiſh writers, married Baldwin earl of Flanders. Ethelgitha, who choſe to be a nun, was made abbeſs of Shaftſbury nunnery, founded by the king her father[i].

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7. EDWARD the Elder.

The ſtate of the kingdom. 900.

WHEN Edward aſcended the throne, England was almoſt equally divided between the Engliſh and Danes. The Danes inhabited Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, from whence they had driven the Engliſh during the wars. The Engliſh were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Weſſex, containing the ancient kingdom of Eſſex, and all the country lying ſouth of the Thames. As for Mercia, it was peopled with a mixture of Danes and Engliſh, but in ſuch manner, that the Engliſh were ſuperior in the ſouth and weſt parts, and the Danes in the eaſt and north. During the latter part of Alfred's reign, the Danes had remained very quiet, out of fear of provoking that prince to invade their poſſeſſions. Be-

merly a royal manor. His body was buried firſt at Wincheſter, next removed into the church of the New Monaſtery; and laſtly, his body, monument, church and monaſtery were all removed (about two hundred years after) without the north gate of the city, ſince called the Hide.

i Beſides this nunnery, Alfred built two monaſteries, one at Athelney, and another at Wincheſter. Aſſer.

ſides, they were very well pleaſed to enjoy ſome repoſe, in order to fortify their ſettlements in England. For this reaſon, the retreat of their countrymen was to them rather an occaſion of joy than ſorrow. Indeed, they could never have attained their ends, if the war had been continually renewed by the arrival of other Danes, who under the name of friends, would have been as incommodious to them as to the Engliſh themſelves. The retreat of theſe dangerous gueſts, and the profound tranquillity ſpread over the whole kingdom, by Alfred's juſt adminiſtration, having given them time to cultivate their lands, and augment their riches by commerce, they began to entertain thoughts of ſhaking of the Engliſh yoke. Accordingly, they embraced the firſt favourable occaſion to excite new troubles in England, not doubting in the leaſt but they would prove the means of putting their deſign in execution.

Ethelward pretends to the crown. 901. Sax. Ann. H. Hunting. lib. v.

I have obſerved that king Ethelbert, elder brother to Alfred, left two infant ſons. Ethelward, the eldeſt, being grown at the death of Alfred, to man's eſtate, thought it time to aſſert his right to the crown. He pretended, that Ethelwulph his grandfather, could not with juſtice ſettle the kingdom upon all his ſons ſucceſſively, ro the prejudice of the children of the eldeſt. That granting he had a power to do this, there was no reaſon the ſucceſſion, after the death of the four brothers, ſhould continue in the family of the youngeſt, when the heirs of the ſecond were alive. That beſides, at moſt he could but intail the kingdom of Kent, which he was in poſſeſſion of, and not the kingdom of Weſſex, which belonged not to him when he made his will. Theſe reaſons appeared very plauſible; yet Ethelward could meet with no encouragement from the Engliſh. Doubtleſs the great veneration they had for Alfred's memory, made them adhere to his ſon; or it may be, they did not queſtion Ethelwulph's power of ſettling the ſucceſſion as he pleaſed. The ancient hiſtorians not having expreſſed themſelves clearly upon this point, it would be difficult to decide the matter by the public laws of the Saxons, which are not ſufficiently known. And therefore, to confine myſelf to the bare relation of facts, I ſhall only ſay, that Ethelward, finding his countrymen unwilling to ſupport his title, was forced to apply to the Danes, who probably had put him upon this undertaking.

Ethelward takes Winburn.

Ethelward began his deſign upon the crown, with ſeizing Winburn, a fortified town in Dorſetſhire [k]. He expected to

k Beſides Winburn, Ethelward ſeized upon Tweoneam, i. e. Chriſt Church in Hampſhire, Sax. Ann. Camd.

be

be attacked; but hoped, if that place made never ſo little reſiſtance, the Danes would keep Edward ſo much employed in other parts, that it would not be poſſible for him to retake it. But his hopes were all vain. Edward came upon him with ſuch expedition, that he was like to have ſurprized him in Winburn, before he had taken neceſſary meaſures for his defence. He had hardly time to get out of the town, and fly to the Danes[l], who were now up in arms. Upon this prince's coming among them, they proclaimed him king of England, pretending, as they were in poſſeſſion of half the kingdom, they had as much right to make a king, as as the Weſt-Saxons.

Sax. Ann. Hunting l. v. Brompt.

Loſes it again,

and flies to the Danes who proclaim him king. Sax. Ann.

The retreat of Ethelward among the Danes, made the king ſenſible he was going to be involved in a troubleſome war, the conſequences whereof were to be dreaded. Not that he thought himſelf unable to withſtand the Danes ſettled in England, but was apprehenſive the foreign Danes would take this opportunity to plunge the kingdom again into its former calamities. This conſideration made him reſolve to do his utmoſt to end the war, before the Danes had time to ſend for their countrymen to their aſſiſtance. Immediately after the taking of Winburn he marched towards Northumberland[m], at the head of his army, which daily encreaſed, by troops coming in from all parts. The Danes were aſtoniſhed at this expedition, and finding themſelves in no condition to reſiſt him, were conſtrained to abandon and baniſh from their country the prince they had undertaken to protect. They had ſoon reaſon to repent of eſpouſing his cauſe, or of not defending it better. This fruitleſs attempt of theirs coſt them ſeveral ſtrong-holds in Mercia, which Edward deemed neceſſary to ſecure. He did not thiuk proper to chaſtiſe them more ſeverely at this time, leſt the war, which ſeemed to be over, ſhould break out a-freſh, if he reduced them to a neceſſity of ſending for ſuccours from Denmark. He was ſatisfied with repairing ſome fortreſſes in Mercia, in order to confine them within narrower bounds[n]. Ethelred earl of Mercia, and the princeſs Elfleda his wife, were very ſerviceable to the king in this war, by making head againſt the Mercian Danes, and preventing the Welch from coming to their aid. It is related of Elfleda, that having had a very hard labour with her firſt child,

902. The Danes abandon him. Brompt.

Edward ſecures ſeveral towns in Mercia.

M. Weſm.

903. The commendation of Elfleda the king's ſiſter.

Malmſb. Hunting. Brompt.

l That is, the Danes in Northumbria. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

m The Sax. Ann. and Flor. Worc. ſay only, that the king ordered his men to purſue Ethelward, but they could not overtake him.

n This year, 902, a battle was fought between the Kentiſhmen and the Danes at Holme, or Holmewood in Suſſex. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wor. places it under the year 904, and Huntingd. in the 12th year of king Edward. p. 353.

ſhe made a reſolution never to come into the like caſe again, and ſhe was as good as her word. From thenceforward ſhe wholly devoted herſelf to arms, and like a true Amazon gave proofs of her courage in all the king her brother's wars with the Danes. She was generally ſtiled [not only lady and queen, but] king, in admiration of her manlike and royal abilities.

904. Ethelward returns into England with Norman troops. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. lib. v.

Mean while Ethelward, though abſent, was not idle. Upon leaving England, he applied to France, and obtained a powerful aid of Normans. With theſe forces he landed in Eſſex[o], and eaſily became maſter of that kingdom. Edward, not expecting his enemy could have been ſo ſoon ready to make a freſh attempt, had taken care only to guard Mercia againſt the Northumbrian Danes, imagining Eſſex to be in no danger.

The Danes riſe in his favour. Sax. Ann.

The arrival of the Normans, rouzed the Danes of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, and cauſed them, to reſolve to make a diverſion in favour of Ethelward. Accordingly they take up arms again, and throwing themſelves into Mercia, ravage the counrry inhabited by the Engliſh in a mercileſs manner[p]. Edward, not without extreme regret, ſaw himſelf forced to bear their inſults, 'till he could draw his troops together, which he had diſmiſſed, as believing he ſhould not want them ſo ſoon. The moment he was at the head of his army, he made the Danes pay dear for the miſchief they had done the Engliſh. In this war he gained ſo many victories, that the Danes loſt all hopes of throwing off the Engliſh yoke, and his couſin of mounting the throne. At length Ethelward being ſlain in battle[q], and the Daniſh forces conſiderably diminiſhed, they were not able to carry on the war with that vigour they begun it. However, they continued it two years after Ethelward's death. But having in vain endeavoured to repair their loſſes, they ſued for peace[r]; which Edward readily granted

905. Ethelward ſlain. Sax. Ann. Pont. Hiſt. Dan.

907. Edward makes a peace with the Danes.

o Brompon ſays, he landed in Northumbria, the ſame year he went away, and came the next year by ſea to Eſſex. p. 832.

p They over-ran and ſpoiled all Mercia as far as Crecklade in Wiltſhire, and there paſſing the Thames, carried away whatever they could find in Brædon foreſt in the ſame county. In the mean time king Edward purſued them, and waſted all the country that lies between the Devil's-ditch upon New-matket heath, and the Ouſe. Edward recalled his forces from thence, but the Kentiſhmen ſtaying behind, were ſummonded by the Danes; whereupon there followed a ſmart engagement, in which ſeveral were killed on both ſides, and among the reſt Ethelward; but the Danes got the victory. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 352.

q The Saxon Annals tells us, the battle was obſtinate and bloody on both ſides; the king loſt the earls Sigulf and Sigelm, with many more of his nobles. On the Danes part were ſlain Eolrick their king, with a greater number than of the Engliſh, though they had the honour of keeping the field and burying their dead. Sax. Ann. 905.

r S. Dunelm ſays, that Edward was forced to make peace, p. 133. This peace was concluded at Ytringaford, ſuppoſed to be Ilford near Chriſt-Church in Hampſhire. Sax. Ann.

them,

them, on condition they would acknowledge him for ſovereign as they had done his father, and the Normans return to France.

This peace could not hold long between to neighbouring nations ſo exaſperated againſt one another. Accordingly, after three years the war was renewed[s]. It proved fatal to the Danes, who loſt in a very little time two battles[t]. Edward, who knew how to improve his victories, took from them ſeveral towns in Mercia, and at length drove them quite out of that kingdom. Then it was that Ethelred, who had all along bravely ſeconded the king his brother-in law, became in reality earl of Mercia; but was not long ſo. He died almoſt as ſoon as that whole province was united under his government. This earl was not only governor or viceroy of Mercia: he had ſome particular power, the nature of which it is very difficult to learn from the hiſtorians that ſpeak of it. Malmſbury ſays, he held the country as a fief of the crown, much in the ſame manner as the German princes hold their territories of the empire[u]. Of this, Elfleda his widow's ceſſion to the king her brother of the cities of London and Oxford, is a farther proof. If Ethelred had been only governor or viceroy, Elfleda would have had no right to reſign theſe two places, ſince they would not have belonged to her[w].

The war is renewed. 910.

912. Ethelred earl of Mercia dies. Sax. Ann.

Elfleda having taken upon her the government of Mercia, after Ethelred's death, followed the example of her father and brother, in fortifying towns, to take away from the Danes all hopes of ſettling in Mercia again. Among the places ſhe repaired or fortified, theſe are the chief, Warwick, Tamworth,

Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd.

s The Annals ſay not by whom the treaty was broken; but Hoveden lays it to the charge of the Danes, p. 421. Upon the renewing of the war, king Edward ſent, Anno 910, an army of Weſt Saxons and Mercians into Northumbria, who plundered the kingdom for five weeks, and ſlew many of the Danes. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 352.

t The firſt was in 911 at Wodneſfield. For the Daniſh army in Northumberland not regarding the peace which king Edward and his ſon had made with them, waſted again the province of Mercia. In this battle were ſlain ſeveral thouſand Danes, with their kings Ecwils and Healfden. They were ſucceeded by one Reginald. The ſecond battle was fought at Teotenhale, or Tetnel in Staffordſhhire. Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc. Huntingd. p. 352. Brompton. Camden.

u Ethelred bore the title of Subregulus Merciorum. Selden affirms, Subregulus is the ſame with Ealdeman or Count. Du Cange ſays, it ſignifies ſometimes earl, ſometimes Semi-Rex or Demi-King. In this laſt ſenſe it muſt be underſtood with reſpect to Ethelred, according to this paſſage of Malmſbury, "Edwardus duo regna Merciorum & "Viſi-Saxonum conjunxerat, Mercio-"rum nomine tenus, quippe commen-"datum duci Ethelredo." Rapin.

w Anno 913, in November, king Edward built a caſtle at Hertford.—The next ſummer he built Witham in Eſſex, and lay incamped at the ſame time with his forces at Maldon. And the greateſt part of Eſſex, which then belonged to the Danes, came in to him. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 353. Brompt. p. 833.

Wedneſbury, Charbury, Eadſbury, and Cheſter[x]. This laſt had lain in ruins for ſome time[y]. When Elfleda had taken theſe precautions, ſhe carried her arms into Wales[z], and after ſeveral victories, obliged the Welch to become her tributaries.

915. The founding of the univerſity of Cambridge.

The year 915, as ſome affirm, is memorable for the founding of the univerſity of Cambridge by king Edward. But all agree not in this matter. Some maintain the origin of this famous univerſity is of a much later date. Others, on the contrary, carry its antiquity a great deal higher, and attribute the founding of it to one Cantaber, a Spaniard, three hundred and fifteen years before the birth of our Saviour. Some again, cutting off almoſt a thouſand years of this antiquity, are contented with aſſerting, that Sebert, who reigned in Eſſex in the beginning of the VIIth century, was the firſt founder. I ſhall not take upon me to decide this diſpute rendered very warm by the emulation between Oxford and Cambridge. It is ſufficient to have briefly mentioned the diverſity of opinions in this matter. However, I cannot forbear obſerving, that if the univerſity of Cambridge was in being in king Sebert's time, or even in Alfred's, it is very ſurpriſing, that neither Bede, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, nor Aſſerius in his Life of Alfred, ſhould take the leaſt notice of it.

From the year 910, when the war between the Engliſh and Danes was rekindled, to the year 922, we find in hiſtory nothing but a long ſeries of battles, the relation whereof muſt be unpleaſant to the reader[a]. I ſhall therefore, without any ſcruple, paſs them over in ſilence, and mention only the moſt remarkable conſequences.

918. The princeſs Elfleda dies. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. lib. v.

The princeſs Elfleda, ſiſter to king Edward, died during this war[b], leaving an only daughter, named Elfwinna, then

x She alſo built and repaired ſome at Stafford, Bridgnorth, Runckhoene in Cheſhire, and at Scotiate or Seargate, Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Hoved. Theſe caſtles were built to ſecure the Mercian frontiers againſt the Daniſh and Welch incurſions. Tyr. p. 316.

y It was demoliſhed by Ecfrid king of Northumberland, and afterwards by the Danes.

z And took Brecenanmiere (ſuppoſed to be Brecknock.) She alſo took in 918 Derby, and in 920 Leiceſter, York, &c. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

a Anno 917, the Danes ſlew many of the Engliſh at Hocnorton in Oxfordſhire; but a body of them was defeated the ſame year at Leighton in Bedfordſhire. Anno 921, the Danes beſieged Toceſter in Northamptonſhire, and Wigmore in Herefordſhire, but were repulſed. The ſame year they took Colcheſter, and killed all the people in it; but making an attempt upon Maldon, they were beaten back, and loſt ſeveral hundreds of men. Sax. Ann. Hunt. p. 353. Brompt.

b Ingulph ſays, that in reſpect of the cities ſhe built, the caſtles ſhe fortified, and the armies ſhe managed, it might have been thought ſhe had changed her ſex. She died at Tamworth in Staffordſhire, and was buried in the porch of the monaſtery of St. Peter in Glou-

marriageable. Elfleda ſucceeded her huſband in the ſovereignity of Mercia, I ſay ſovereignty, becauſe it was certainly more than a bare government. But not to give wrong notions of this matter, it will be proper to conſider the ſtate of Mercia at the time I am ſpeaking of. Hiſtorians not having clearly expreſſed themſelves, have left us very much in the dark as to this point. It muſt be remembered, that Ethelred, with the title of earl of Mercia, was in poſſeſſion only of London and its territory, or at moſt of the county of Middleſex; and that London, the capital formerly of the kingdom of Eſſex, was become the metropolis of Mercia. Afterwards, Ethelred's narrow territories being much enlarged by his conqueſts upon the Mercian Danes, Alfred's preſent to his ſon-in-law was become ſo conſiderable, as to raiſe the jealouſy of the new king, and make him apprehenſive of Ethelred's ſucceſſors growing too powerful. However, whilſt Elfleda lived, Edward ſeemed not to be jealous of her proſperity, and had no thoughts of diſpoſſeſſing her of what ſhe had gained in a great meaſure by her own valour. But after her death, he did not think fit to leave her daughter Elfwina in poſſeſſion of a demeſn, which put it in her power to raiſe new troubles in England by ſome ill-contrived match. And indeed, there are hiſtorians who affirm, the young princes had reſolved upon marrying a Daniſh prince[c], and that therefore her uncle deprived her of her dominions. He was afraid, no doubt, ſhe would introduce the enemies of the kingdom into thoſe very places, that with ſo much difficulty had been wreſted out of their hands. However this be, after Elfleda's death, he ſeized upon Mercia, and carried his niece with him into Weſſex. In all likelihood ſhe paſſed the reſt of her days in a nunnery. Whether Elfwina's deſign of marrying a Dane was matter of fact, or an invention to vindicate the king's proceedings againſt his niece, it equally proves, what was before obſerved, that Ethelred and Elfleda were proprietors of Mercia. If they had been no more than governors, Edward would have had no occaſion to alledge her intended marriage as a reaſon to deprive her of the government; as, on the other hand, there would have been no neceſſity of inventing ſuch a pretence, ſuppoſing there was no foundation for it. I have enlarged a little on this ſubject, becauſe of the great variety of opinions concerning the right and title of earl Ethelred.

Edward is apprehenſive his niece will deliver Mercia to to the Danes; and therefore ſeizes upon it himſelf. J. Bevour. Sax. Ann.

Gouceſter, which ſhe and her huſband had built. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. lib. v. cap. 5.

[c] Reginald king of the Danes. See Tyrrel.

921, & 922. The Danes ſubmit to Edward. Flor. Wig. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. M. Weſt.

In their wars with Edward, the Danes daily loſt ground, whilſt the king, who knew how to improve his advantages, puſhed them inceſſantly without giving them time to breathe. By which means he at length compelled them to ſubmit, and own him once more for their ſovereign. The Mercian-Danes were the firſt that threw down their arms. The Eaſt-Angles followed ſoon after, and ſubmitted without terms. The Northumbrians were the laſt, as being the moſt powerful, almoſt all Northumberland being inhabited by Danes. The progreſs Edward had made in the other provinces, convinced them, it would be better to ſubmit than continue a war, which muſt end in their ruin. They were then governed by three kings. Sithric and Nigel his brother reigned beyond the Tyne, and Reginald, who reſided at York, ruled all the country between the Tyne and the Humber. Some time after, Sithric having ſlain his brother Nigel, became ſole king of the North.

Edward ſubdues the Welch. J. Bevour.

The ſtate of the Welch depended in ſome meaſure on that of the Danes. As long as the Danes were in arms, the kings of England left the Welch peaceably to enjoy their liberty. But as ſoon as they had nothing to fear from the north, they ſeldom failed to attack them. At ſuch a juncture it was, that Elfleda, aſſiſted by the troops of the king her brother, compelled them to become her tributaries. After her death the Welch endeavoured to free themſelves from the tribute ſhe had laid upon them, and to keep Edward employed, ſent a powerful aid to the Danes. Edward, having then other affairs upon his hands, took no notice of it: but as ſoon as he had concluded a peace with the Danes, marched againſt Rees ap Maldoc[d], king of Wales, who was aſſiſted by Leoffreth, a Daniſh general. After ſeveral indeciſive ſkirmiſhes, Edward at laſt obtained a ſignal victory, which reduced the Welch king to a neceſſity of ſuing for peace, with a promiſe of paying the uſual tribute. In fine the Britons of Cumberland, who had put themſelves under the protection of the Danes, ſubmitted alſo to Edward. Some hiſtorians pretend, the king of Scotland following their example, did homage for his kingdom to the king of England. But the Scots not only deny the fact, but maintain it could not poſſibly be, ſince the word Homage was never uſed in Great Britain till after the Norman conqueſt. But this reaſon is not deciſive for the thing ſignified by that term might be in uſe under another name. And indeed, the ſovereignty of Alfred and Edward over the

The Cumberland Britons ſubmit, and likewiſe the king of Scotland. Flor. Wig. M. Weſt.

[d] i. e. Rees the ſon of Maldoc. Rapin.

Northum-

Northumbrian Danes and the Mercians in the time of Ethelred and Elfleda, was nothing elſe but a right of homage from thoſe countries, though perhaps the word was not then in uſe.

Edward was enjoying the fruits of his victories, feared and reſpected by all that could give him any umbrage at home, and greatly eſteemed by all princes abroad, when death took him out of the world in 925, after a reign of twenty-four years [e]. He gained as great a reputation by his arms as the king his father, ſince, like him, he gave law to all England, and procured the kingdom a repoſe. But if he equalled the great Alfred in military virtues, it muſt be owned he was far ſhort of his illuſtrious father in all other reſpects [f]. 925. Edward's death.

He had children by three wives, the firſt named Egwina, a ſhepherd's daughter, was only a concubine. An hiſtorian relates concerning this woman a ſort of romance, which, on account of the ſequel, it will be neceſſary to inſert. I call it a romance, ſince, by the author's own confeſſion, it has no better foundation than ſome old ſongs handed down to his time [g]; much the ſame with your Spaniſh romances, wherein are related ſeveral ſtories of their ancient kings. The hiſtorian ſays, Egwina, a ſhepherd's daughter, as ſhe lay aſleep in the fields, dreamt that the moon ſhone out of her womb ſo bright, that all England was enlightened by the ſplendor. Some time after, ſhe took occaſion to relate her dream to an old woman that had been king Edward's nurſe. This woman, who pretended to interpret dreams, imagining there was ſomething extraordinary in this, took Egwina into her houſe, and educated her not as a country girl, but as a perſon of quality. Egwina anſwered all the old nurſe's care and pains about her, and in time became an accompliſhed beauty. Whilſt ſhe was in the houſe of her benefactreſs, prince Edward, before he was king, happening to paſs by the place where his nurſe lived, made her a viſit. He caſt his eyes on Egwina, and immediately fell in love with her. His paſſion was ſo violent, that The ſtory of Edward and Egwina.

e He died at Farrington in Berkſhire, and was buried at Wincheſter by his father. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

f He built and repaired ſeveral caſtles and towns, viz. Anno 918, he built two caſtles at Buckingham, one on each ſide the river Ouſe. Anno 919, he built one at Bedford, on the ſouth ſide of the river. Anno 920, he repaired and fortified Maldon in Eſſex. Anno 921, he did the ſame at Toceſter in Northamptonſhire, Wigmore in Herefordſhire, Colcheſter in Eſſex, and Huntingdon. Anno 922, he built a caſtle at Stamford. Anno 923, he repaired Thelwall in Cheſhire and Mancheſter. Anno 924, he built a new town at Nottingham, on the ſouth ſide of the Trent; and alſo one near Bakewell in Derbyſhire. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.

g Magis ex Cantilenis, quam ex libris, ſays Malmsbury. The ſtory is told at large in Brompton, p. 831.

in

in the moſt moving and affecting manner he ſolicited the nurſe to put him in poſſeſſion of the charming Egwina. The old woman, who had a great affection for Edward, and had always the dream in her thoughts, yielded to his requeſt, and induced Egwina to conſent to what he deſired ſo paſſionately.

Children of Edward by Egwina.

From that time, Edward was extremely fond of Egwina, and had by her three children, of whom Athelſtan, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him. Alfred the ſecoud died before his father. The third was a daughter, called by ſome Editha, by others Beatrix.

Children by another wife.

By another wife, Edward had two ſons and ſix daughters. Elſward, the eldeſt ſon, died at Oxford a few days after his father; ſo that he had no time to taſte the ſweets of a crown. Edwin the ſecond was deprived of his juſt rights, and came to a tragical end, as ſhall be related hereafter. Of the ſix daughters, ſome were married to powerful princes, by the care of their brother Athelſtan, and others became nuns. Elfleda the eldeſt was abbeſs of Ramſey in Hampſhire. Ogina was married to Charles the Simple, king of France, and was mother of Lewis d'Outre-Mer. Edilda paſſed her days in a monaſtery. The fourth, of the ſame name, was married to Hugh the Great, earl of Paris, father of Hugh Capet. Edgitha was wife of Otho, emperor of Germany. Edgiva the youngeſt eſpouſed Lewis the Blind, king of Provence, who had a ſon by her, named Conſtantine.

Children by his third wife.

By Edgiva his third wife, Edward had two ſons and two daughters. Edmund and Edred, the two ſons, were both kings of England. Edburga was a nun, and her ſiſter Edgiva was married to Lewis prince of Aquitain. It is very probable this Edgiva was confounded with her ſiſter of the ſame name by the ſecond wife, who was married to Lewis king of Provence, becauſe there was then no prince of Aquitain mentioned in hiſtory.

The Daniſh hiſtorians give Edward another daughter named Thyra, who, as they affirm, was wife of Gorman III. one of their kings. It is ſtrange they ſhould ſpeak ſo poſitively of a princeſs of England, unknown to all the Engliſh hiſtorians.

Rollo gets poſſeſſion of Normandy. Mezerai. Malmsb. lib. ii. cap. 5.

During the reign of Edward the Elder, Rollo chief of the Normans in France, had gotten ſuch firm footing in Neuſtria, that it was not in the power of the French to drive him thence. Charles the Simple, then king of France, was forced, in order to free himſelf from the continual fears of ſo troubleſome a neighbour, to give him a grant of that part of Neuſtria he was poſſeſſed of, lying between the Seine and the Epte, with the title of duke of Normandy. The conditions were, that

that Rollo ſhould do homage to the crown of France, be baptized, and marry Giſelle the king's daughter. Rollo died, according to Mezerai, in 917. Some place his death in 924, and others with ſtill leſs reaſon in 928. William his ſon, by Poppa daughter of the earl of Bayeux, was his ſucceſſor.

His death.

William ſucceeds him.

8. ATHELSTAN.

ELSWARD, Edward's eldeſt ſon, ſurviving his father but a few days, and the reſt of the legitimate children being all under age, Athelſtan, ſon of Egwina, was placed on the throne, with the conſent of the clergy and nobility. Though this prince had a mixture of baſe and royal blood in his veins, the laſt had ſo far the aſcendant, that the blemiſh of his birth was entirely effaced by his noble qualities. Alfred his grandfather had conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, by girding him with a ſword according to the cuſtom of thoſe days. Edward his father had committed the care of his education to earl Ethelred his brother-in-law, and the princeſs Elfleda his ſiſter, who did their utmoſt to train him up to virtue. As he had been preſent at all their councils, and attended them in all their warlike expeditions, he had acquired ſo great experience both in military and political affairs, as, joined to his natural parts, gained him the eſteem of all the world. So that when he mounted the throne, he was not only of a fit age, being then in his thirtieth year, but alſo very capable to govern. Hiſtory does not inform us what determined the Engliſh to give the crown to this prince, notwithſtanding his illegitimate birth [h]. However, his father thought this defect a ſufficient reaſon to ſet him by, and name for his ſucceſſor another of his ſons born in wedlock, though younger than Athelſtan. In all appearance, after the death of Elſward, Athelſtan's mature age and noble qualities gained him the preference before Edwin, the eldeſt of the legitimate ſons, but too young to govern [i].

925 Atheſtan is elected king of England. Sax. Ann.

Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 6.

h Malmsbury ſays, that there was no other objection againſt him but this, if it was true. p. 48.

i Athelſtan was crowned at Kingſton upon Thames by Athelm archbiſhop of Canterbury. This ceremony of crowning and anointing the Engliſh kings was, in all probability, firſt uſed in the reign of Alfred.

This

A plot against the king. Malmsb.

This election however was not pleasing to all. Some of the principal lords disdaining to be governed by a bastard, conspired to dethrone Athelstan, and place Edwin in his room. Alfred, chief of the conspirators, had even taken private measures to seize Athelstan at Winchester, and put out his eyes. The plot being discovered, he was apprehended by the king's order, but would confess nothing. He obstinately persisted in protesting his innocence, and offered to purge himself by oath in the presence of the pope. Although this way of justifying himself was far from being a proof of his innocence, Athelstan was satisfied with it, and sent him to Rome, to take his oath before pope John. Perhaps he was unwilling to begin his reign with blood, or, it may be, was apprehensive the treating too severely a person of the first rank, would draw upon him the ill-will of the nobles. Shortly after, word was sent him from Rome, that Alfred having sworn his innocence before the pope, suddenly fell into a fainting fit, which lasting three days, ended with his life; and that the pope, convinced by this accident of Alfred's perjury, had ordered his body to remain in the English college till the king's pleasure should be known. Athelstan, pleased with being thus rid of his enemy, without having directly contributed to his death, consented he should have christian burial. However, his lands were confiscated, and given to Malmsbury monastery. The king took care to insert in the grant the whole conspiracy, to testify to the world that he dedicated to God what was his own.

The Danes begin to stir.

In the mean time, new troubles were preparing for the king. As the Danes, settled in England, had been subdued by force, they thought it lawful to use the same means to shake off their yoke. The death of Edward, and the conspiracy of Alfred, affording them, as they imagined, a favourable opportunity to revolt, they had begun to take such measures as obliged Athelstan to march into their country. He would doubtless have met with more resistance, had he given them time to make greater preparations. But as they had not yet drawn their forces together, they were so surprised by the arrival of the king on their frontiers, that without endeavouring to defend themselves, they returned to their allegiance. Sithric, one of their kings [k], went and sued for peace, upon what terms the king was pleased to impose. Athelstan, being desirous to live in peace with the Danes, that he might have time to establish himself in the throne, not only pardoned his

Athelstan marches into Northumberland.

They are forced to submit. Malmsb. Fl. Wig.

k King of the Northumbrians. Malmsb. p. 48.

revolt,

revolt, but gave him his ſiſter Editha in marriage, on condition he would receive baptiſm [l].

The troubles in the north being thus appeaſed, Athelſtan marched back to Weſſex, where advice was broughr him ſoon after of Sithric's death, who by a former marriage had left two ſons, Anlaff and Godfrid [m]. As the hiſtories of thoſe times are not very particular, we are ignorant of the reaſon of Athelſtan's reſolving to deprive theſe two princes of their father's dominions. However that be, as ſoon as he heard of Sithric's death, he returned at the head of his army into Northumberland. His march was ſo expeditious, that Anlaff and Godfrid, as well as Reginald, another Daniſh king reſiding at York, had ſcarce time to eſcape falling into his hands. Their haſty flight gave him opportunity of becoming maſter of all Northumberland, except the caſtle of York.

Athelſtan's ſecond expedition to the north. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Huntingd. Hoved.

He ſeizes all Northumberland.

Though he had taken care to ſecure his conqueſts, by placing ſtrong garriſons in all the towns, he was uneaſy at the eſcape of the three Daniſh princes. He would have been glad to have had them in his power, but that was impoſſible. It was not known what was become of Reginald, and Anlaff was fled into Ireland, where it was not eaſy to come at him. Athelſtan therefore was forced to be ſatisfied with requiring Conſtantine king of Scotland to deliver up Godfrid, who had retired into his dominions. Conſtantine, being ſenſible he was not in condition to deny any thing to a prince at the head of ſo powerful an army, promiſed to deliver the prince, and give him a meeting at Dacor [n]. But whilſt he was preparing for his journey, Godfrid made his eſcape, either through the negligence or connivance of Conſtantine, who however went to meet Athelſtan, accompanied with Eugenius king of Cumberland. Athelſtan admitted Conſtantine's excuſes for the Daniſh prince's eſcape. But if the Engliſh hiſtorians are to be credited, he obliged both the kings to do homage for their kingdoms [o]. However, the Scots poſitively deny that England had ever any right of ſovereignty over Scotland till the

An interview of the kings of England and Scotland. Malmsb.

Remarks on the pretended homage of Conſtantine. Buchanan.

l She was daughter to Edward and Egwina. After Sithric's death, (who lived but one year after his marriage) ſhe became a nun at Polesworth in Warwickſhire. Flor. Worc. Malmsb. Jo. Wallingford ſays, that Sithric upon his marriage with Editha, was advanced by Athelſtan to the title of king, and that he gave him for his kingdom all the country from the river Tees, as far as Edinburgh; from which time the Danes began to ſettle in thoſe parts, who before rambled about all over England. See Tyrr. p. 330.

m Flor. Wor. more probably ſuppoſes Anlaff not to have been the ſon of Sithric king of Northumberland, but of another of that name, king of Ireland, and who had married the daughter of Conſtantine, p. 603. Bromp. 839.

n Dacre in Cumberland. Camd.

o This homage is mentioned neither in the Saxon Annals, nor in Marianus Scotus, nor Florence of Worceſter.

twelfth

twelfth century. But this diſpute, which was never decided, will for the future be dropt, ſince England and Scotland make now but one kingdom.

Godfrid's deſtiny.

Before Athelſtan quitted the north, Godfrid made an attempt upon York, by means of the caſtle, where he had ſtill ſome friends [p]. But miſſing his aim, he put to ſea, where for ſome time he exerciſed piracy. At length, tired with that way of life, he ſurrendered himſelf to the king of England, who received him kindly, and allowed him a handſome penſion. Some time after, upon ſome diſguſt or ill-grounded ſuſpicion, he withdrew again, and was never more heard of.

Anlaff and Conſtantine join againſt Athelſtan.

Malmsb. Hoveden.

Anlaff, a prince of greater abilities than his brother, took better meaſures for his reſtoration. He had retired into Ireland, where being informed that the king of Scotland was diſpleaſed with Athelſtan, he believed he might ſeize this opportunity to perſuade him to eſpouſe his cauſe. To that end, he came to Scotland, and intimated to Conſtantine, that he had reaſon to fear the worſt from the king of England. He repreſented to him, that Athelſtan having by ſurprize ſeized upon Northumberland, without any the leaſt pretence, might proceed in the ſame manner with regard to Scotland, and therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to prevent him. To this he added the offer of a powerful aid from Ireland, aſſuring him, with that increaſe of ſtrength, he might eaſily drive Athelſtan out of Northumberland, and free himſelf from a troubleſome and dangerous neighbour, by reſtoring that kingdom to the Danes, who would ſerve as a barrier againſt England. Anlaff found no great difficulty to prevail with the king of Scotland, who, beſides his being ſecretly exaſperated at the haughty reception he met with at the late interview, was grown uneaſy at Athelſtan's ſucceſſes, and apprehenſive of being invaded himſelf. He reſolved therefore to imbark in this enterprize; and having concerted meaſures with Anlaff, they parted, in order to prepare what each had engaged to provide.

Athelſtan defeats Howel king of Wales. G. Malmsb.

Mean while Athelſtan, having viewed his garriſons, and taken all the precautions he thought proper to ſecure his late conqueſts, was returned into Weſſex, where he remained in peace, not knowing what his enemies had plotted againſt him. Shortly after, he was engaged in a war with Howel, king of Wales. This new enemy was raiſed by Conſtantine, to keep him employed againſt the Welch, while he and Anlaff ſhould invade Northumberland. Athelſtan, by his expe-

[p] But Athelſtan took it and pulled it down. Malmsb. p. 50.

dition,

dition, broke all the measures of the king of Scotland. The moment he was informed of the motions of the Welsh, and the aid sent them by Constantine, he marched into Wales, and, giving Howel battle, obtained a complete victory [q]. After this happy success, he augmented the tribute paid by that prince to England [r]. Brompton.

This war being thus ended, Athelstan approached the borders of Scotland, to make Constantine repent of his assisting the Welch. As soon as he entered the enemy's country, he took some towns, and gave the Scots reason to dread more considerable losses. As Anlaff was not yet arrived with the promised supplies, Constantine durst not venture to engage alone in this war against so powerful an enemy, who was already in his dominions, and in condition to carry on his conquests much further. Wherefore, to gain time till the Irish joined him, he sued for peace. Athelstan readily granted his request, being extremely desirous to make that prince his friend, for fear he should countenance the insurrections of the Northumbrians. For this reason he restored to him all the places he had conquered in Scotland, in expectation of gaining by this generosity a prince whose friendship it was his interest to cultivate. Some historians however affirm, Athelstan obliged Constantine to do him homage for Scotland: but this is what the Scots will never allow. 934 He marches into Scotland, Sax. Ann. Fordun, lib. iv. c. 22. and makes a peace with Constantine.

Athelstan's generosity was not sufficient to hinder Constantine from pursuing the execution of his first projects. He rather hastened his preparations the more, being extremely vexed, he should be forced to receive obligations from a prince whom he always considered as his enemy. Mean while Athelstan was returned to Wessex, where he hoped to enjoy some repose, as he saw nothing likely to give him any disturbance. But he met at home in his own family with what troubled him more than any thing the war could occasion. 938 Constantine renews the war.

A certain court-lord, enemy to prince Edwin, the king's brother, accused the young prince of being concerned in Alfred's conspiracy. The king too readily gave ear to this accusation; he was easily induced to believe that a prince, in whose favour the conspiracy was formed. was not innocent. It may be too, he was not sorry to find him guilty, as it gave him an opportunity to dispatch him out of the Athelstan puts his brother Edwin to death, Brompton. Malmsb.

[q] But he restored Howel and Constantine, to their kingdoms, saying, "It was more glorious to make "a king, than to be one." Malmsbury, p. 48. Brompton, p. 838.

[r] Malmsbury intimates it was he who first laid it on, p. 50.

way.

way. However, he would not put him to death publicly, but ordered him to be expoſed to the fury of the waves in a veſſel without ſails or rudder. The young prince went on board, proteſting his innocence; but finding the king inexorable, he caſt himſelf headlong into the ſea [s]. Athelſtan at first was ſecretly pleaſed with this occaſion to deſtroy his brother; but the moment he had gratified his paſſion, was ſeized with grievous remorſe. To quiet his conſcience, he was adviſed to atone for his crime by ſome meritorious act. With this view he founded the abbey of Middleton in Dorſetſhire [t], where prayers were offered to Heaven, day and night, for him and his brother's ſoul. The hiſtorians add, that, not content with this, he ſubmitted to a ſeven years penance, but do not inform us whereiu it conſiſted. Edwin's accuſer had not reaſon long to rejoice at the ſucceſs of his malicious calumnies. One day, as he waited at table with the king's cup, one of his feet ſlipping, he would certainly have fallen, had he not by the nimbleneſs of the other recovered himſelf: whereupon he jokingly ſays, "See, how one brother helps "another." This jeſt coſt him his life. Athelſtan, who overheard what he ſaid, taking it for a reproach or banter upon him, ordered him to be executed immediately, and thus revenged his brother's death by that of his falſe accuſer [u].

and repents of it.

Brompton. Malmsb.

s With the prince was put on board his eſquire, who, after the prince had caſt himſelf into the ſea, was reſolved to ſave himſelf if he could, and meeting with better fortune, was driven on ſhore at a place called Whitſand, on the coaſt of Picardy. Malm. Brompt.

t Now called Melton-abbey; it lies three miles north of the Pidd'e. The greateſt part of it is ſtill ſtanding, as having been the ſeat of the Tregonwells ever ſince its diſſolution; from whom it is lately come to the Lutterells of Dunſter-caſtle, by the marriage of the heireſs of ſir John Tregonwell, Camd. Add. to Dorſetſhire.

u As the affair of Edwin is the only thing that ſu'lies the memory of Athelſtan, Malmsbury, who relates it, diſbelieves the whole ſtory, becauſe of his great kindneſs to his other brothers and ſiſters, and owns it was grounded only on ſome old ballads. Huntingdon ſpeaks of the loſs of Edwin by ſea, but mentions it as a ſad accident, and a great misfortune to Atheiſtan. Brompton indeed delivers it as a certain truth. But Buchanan the Scotch hiſtorian (ſuch was his malice to this king's memory) makes Athelſtan not only to have procured the death of his brother Edwin, but alſo of his father king Edward, whom he therefore fancies to have been called the Martyr; and not content with this neither, adds, that he put to death his brother Edred alſo. More miſtakes can ſcarce be committed in ſo few lines; for, in the firſt place, it is agreed by all our hiſtorians, that king Edward died a natural death; and as for him whom he called the Martyr, he was ſon of king Edgar, nor did he begin to reign till above a hundred and fifty years after. But as for what Buchanan objects againſt ſome of our late hiſtorians for making Conſtantine to do homage for Scotland to Athelſtan, he ſeems to be in the right. See note above.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things paſſed at court, Conſtantine continued his preparations for the execution of the project concerted between him and Anlaff. This laſt, whom ſome groundleſly ſtyle king of Ireland, had found means to engage in the league the Iriſh, Welch, and Northumbrian Danes, who ardently deſired to have a king of their own nation on the throne. Anlaff appeared as head of this league, though Conſtantine was no leſs concerned in it, the war being carried on chiefly at his expence. This project was managed ſo privately, that Anlaff entered the Humber with a fleet of ſix hundred ſail, and invaded Northumberland before Athelſtan had any intelligence of his motions. With ſo conſiderable forces, and the aſſiſtance of the Danes ſettled in thoſe parts, he eaſily became maſter of ſeveral ill-guarded towns: but the fortified places that were well garriſoned by the Engliſh, ſtopped his progreſs, and gave Athelſtan time to aſſemble his army. He uſed ſo great expedition, that he ſurpriſed the two confederate princes. They were now upon the march towards Bernicia, in order to conquer it for the king of Scotland, but found they were obliged to turn back to oppoſe king Athelſtan, who was very near them, when they imagined him as yet employed in his preparations. The two armies met at Brunanburgh [x], where a bloody battle was fought. Victory declared for Athelſtan, and the allies loſt Conſtantine, king of Scotland, and ſix other Iriſh or Welſh kings, and twelve earls or general officers. This victory was chiefly owing to the valour of Turketul, the king's couſin, who was afterwards abbot of Croyland. Athelſtan, after winning this battle, eaſily extended his conqueſts farther into Scotland; and chaſtiſed the Welſh by raiſing their tribute to twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of ſilver, and twenty-five thouſand head of cattle: beſides, they were pent up beyond the Wye, and loſt all the country between that river and the Severn. As for the Northumbrian Danes, who had openly joined with the allies, Athelſtan for a puniſhment encreaſed their yoke, and kept for the future a ſtricter hand over them. After he had ſettled the affairs of the north, he

Conſtantine and Anlaff invade Northumberland. Sax. Annal. H. Hunting. Ingulph. Rog. Hov.

Malmſb.

x Suppoſed to be Bromford, near Bromridge, in Northumberland; tho' ſome think it was ſomewhere nearer the Humber. In the deſcription of this battle, the hiſtorians and poets of that age are extraordinary full of rapture and bombaſt. The Saxon Annaliſt, wont to be ſober and ſuccinct, launches out ſtrangely upon this occaſion. Sax. Annal. 938. Axminſter, in the borders of Devonſhire, is famous for the tombs of the Saxon princes ſlain in this battle of Brunanburgh, and brought hither after their death. Camd. vol. i. p. 44. After this victory, Athelſtan took Cumberland and Weſtmoreland from the Scots, and recovered Northumberland from the Danes.

marched againſt the Corniſh Britons, who had likewiſe aſſiſted the Confederates. He took Exeter, formerly deſtroyed by the Danes, and cauſed it to be repaired and fortified. From that time, the Britons were forced to retire beyond the Tamar, which ſerved for a boundary to the two nations. They were, before this expedition, mixed with the Engliſh in ſome of the weſtern counties.

Miracles done in favour of Athelſtan. Brompton. Fordun. lib.iv.c.23.

In almoſt every page of the hiſtories of thoſe days, we meet with miracles wrought in favour of the friends and protectors of the monks. Athelſtan, who had been a good benefactor to them, with intent to atone for the murder of his brother, was a great favourite with them: accordingly they have not failed to give him the uſual marks of their gratitude. They ſay, at the word of St. John of Beverly, he ſtruck his ſword three yards deep into a ſolid rock, which yielded like butter. They tell us alſo, that having loſt his ſword in the battle of Brunanburgh, another from heaven came and ſheathed itſelf in his ſcabbard. But it would be loſt time to relate all the miracles the monks have thought fit to ſtuff their hiſtories with. It will not be amiſs however to note, that the cuſtom of embelliſhing all remarkable events with miracles, was in faſhion for ſeveral ages.

He avoids being ſlain by the advice of a ſoldier. Malmſb. lib.ii.cap.6.

I ſhall conclude the reign of Athelſtan with an incident the beſt hiſtorians have thought worth their notice. A few days before the battle of Brunanburgh, Anlaff wanting to know the poſture of the enemy, went into the Engliſh camp diſguiſed like a harper, as Alfred the Great had formerly done. But notwithſtanding his diſguiſe, he was known by a ſoldier, who however ſuffered him to go away undiſcovered. As ſoon as the ſoldier thought him ſafe, he told Athelſtan what had happened, and adviſed him to remove his tent, judging Anlaff had ſome deſign upon that quarter. He excuſed himſelf for not having diſcovered this ſecret ſooner, by ſaying, "he had formerly given his military oath to Anlaff, and therefore could not reſolve to betray him." Athelſtan forgave him, and followed his advice, which he ſoon found to be of great conſequence. The next night the Daniſh prince, with a body of choſen troops, attacked the Engliſh camp, and penetrated to the very place where he had ſeen the king's tent. A biſhop (coming to the camp that night, and) accidentally pitching his tent in the ſame place, was ſlain with all his followers.

941. Athelſtan's death.

Athelſtan out-lived the victory of Brunanburgh but three years. He died a natural death in 941, in the forty-ſixth year of

of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign [y]. Hiſtorians have dilated on the glorious ſucceſs of his arms, but much more on the miracles heaven wrought in his favour. But without inſiſting on the wonders his hiſtory abounds with, I ſhall content myſelf with giving him this commendation: his merits made him to be equally feared by his neighbours, beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by the greateſt princes in Europe [z]. The emperor Otho, and Hugh the Great, his brothers-in-law, gave him frequent demonſtrations of their eſteem, by making him conſiderable preſents. The noble matches he made for thoſe of his ſiſters who preferred the marriage-ſtate to a cloyſter, are clear evidences of his great reputation in the world: his ſiſter Ogina, widow of Charles the Simple, king of France. being obliged to fly for refuge into England with her ſon Lewis, who from thence had the ſirname of Outremer, he gave them an honourable reception, and furniſhed them with all things neceſſary during their exile. It is even affirmed, his application and credit did not a little contribute to the reſtoring the king his nephew to the throne of his anceſtors. Though he ſeemed to be entirely engroſſed by military affairs, he found time however to cauſe juſtice and civil government to flouriſh in his dominions; witneſs the excellent laws he from time to time added to thoſe of Alfred his grandfather. It appears from theſe laws, ſeveral whereof are ſtill extant, that his intent was, all perſons, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil, ſhould be ſubject to them. He was no friend to thoſe privileges and immunities the clergy have ſo much improved, and which very often ſerve only to authorize wickedneſs, and prove a ſanctuary to criminals.

His character. G. Malmſb. Ingulph.

Amongſt all the monuments of his piety, which for the moſt part conſiſted only in building and endowing monaſteries, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, the tranſlation of the Scriptures into Saxon, the then vulgar tongue, is one; the uſefulneſs whereof appears to be leaſt dubious. He took particular care to have it well done, employing thoſe that were deemed the moſt learned perſons in the kingdom. Hence it is evident, how much the ſtate of learning had been improved by the wiſe regulations of the great Alfred, ſince in his time it would have been impoſſible to find any Engliſhman capable of undertaking a work of that nature.

He gets the Bible tranſlated into Saxon.

y He died at Glouceſter, and was buried with a great many trophies at Malmsbury.

z Malmsbury concludes king Athelſtan's character with this ſentence, "His life was little in time, but great "in action," lib. ii.

Birth of Dunſtan. The famous Dunſtan, ſo often mentioned hereafter, was born in the firſt year of this reign.

Edmund made king. Athelſtan having no iſſue, Edmund, the eldeſt of the legitimate ſons of Edward the Elder, was unanimouſly placed on the throne.

9. EDMUND I.

Edmund I. ATHELSTAN left England in profound tranquillity. The Welſh paid their tribute regularly. Anlaff, after his defeat, was retired into Ireland, where he ſeemed to lay aſide all thoughts of any further projects; and the Danes remained in ſubjection. As ſoon as this prince was laid in his grave, the Danes prepared for a revolt. Edmund's youth made them hope they ſhould at length be able to accompliſh their long projected deſign of having a king of their own nation, and throwing off the Engliſh yoke. Anlaff having perfect intelligence how they ſtood inclined, reſolved to ſeize this juncture to recover the crown of Northumberland. But as he was ſenſible this grand undertaking could not be executed without a foreign aid, he found means to perſuade Olaus, king of Norway, to eſpouſe his cauſe, who promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power. With the troops lent him by this prince, he once more entered Northumberland, and appearing before York, the gates were opened to him, by means of the good underſtanding between him and the principal inhabitants. The example of the metropolis was followed by moſt of the other towns, whoſe garriſons were either expelled, or cut in pieces by the citizens, who were generally of Daniſh race. Anlaff, not content with being maſter of Northumberland, marched into Mercia [a], where his countrymen received him with open arms, and aſſiſted him in recovering ſeveral places which Edward the Elder had formerly taken from them.

Anlaff invades Northumberland, Sax. Ann. G. Malmsb. S. Dunelm. J. Wallingford.

and makes great progreſs.

942.

A doubtful battle produces a peace. Though Edmund was not above ſeventeen or eighteen years old, the progreſs of the enemy was ſo far from daunting him, that it rather made him more eager to decide by a battle, to whom the country, ſo often and ſo long contend-

a Where he beſieged Northampton; from thence he went to Tamworth, and ravaged all the country round about. S. Dunelm. p. 134. Hoved. Chron. de Mailros.

ed for, ſhould belong. As ſoon as he had drawn all his forces together, he reſolutely marched towards the north, though he well knew the ſuperiority of his enemy. On the other hand Anlaff hearing Edmund was advancing with long marches to give him battle, went to meet him with the ſame reſolution. The two armies meeting near Cheſter [b], came to an engagement, wherein victory held the balance ſo even, that when night came, neither could boaſt of the leaſt advantage. Both ſides prepared to renew the fight as ſoon as day ſhould appear. But the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York [c], who were in the two armies, laboured ſo earneſtly to make peace, that a treaty was begun that very evening, and concluded by break of day. This peace was the more eaſily made, as neither of the parties could inſiſt upon any advantage gained in that day's action, ſince neither of them could know either their own or the enemy's loſs. By this treaty, Edmund was obliged to deliver up to the Danes all the country lying north of the Roman highway called Watling-ſtreet, which divided England into almoſt two equal parts, running from North Wales to the moſt ſouthern parts of Kent, quite to the ſea. Edmund was not at all pleaſed with theſe terms, but was in a manner forced to accept them by the nobles that were in his army. Theſe lords, weighing the hopes of recovering what was loſt, with the apprehenſion of being ſtill greater loſers, judged it better to end the war on theſe conditions, than continue it with the hazard of what might happen. Doubtleſs the remembrance of the calamities England was formerly expoſed to, made them the more willing to come to this reſolution. Accordingly Anlaff was put in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Northumberland, whoſe bounds by this treaty were enlarged with ſeveral counties, which his father Sithric had never enjoyed.

S. Dunelm. Rog. de Hov.

Edmund and Anlaff divide England between them.

The Northumbrian Danes had not reaſon long to rejoice at the reſtoration of Anlaff, which they had ſo ardently deſired. This prince having contracted a large debt with the king of Norway, for the troops he had lent him, was willing to pay it. To this end he laid heavy taxes on the people, by which he forfeited their affection. The inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Deïra were the firſt that revolted; and having ſent for Reginald, his brother Godfrid's ſon, crowned

944. Diviſions in Northumberland.

b Ancient Cheſter, called by the Romans Urbs Legionis. It was ſo named from the twentieth legion, who were encamped here, to keep the Ordovices in awe: for the ſame reaſon it was called by the Britiſh, or Welſh, Caerleon; and by the Saxons Legeaceſter, ſuppoſed to be built about that time. Rapin.

c Odo and Wulſtan.

him king at York. Reginald was no ſooner on the throne, but he made preparations for the war againſt his uncle, who was alſo preparing to diſpoſſeſs him. The quarrel between theſe two kings put Edmund upon marching towards the north, at the head of an army, as well to improve the preſent opportunity, if there was any appearance of ſucceſs, as to appeaſe the troubles there, being apprehenſive they might give occaſion to the foreign Danes to return into England. He arrived upon the borders of Northumberland when the uncle and nephew, wholly intent upon their private quarrel, thought of nothing leſs than repulſing the Engliſh. Probably he might with eaſe have made himſelf maſter of that kingdom; however he was ſatisfied with procuring peace between the two kings, in ſuch a manner that Reginald was to keep the crown he had lately received, but at the ſame time, Edmund obliged them both to ſwear allegiance to him, and be baptiſed, himſelf ſtanding godfather.

Edmund marches thither,

and ſubjects the two kings, who are baptized,

The war breaks out afreſh. Sax. Ann. Huntin. lib. v.

This forced peace laſted not long, Edmund was hardly returned into Weſſex, when the two Daniſh princes took up arms with one conſent to free themſelves from his yoke, having engaged the Mercian Danes and the king of Cumberland to eſpoſe their quarrel. Whereupon, Edmund immediately marched into Mercia, and before the Danes there could be joined by the Northumbrians, took from them Leiceſter, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, and ſome other places of leſs note. Then advancing with the ſame expedition towards Northumberland, he ſurpriſed the two kings before they had drawn their forces together. This ſudden attack threw the Northumbrians into ſuch diſorder, that the two kings fearing to fall into the hands of Edmund, believed it their only refuge to abandon the iſland, where they could not poſſibly remain in ſafety, ſo cloſely were they purſued. Their flight depriving the Danes of all hopes of withſtanding Edmund, they threw down their arms, and ſwore allegiance.

The two Daniſh kings fly out of England.

945. Edmund ſubdues Cumberland and gives it to the king of Scotland. Sax. Ann. Fordun. lib. iv, cap. 24.

Before he returned to Weſſex, Edmund reſolved to puniſh the king of Cumberland, who, without cauſe, had ſided with the Danes. He eaſily ſubdued that little kingdom, whoſe forces bore no proportion to his. However, he kept it not for himſelf, but thought it more for his advantage to preſent it to the king of Scotland, in order to attach him to his intereſt, and prevent him from aſſiſting the Northumbrians [d]. However, he reſerved the ſovereignty of it, and obliged that

[d] He had it, upon condition of aſſiſting Edmund in his wars both by ſea and land. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. p. 53. Huntingd. p. 355.

prince

prince to do him homage, and appear at the king of England's court, at the time of the ſolemn feſtivals, if ſummoned. This perhaps is what gave occaſion to ſay, that from thenceforward the kings of Scotland were vaſſals to the kings of England. They were certainly ſo with regard to Cumberland; but it does not follow from hence they did homage for the kingdom of Scotland.

Edmund's ſucceſſes, his valour and abilities, rendered him famous both at home and abroad. The king of Denmark, though frequently ſollicited by the Danes in England, did not think proper to aſſiſt them againſt a prince of ſo great reputation, and from whom there was ſo little to be got.

Edmund was not wholly employed in military affairs; there are ſome of his laws ſtill in being, which demonſtrate how deſirous he was of his people's welfare and happineſs. Having obſerved pecuniary puniſhments were not ſufficient to put a ſtop to robberies, which were generally committed by people who had nothing to loſe, he ordered, that in gangs of robbers, the oldeſt of them ſhould be condemned to the gallows. This was the firſt law in England that made it death to rob or ſteal. The laws of Edmund. Brompton.

Probably this prince would have rendered his people happy, had his reign been longer; but a fatal accident robbed him of his life, when he began to enjoy the fruits of his victories. One day, as he was ſolemnizing a feſtival [e] at Pucklekirk in Glouceſterſhire [f], he ſpied Leolf, a notorious robber, who, though baniſhed the kingdom for his crimes, had the impudence to come and ſit at one of the tables in the hall where the king was at dinner. Enraged at his inſolence, he commanded him to be apprehended [g]. But perceiving he was drawing his dagger to defend himſelf, the king leapt up in great fury, and catching hold of him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall. This imprudent action coſt him his life. Whilſt he was wholly intent upon venting his furious paſſion, Leolf ſtabbed him in the breaſt with his dagger, ſo that he immediately expired upon the body of his murderer. This

498. The tragical end of Edmund. G. Malmsb. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Malmſb.

e In memory of St. Auguſtin, who firſt preached the goſpel to the Anglo-Saxons. Malmsb.

f Now Puckle-Church, a ſmall village only, the ſeat of the Dennis's, whoſe family have been eighteen times ſheriffs of that county. Camd.

g Malmsb. and Brompton ſay, that the reſt of the gueſts being drunk, he was the only one that ſpied him, and flying upon him in a violent paſſion, was ſtabbed, p. 54. 858. But Hoved. Chron. de Mailros, &c. ſay, that he received the wound as he was endeavouring to reſcue Leon his Sewer out of Leolf's hands. Brompton relates, that according to ſome, Leolf eſcaped during the confuſion and hurry occaſioned by this tragical action, p. 838.

was the rragical end of king Edmund in 948, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the eighth of his reign [h]. By Elgiva his wife he had two ſons, Edwy and Edgar, who did not ſucceed him by reaſon of their minority. Edred his brother was placed on the throne by the unanimous conſent of the clergy and nobility [i].

His wife and children.

Dunſtan.

During this reign, Dunſtan began to appear in the world. He was in great favour with Edmund, who made him abbot of Glaſſenbury.

The affairs of Normandy.

About this time William Long-Sword, ſecond duke of Normandy, was aſſaſſinated by Arnold earl of Flanders, in a little iſland of the Somme over-againſt Pequigni. Richard I. his ſon, a minor, ſucceeded him. As the affairs of Normandy will hereafter be often mixed with thoſe of England, it is neceſſary to give an account beforehand of the ſucceſſion of the dukes in that dukedom.

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10. EDRED.

EDRED. War of Northumberland.

THE Northumbrian Danes bore the Engliſh yoke with extreme impatience. Nothing but force was ſufficient to keep them in ſubjection. Whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity to revolt, they ſeldom failed to embrace it. Though during Edmund's reign they had not been very ſucceſsful, yet upon news of his death, they began to think of means to recover their liberty. They hoped his ſucceſſor, whom as yet they knew not, would not have his bravery, or at leaſt wanting his experience, would not have the ſame advantage over them. The better to execute their deſigns, they gained to their ſide Malcolm king of Scotland, who looked upon all obligations to be cancelled by the death of Edmund. This prince, as well as the Danes, was perſuaded, Edred, by reaſon of his youth, would be ſo embarraſſed at this unexpected attack, that it would not be poſſible for him to make any reſiſtance. But the ſucceſs was not anſwerable to their expectations. Edred, not being in-

Sax. Ann. H. Hunt. lib. v.

[h] He was buried at Glaſſenbury, where Dunſtan was abbot; and the town where he was killed was beſtowed upon the ſame monaſtery to ſing maſſes for his ſoul.

[i] And crowned at Kingſton, by Odo archbiſhop of Canterbury, St. Dunelm. p. 156. Hoved.

ferior

ferior to his predeceſſor, either in conduct or courage, was ſo very expeditious, that he was in the heart of Northumberland, before the Danes were ready to oppoſe him. They were extremely ſurpriſed to find themſelves thus attacked, when as yet they had hardly diſcovered their intention to revolt. However, as Edred was in the midſt of their country, they were forced to ſubmit and ſue for peace upon what terms he pleaſed [k].

Edred chaſtiſes the Danes.

After having chaſtiſed the Danes, by fining ſome, and puniſhing others of the principal authors of the revolt, Edred advanced towards Scotland, to be revenged of the ungrateful Malcolm. But Malcolm ſeeing the Northumbrians ſubdued, and himſelf deſtitute of aſſiſtance from that quarter, concluded a peace with Edred, paying him the homage due to him.

He puniſhes the Danes. Sax. Ann. Hunting.

This expedition being ended, Edred returned into Weſſex, imagining he had nothing more to fear from the north. But he was unacquainted with the Danes. He had ſcarce begun to enjoy ſome repoſe, when they revolted again and recalled Anlaff. Their meaſures were ſo juſt, and Anlaff's expedition ſo great, that he made himſelf maſter of the moſt conſiderable places before Edred could draw his army together. Whilſt he was preparing to ſave Northumberland, Anlaff continued his conqueſts and put his affairs in ſuch condition, that his enemy ſaw no poſſibility of recovering that kingdom out of his hands. But the turbulent and tyrannical temper of the new king would not ſuffer him to treat his ſubjects more gently than formerly. In a little time ſo ſtrong a party was formed againſt him, that he was forced once more to retire to Ireland, and one Eric was placed on the throne.

949.

Anlaff is recalled, and recovers Northumberland; Sax. Ann. Hunting.

is driven out by his ſubjects.

952.

Mean while, part of the Northumbrians ſtill adhering to Anlaff, Northumberland was divided into two factions, who endeavouring to deſtroy one another, gave Edred an opportunity he well knew how to improve. He marched his army without loſs of time into the north, whilſt all was in confuſion there, and before the Northumbrians had taken any meaſures to reſiſt him [l]. At his approach, Eric fled into

Edred ſubdues Northumberland; and reduces it to a province. Sax. Ann.

k Accordingly, Anno 947, Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, and all the Northumbrian lords ſwore fealty to him in a town called Tadencliff. S. Dunelm. p. 156. This ſubmiſſion of theirs was brought about by means of Turketul, chancellor to Edred, who was ſent to reduce the Northumbrians to their duty. See Ingulph. p. 30.

l And deſtroyed all the rebels in a mercileſs manner. He waſted the country ſo that it remained uncultivated for many miles a long while after. In this general devaſtation, Rippon monaſtery was burnt. Malmsb. p. 155. Ingulph. p. 41. S. Dunelm. p. 156.

Scotland,

950. S. Dunelm. Scotland, leaving his people to the mercy of Edred, who threatened utterly to deſtroy their country. Though they had no room to expect a ſecond pardon, after ſo notorious an abuſe of the firſt, yet as they had no refuge left, they caſt themſelves upon Edred's mercy, and amuſed him with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations and moſt ſolemn oaths. As this prince was naturally of a generous diſpoſition, he was moved with their ſubmiſſive behaviour, and replaced Eric on the throne, ſatisfied with impoſing a tribute, and making him ſwear allegiance. When he had, as he thought, allayed theſe commotions, he returned towards Weſſex, marching in a careleſs manner, not miſtruſting any treachery, from a people that had juſt received ſuch ſenſible marks of his clemency. But the Danes, who had been rather compelled by his arms than gained by his mildneſs, ſeized the opportunity to attack him with advantage. They privately came together, and laying an ambuſh in his way, ſuddenly fell upon his rear, and put them in extreme diſorder. Had it not been for the valour, conduct, and reſolution of the king, his army had infallibly been cut to pieces; and it was not without great difficulty, that he eſcaped the preſent danger. Enraged at their perfidiouſneſs, he returned to Northumberland, with a reſolution to puniſh them without mercy. His return cauſed an univerſal conſternation. They beheld him ready to take vengeance on them for their breach of faith, without being able to make the leaſt reſiſtance. Their ruin was unavoidable, if they offered to defend themſelves. In this extremity, ſubmiſſion was their only refuge. But being very ſenſible Edred would not be impoſed upon any more by general proteſtations and oaths, they humbly implored his pardon upon what terms he ſhould pleaſe to enjoin them. And to convince him further of their ſincerity, they ſolemnly renounced their allegiance to Eric, and put Amac, ſon of Anlaff, to death, charging them with being the principal authors of their treachery [m]. Edred was appeaſed by theſe ſubmiſſions. However, to prevent their like revolts, he ſecured all their towns, and garriſoned them with Engliſh. After that, having entirely diveſted it of its royalty, he reduced Northumberland

He makes Eric ſwear allegiance.

He is ſuddenly attacked by the Danes, and in great danger.

He returns into Northumberland.

The Danes ſubmit to his mercy. Huntingd.

Northumland is made a province. S. Dunelm. Ch. Mailros.

m Wulſtan, Archbiſhop of York, was taken into cuſtody for abetting this rebellion. But after he had been in priſon ſome time, Edred ſet him at liberty, in reſpect to his character. However, he is ſaid to take his diſgrace ſo to heart, that it occaſioned his death ſoon after. Malmsb. lib. ii. Mat. Weſt. ſay, he was impriſoned for cauſing ſeveral of the inhabitants of Thetford to be put to death, in revenge for their having murdered abbot Aldelm, p. 189.

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Edred turns his thoughts to religious affairs, is guided by the advice of Dunſtan. Malmsb. lib. ii. cap. 7.

After the Northumbrians were thus quelled, Edred lived in profound peace Abſolute lord of all England, and dreaded by the kings of Scotland and Wales, he governed his dominions in perfect tranquillity. This great calm was the occaſion of his turning his thoughts entirely to religious affairs, being guided by the advice of Dunſtan abbot of Glaſſenbury, who had great influence over him. The abbot knew ſo well how to improve his credit with the king, that he became maſter of his conſcience, and conſequently of all ſtate matters. When once a prince ſuffers his conſcience to be governed by his ghoſtly father, he will find it very difficult to with-hold from him the management of his temporal concerns, there being hardly any one thing but what may be made to relate to religion in ſome reſpect or other. The truſt Edred placed in Dunſtan was ſo great, that not content with being adviſed by him in all things, and making him treaſurer, he ſubmitted ſometimes even to receive diſcipline from his hands. He was perſuaded, this blind ſubmiſſion to Dunſtan was the readieſt way to heaven. To gratify this favourite it was that he undertook the rebuilding of Glaſſenbury church and monaſtery, in a very ſumptuous and magnificent manner. He laid out immenſe ſums upon this work, without having the ſatisfaction however to ſee it finiſhed [n].

Dunſtan's great credit.

He introduces the monks into the benefices.

The monks made uſe alſo of Dunſtan their protector's intereſt, to get into the eccleſiaſtical benefices, which they could never have done without him. Though Dunſtan's proceedings in this affair, raiſed the clamours of the ſecular clergy, he gave himſelf no trouble about them ſo long as he could obtain his ends. However, his haughty manner of acting procured him many enemies, who in the following reign made him feel the effects of their hatred, which they had taken care to conceal during Edred's life. If Dunſtan favoured the monks, they were no leſs zealous upon all occaſions to promote his glory. They every where proclaimed that Dunſtan was a great ſaint, that heaven daily wrought miracles in his favour, and that he was frequently honoured

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n He alſo rebuilt Croyland and Abingdon monaſteries. Ingulph. p. 41. The laſt, founded by Ina, had been deſtroyed by the Danes. Speed.

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with divine revelation. In their account, neither the ſaints of the firſt rank, nor the apoſtles themſelves, were partakers of ſo many graces as he. Though all they ſaid of this prelate was aggravated to the laſt degree, it failed not however to make impreſſion on the minds of the generality of the people, who were more eaſily confirmed in their belief of what they were told, as they who knew better things, durſt not contradict the monks, for fear of incurring the diſpleaſure of the king and his favourite.

955. Edred's death. Had Edred lived any time, Dunſtan and the monks would doubtleſs have carried all before them. But this prince died when the monks were but juſt beginning to creep into the benefices. The hiſtorians who have made it their buſineſs to extol the merits and ſanctity of Dunſtan, tell us, that Edred's death was revealed to him by a voice from heaven, as he was coming to ſee him. They add, his horſe fell down dead under him, at the prodigious noiſe, the voice made [o]. But judicious authors have taken care not to ſtuff their writing with tales of this nature.

Edwy his nephew ſucceeds him. Edred reigned but ten years [p]. Elfrid and Bedfrid, his two ſons, whom he left very young, did not ſucceed him. His nephew Edwy, ſon of Edmund his elder brother, was placed on the throne. This election, by the way, ſeems equally to favour thoſe who are of opinion, that in the Saxon times the ſucceſſion of the crown depended entirely on the ſuffrages of the clergy and nobility, and thoſe who maintain it belonged of right to the next heir. On one hand, we find Edred's ſons deprived by the great men of the king their father's inheritance, and at the ſame time, the crown given to the ſon of the elder brother, in prejudice of thoſe of the younger.

Ingulph. Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. i. We find in one of Edred's charters, that he took the title of Monarch of Albion; and in another, that he ſtiled himſelf king of Great-Britain [q], in which he was followed by Edgar his nephew. If theſe charters were not forged, it may be inferred from thence, that Edred ſubdued Scotland. But this is no proper place to examine this matter, which has cauſed ſuch warm diſputes between the Engliſh and Scots. However this be, the title Edred and Edgar affected to uſe,

o Some think this was a contrivance of Dunſtan's, to keep the treaſure Edred had committed to his truſt. See Hollinſh. vol. i. p. 158.

p He was buried in the old Minſter at Wincheſter. S. Dunelm. His bones, with thoſe of other kings, are preſerved in a gilt coffer fixed upon the wall, in the ſouth ſide of the quire. Speed, p. 346.

q Buchanan ſays, that by Great-Britain is meant, that part of Britain lying on the ſouth of Adrian's wall, which the Britons inhabited.

was

was neglected by their ſucceſſors, till the time of James I. about the end of the ſixteenth century.

II. EDWY.

EDWY[r] came to the crown at fourteen years of age, with very different notions of Dunſtan from thoſe of his predeceſſor. Whether he was prepoſſeſſed by the enemies of that miniſter, or had ſome particular cauſe of complaint againſt him, he was no ſooner on the throne but he ordered him to give an account of the ſums the late king entruſted him with. Dunſtan replied, the money that had paſſed thro' his hands, having being laid out in pious uſes, he was not accountable for an adminiſtration ſolely relating to religion. As he urged the building of Glaſſenbury, which the late king had ſo much at heart, Edwy's council thought it not proper to puſh the affair any further, leſt the people ſhould eſpouſe the abbot's cauſe. The founding and repairing of monaſteries were at that time ſuch ſacred things, that there was no ſpeaking againſt them, without being branded with the name of impious and prophane. And therefore the king's council finding there was no atracking Dunſtan on that head, without danger, took another courſe to undermine his credit, which was to reverſe whatever had been done in favour of the monks. Accordingly, the monks were turned out of their benefices, and the ſecular prieſts put in their room. By this notable proceeding, three things were intended: Firſt, to mortify Dunſtan, which it muſt do in a very ſenſible manner. Secondly, to leſſen the people's eſteem for him, ſince the pulling down what he had ſet up, was a clear evidence, the court had no great opinion of his ſanctity. Beſides, the reſtoring the benefices to the ſecular clergy, plainly intimating it was wrong to diſpoſſeſs them. Laſtly, as Dunſtan and the monks were in ſtrict union, their diſgrace could not but reflect upon him. The perſecutions of the moſt cruel tyrants againſt the church, never extorted from the primitive chriſtians ſuch bitter invectives, as this pretended perſecution did

955. EDWY. Dunſtan's diſgrace. Malmsb.

r He was ſo extraordinary fair and comely, that he obtained the ſirname of Pancalus, or, the Fair. Ethelwerd. He was crowned at Kingſton by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury. S. Dunelm.

from

from the monks. As they repreſent the matter, religion was never in ſo great danger. The moſt pernicious hereſies were nothing in compariſon of what was then acted. The monks of Malmſbury, who were the moſt concerned, made the greateſt noiſe of all, and for that reaſon were turned out of their monaſtery, which was given to the ſecular prieſts. William of Malmſbury upon this occaſion ſays, that after it had been inhabited by monks two hundred and ſeventy years, it was made a ſtable of clerks. Whether Dunſtan excited the monks to make theſe complaints, or the charging him with it was made a pretence to puniſh him, he was baniſhed the kingdom. Some ſay, he voluntarily went into exile, without any previous condemnation. However this be, he retired to a monaſtery in Flanders [s], where he lived in expectation of being recalled by ſome favourable turn of affairs.

Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 7.

Dunſtan baniſhed. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Dunſtan's enemies gloried in his diſgrace. The king himſelf was highly delighted with being freed from a man whom he hated, and who, in the former reign, had ſhown him marks of diſreſpect. But he ſoon learnt how dangerous ſuch kind of enemies are. He found, by fatal experience, there is no giving offence to eccleſiaſtics with impunity, and to ſaints leaſt of all others. The monks, enraged to the laſt degree for the loſs of their benefices, cried down, to the utmoſt of their power, the adminiſtration of the young king, whom they conſidered as the principal author of their diſgrace. By their lies and calumnies which they every where ſpread, they at length perſuaded their votaries he was the moſt impious of men. The conſequence of which was, that great numbers of malecontents appeared in Mercia, of whom Edgar, the king's brother, was declared head and protector. Perhaps he was made to believe, by the ſuggeſtions of the monks, that he would do God ſervice in depoſing his wicked brother: or rather he uſed that pretence to mount the throne, of which he had yet but a very diſtant proſpect. However this be, having ſecured Mercia, he went into Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, where he found the Danes ready to join him. They deſired nothing more than to ſee the Engliſh involved in trouble and confuſion. This inſurrection was the more ſurpriſing to Edwy, as he had never given his people, much leſs his brother, any juſt cauſe of complaint: beſides he never imagined the monks would have intereſt enough to raiſe ſo great diſturbances. However, it was but too true, and as he was taken

An inſurrection againſt Edwy. Edgar heads it. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

957.

[s] S. Dunelm. and Hoved. call it the monaſtery of Blandunum, or Blandinum. Hollingſh. and Brompt. ſay it was the monaſtery of St. Amande at Gant.

unpre-

unprepaired, he was not in condition to extinguiſh the flame already kindled. In this extremity, not knowing how to recover what he had loſt, he choſe to reduce himſelf to the ſole kingdom of Weſſex, which continued faithful to him, and deliver up all the reſt. Edwy delivers up Mercia.

In the mean time, the rebels dreading to fall again under the dominion of Edwy, came to a reſolution of having a king of their own, whoſe intereſt would oblige him to protect and defend them. But as they were a mixture of Engliſh and Danes, each nation was deſirous the choice ſhould fall on one of their countrymen. The Danes, to attain their ends, endeavoured to make it believed, that the only way to be ſafe from Edwy's attacks, was to call in the aſſiſtance of Denmark. But in truth, their aim was only to carry the election. The Engliſh, on the contrary, perceiving their intent, did all they could to haſten the election, repreſenting how fatal their preſent ſtate of anarchy might prove. But the more forward the Engliſh appeared to be, the more full of delays were the Danes, who daily raiſed freſh obſtacles, in hopes there would be a neceſſity at laſt of ſending for aid from Denmark. At length, after a year ſpent in debates, Edwy making no efforts for the recovery of his dominions, and conſequently the aſſiſtance of Denmark becoming unneceſſary, prince Edgar was choſen with the title of king of Mercia, by which was meant all the country lying north of the Thames, except the ancient kingdom of Eſſex. To heighten the merit of the new king, it was given out, that whilſt the great men were deliberating on the choice of a king, a voice was heard from heaven, commanding them to elect Edgar. The revelation was eaſily ſwallowed by the people, at a time when it was the general opinion, that every the leaſt remarkable event was attended by ſome miracle. The rebels chuſe a king.

959. Edgar elected king of Mercia. S. Dunelm. Ch. Mailros. Knighton.

EDWY in Eſſex. EDGAR in Mercia.

This partition of England laſted not long. The being deprived of the kingdom of Mercia, and the ſeeing the monks triumph over his misfortunes, ſat ſo heavy upon Edwy's mind, that he fell into an exceſs of melancholy, which brought him to his grave, after he had reigned four years and ſome months[t]. Edwy's death.

t He was buried at Wincheſter, in the new monaſtery. Hoved.

If

Vit. Dunſtan. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 7.

If we believe the monkiſh writers, Edwy was a very wicked prince. Indeed, how was it poſſible for a king that did not pleaſe them, to be reckoned otherwiſe? However, when we examine all they ſay to blacken his reputation, we find but one thing which can have any foundation, and which after all has very much the air of a fiction, or at leaſt, is greatly aggravated. They ſay, he kept the wife of one of his courtiers for his miſtreſs; and on the very day of the coronation, whilſt the great men were debating the affairs of the kingdom, he abruptly withdrew to the apartment of this woman, from whence he was brought back by Dunſtan, who alone had the boldneſs to reprimand him for this infamous action [u]. From that time, if we may believe them, the king and his miſtreſs were ſo incenſed againſt this holy man, that they would have proceeded to the taking away his life, had he not prevented their wicked deſign by a voluntary exile. But to give ſtill a more convincing proof of the diſſoluteneſs of Edwy, and the holineſs of Dunſtan, they have vented a thing which plainly ſhows what ſpirit they were of. They ſay, after Edwy's death, his ſoul being dragged into hell by a legion of devils, one of them was diſpatched with the good news to Dunſtan. But far from rejoicing at it, the ſaint prayed ſo intenſely for the ſoul that was going to be eternally miſerable, that God, moved by his zeal, ſnatched it from the devils, and tranſlated it into paradiſe. This laſt inſtance of the animoſity of the monks againſt Edwy, renders their charge of adultery very ſuſpicious, eſpecially if we conſider he was not above fourteen years of age when he aſcended the throne. Moreover, there are hiſtorians who aſſure us, this pretended miſtreſs was his lawful wife [w]. However this be, we may be certain Edwy might have had one or more miſtreſſes, without all that clamour againſt him, had he been a favourer of the monks. For they were not at all offended at the amours of his brother Edgar, who was much more guilty than he in that reſpect. But the one was their friend, and the other their enemy. All hiſtorians however have not been guilty of this injuſtice to Edwy. Some have been more favourable to him, either paſſing over in ſilence

Brompt.

Malmsb.

Huntingd. lib. v.

u Some, to make the matter worſe, ſay, he kept not only the daughter, whoſe name was Elgiva, but the mother too; and that he was on the bed between them both when Dunſtan came to fetch him. M. Weſt.

w Some ſay ſhe was his wife, but too near a-kin, and therefore, that Odo the archbiſhop ſeconding Dunſtan, put the king under the leſſer excommunication, and branded Elgiva in the forehead with a hot iron, and then baniſhed her to Ireland. After her return, his heat againſt her continuing, he ham-ſtringed her, ſays Malmſbury; but Oſbern lays it upon the revolters, Vit. Dunſt. Hove.

theſe

thoſe frivolus accuſations, or giving him the commendation he deſerved [x].

12. EDGAR the Peaceable.

EDWY dying without iſſue, his brother Edgar ſucceeded him, and united the two kingdoms that were lately divided. Though he was not above ſixteen years old, his great genius and ſolid judgment rendered him more capable of governing, than many other princes of a more advanced age. It cannot be denied, there are ſome men born with ſo good natural parts, that their judgment is ripe before the uſual time. Edgar was one of this number. If he had given proof of his ability in depriving his brother of the half of his kingdom, he continued to do the ſame when he came to reign alone. He knew how to make himſelf obeyed by his ſubjects, and feared by his enemies, two things that undoubtedly demonſtrated the great capacity of a crowned head. 957. Qualities of Edgar. Sax. Ann. Malmſb.

The firſt thing Edgar did, after he was elected king of Mercia, was to recall Dunſtan from baniſhment, and promote him to the ſee of Worceſter, than vacant [y]. The ſuddenneſs wherewith this prelate was recalled, gives room to ſuſpect he was, though abſent, concerned in the inſurrection that placed Edgar on the throne of Mercia. His great intereſt at court during this prince's reign, ſtrengthens this ſuſpicion. Sax. Ann.

The reign of Edgar is chiefly remarkable for the continual peace the kingdom enjoyed; from whence he was ſirnamed the Peaceable. This uninterrupted calm was owing neither to his victories nor ſlothfulneſs, but to his extraordinary preparations for his defence, in caſe he ſhould ever be engaged in a war. By this means he became ſo formidable, that no one durſt venture to attack him. He always kept a ſtanding army in the northern provinces, as well for a terror to the kings of Scotland and Wales, as to keep in awe his own ſubjects, particularly the Danes. This precaution was ſo much the more neceſſary, as he was ſenſible they were always ready to take advantage of any troubles and commotions in the ſtate. His Edgar's great preparations procured him a conſtant peace.

x Huntingdon, who was no party in the quarrel, gives him a handſome character, and ſays, the country flouriſhed under his government, and ſeems to lament he lived no longer. Hunt.

y A great council being held at Bradford in Wiltſhire Dunſtan was, by the general conſent of all there preſent, choſen biſhop. Vit. Dunſtan.

own experience had taught him so much, since by their assistance it was, that he triumphed over his brother. On the other hand, to prevent the invasion of the foreign Danes, who were no less to be feared, he took the most effectual method. He is said to have fitted out great and small, four thousand ships. Some have even raised the number to four thousand eight hundred [z]. It is probable, this affair has been very much magnified: however, it shews at least the number of his ships was extraordinary. This numerous fleet, being distributed in all the ports of the kingdom, and cruising incessantly round the island, freightened the pyrates from making descents, and suffered no ship to come upon the coast unexamined. These precautions produced the effect intended by Edgar. They prevented invasions from abroad, and kept all quiet at home, by destroying all hopes of foreign assistance. With such an army and fleet, this prince without once drawing his sword, obliged the kings of Wales, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, to swear allegiance to him, and acknowledge him for sovereign. As a proof of his superiority over the kings his neighbours, the English historians relate a very extraordinary fact, which, if true, fully proves what they assert. They tell us, this prince keeping his court at Chester, and having a mind to go by water to the monastery of St. John Baptist, was rowed down the Dee in a barge by eight kings, himself sitting at the helm [a].

His prodigious fleet. Flor. Wig. Malmsb. Mat. West. Ethelred. Rievall. Hoved.

Sax. Ann.

Edgar rowed by eight kings. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. vi. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Edgar, not content with having secured England from all foreign assaults, thought it necessary, for the further repose of his subjects, to free them from two domestic plagues, by which they were infested. The one was a horrible multitude of wolves, which coming down in droves from the mountains in Wales, made such a terrible havock among their flocks and herds, that the country was in a continual alarm. Hitherto they could find no remedy for this evil: but Edgar bethought himself of an expedient, which quickly cleared the country of

961. He frees England from wolves. Bromp.

z S. Dunelm. and Chr. Melros have three thousand six hundred, p. 150. 160. W. Thorn says, the whole number was but three hundred, which is most probable. See Stow, p. 83. To maintain the charge of this fleet, besides the contributions of his subjects, he entered into a treaty at Chester with six kings, who engaged to assist him both by sea and land. Sax. Ann. With this fleet he used to sail round England every year after Easter. Flor. Wor. p. 607.

a These might be the kings of the several kingdoms in Wales, of Anglesey, Man and Ireland. Some reckon among them Keneth III. of Scotland, who was vassal to Edgar for Cumberland. Hoved. Rapin. There was no such man as Keneth cotemporary with Edgar. See Anderson's Tables. These eight kings were Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Mackus, lord of the isles; and these six Welch princes, Dusnal, Sifert, Howel, Jago, Inchell, Jevaf. S. Dunelm. Malmsb.

them.

them. In the first place he converted the tribute of gold, silver, and cattle, paid him yearly by the Welch, into three hundred wolves-heads. In the next place he published throughout all England, a general pardon for all past offences on condition each criminal brought him by such a time a certain number of wolves-tongues, in proportion to his crimes. Upon publishing this act of grace, the wolves were hunted and destroyed in such a manner, that in three years there was not one left in the kingdom.

Edgar's severity to corrupt magistrates. Malmsb. S. Dunelm.

The other plague that infested England was no less grievous; it was another sort of wolves, who not satisfied with eating up flocks and herds, devoured houses and families. I mean the magistrates appointed in the cities and provinces to administer justice to the people. These mercenary judges, abusing the exorbitant power Edgar's predecessors had suffered them to usurp during the wars, was become intolerable to the nation. Without any regard to law or justice, they consulted only their own interest. They who made them the largest presents, were sure to be favoured; and though by that means the poor were most oppressed, the rich were not entirely screened from their partial proceedings. Alfred the Great endeavoured, by an extraordinary act of severity, to put a stop to this evil; but the ensuing wars prevented his successors from executing his laws. Edgar, undertaking to reform this abuse, set about it himself with great application. To this end he took a progress every year through some part of the kingdom, on purpose to hear the complaints against those judges who abused their authority. He was not satisfied with inspecting himself into their misdemeanors, but thought it farther necessary to redress them for the future, by making a law, that every judge convicted of giving sentence contrary to the laws, should be fined one hundred and twenty shillings, if he did it ignorantly; but if knowingly, should be cashiered for ever. It cannot be denied, that in this he acted as became a great prince, and that subjects who enjoy the double privilege, of being guarded against invasions from abroad, and oppressions at home, are perfectly happy. Such is the state of the English at this day under the present government.

Ethelred Rievall. Lex. 8. apud Brompt.

Proof of Edgar's being thought a couragious prince. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 8.

If Edgar was a lover of peace, it was not for want of courage; that was never laid to his charge. There is story related of him, which though it has the air of a fiction, proves at least, he was reckoned a courageous prince. It is said, that being informed, Keneth III. king of Scotland, had jested on the littleness of his stature, he sent for him to court, and walking with him in a certain place where he had ordered

two ſwords to be hid, he bid him take his choice, telling him withal, he ſhould ſee, if he pleaſed, what a little man could do. Keneth, as the ſtory goes, was ſo far from accepting the challenge, that he threw himſelf at his feet and begged his pardon. I obſerve this relation is very improbable. In the firſt place, it is generally referred to the beginning of Edgar's reign; whereas Keneth III. came not to the crown of Scotland till five or ſix years before that prince's death. In the ſecond place, the character the Scotch hiſtorians give Keneth, will not ſuffer us to think him capable of ſuch a piece of cowardice. Laſtly, this adventure ſeems to have been confounded with one of the ſame nature, between a king of Scotland, and one of the lords of his court, related by Buchanan.

Edgar's attachment to the monks contributed to his great fame. Malmſb. Ingulph. S. Dunelm.

Edgar's noble qualities, and the tranquility England enjoyed during his reign, render him, no doubt, very praiſe-worthy. But perhaps they would have been buried in eternal oblivion, had not his extraordinary attachment to the monks engaged them to proclaim his praiſes, even to an extravagant degree. His bigotry to them, which paſſed then for the moſt ſublime virtue, was the principal reaſon of the commendations given him by hiſtorians, and of his being honoured with the title of ſaint after his death. He is ſaid to have founded above forty monaſteries, and repaired and beautified many more, particularly that of Glaſſenbury, built by his uncle Edred. In ſhort, he was ſo liberal to the monks, that it was hardly in his power to do more for them than he did. Ingulphus, in his hiſtory of the abbey of Croyland [b], ſays, that in the reign of Edgar, the treaſure of that monaſtery amounted to ten thouſand pounds, beſides holy-veſſels, ſhrines, relicks, and the like. This was a very great ſum, conſidering that houſe had been rebuilt but thirty years. Hence may be gueſſed the immenſe riches of the monaſteries in thoſe days.

Edgar forms the ſcheme of replacing the monks in the benefices. Sax. Ann.

Edgar, not content with being thus liberal to the monks, undertook to put them in poſſeſſion again of the eccleſiaſtical benefices, which he performed with a high hand. Dunſtan, whom he had made archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the principal author of this project. This prelate was ſo much in his favour, that Edred's affection to him was nothing in compariſon of Edgar's. As he made a very conſiderable figure both in this and the following reign, it will not be improper to

b He obſerves, that in 974, in Edgar's reign, one Swarling a monk of Croydon, died in the hundred and forty ſecond year of his age, another in the hundred and fifteenth, which is the more remarkable, becauſe that abbey was ſituated in a fenny and watery place in Lincolnſhire, p. 51.

take

take a nearer view of him. Beſides, he paſſed for a ſaint of the firſt claſs, and nothing can be added to the praiſes beſtowed on him by hiſtorians.

Dunſtan: an account of him. Oſbern Vit. Dunſt. G. Malmsb. G. Pontif. lib. i.

Dunſtan, ſon of Herſtan, and nephew of Athelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was born at Glaſſenbury, in 925. He ſpent his youthful years with his uncle the archbiſhop, who took care to have him inſtructed in all the ſciences, as far as that age of ignorance would permit. He excelled particularly in muſic, painting, and engraving, in which he took great delight all his life. As ſoon as he had finiſhed his ſtudies, the archbiſhop recommended him to king Athelſtan, who ſent for him to court, but however gave him no preferment. The author of his life pretends, the courtiers envying his virtue and learning, maliciouſly repreſented him to the king as a deſolute and ſcandalous liver: which the king believing, forbad him the court, without examining the truth. Some time after, the archbiſhop finding means to undeceive the king, Dunſtan was reſtored to favour, and preſented with ſome lands near Glaſſenbury. Here he ſpent ſeveral years in retirement, with certain devout men, whom he had drawn thither, living with them a ſort of monaſtic life. Glaſton, or Glaſſenbury, was anciently a ſmall church, founded, according to the vulgar opinion, by Joſeph of Arimathea, as hath been obſerved elſewhere. The church having been deſtroyed, Devy, biſhop of St. David's, built another in the ſame place. This being alſo decayed, was repaired by twelve devout perſons, who coming from Armorica, ſettled in this place. Ina, king of Weſſex, having pulled it down to the ground, raiſed a ſtately church, and dedicated it to Chriſt, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Several perſons, famous for their piety, moſt of them Iriſh, retired to this church, where they were maintained by Edgar's bounty. From that time there were always devout perſons, who made choice of this place for their retreat [c].

Osbern.

Glaſſenbury church and monaſtery.

After Dunſtan had been ſome time at Glaſſenbury, Edmund, ſucceſſor to Athelſtan, having conceived an eſteem for him, built there a monaſtery [d], and made him abbot. As

Dunſtan made abbot. G. Malmsb. lib. ii. cap. 8.

c They are ſaid to teach here the liberal ſciences, muſic, engraving and the like.

d Mr. Camden ſays, Dunſtan introduced into this monaſtery, a new order of monks, viz. Benedictines, who, by the bounty of princes, got ſo much wealth as exceeded that of kings. After they had as it were reigned here for above ſix hundred years (for all their neighbours were at their beck) they were driven out by Henry VIII. and the monaſtery, which was environed with a wall of a mile in compaſs, and repleniſhed with ſtately buildings, was by degrees entirely demoliſhed. In his time there was a walnut-tree in the church-yard (but it is now gone, and a young one in its place) that was ſaid never to bud before Barnabas day (11th of June) and always to ſhut out its leaves on that very day. And alſo a hawthorn-

Dunſtan was a perſon of great addreſs, he knew how to manage this prince ſo dexterouſly, that he was very much in favour all his reign. His intereſt at court ſtill encreaſed under Edred, to whom he was prime miniſter, favourite, and confeſſor. Dunſtan's extreme fondneſs for a monaſtic life, made him uſe, without any caution, all his intereſt to reſtore the monks to the benefices, and eject the ſecular prieſts, whom he heartily deſpiſed and at length mortally hated. This attachment to the monks, added to his haughty carriage, procured him many enemies, and drew upon him the diſpleaſure of Edwy, ſucceſſor, of Edmund, as we have ſeen. The haſte Edgar was in to recall this abbot from Flanders, is a clear evidence he was indebted to him for the crown of Mercia.

and biſhop of Worceſter.

Upon Dunſtan's return to England, Edgar promoted him to the ſee of Worceſter. Some time after, the biſhopric of London being vacant, he was entruſted with the management of it: this had led ſome writers into the miſtake of imagining he was biſhop of Worceſter and London at the ſame time. Edgar never ceaſed to give him freſh marks of his eſteem, and his high conceit of him was the more confirmed by the miracle aſcribed to him. The monks took all imaginable care to ſpread the fame of theſe miracles every where, and were ſo very particular in their circumſtances, that one muſt have been much freer from prejudice than they generally were in thoſe days, not to have believed them. It is however very unlikely, that Edgar himſelf, who was not of the number of thoſe weak people that ſuffer themſelves to be ſo eaſily deceived, was thoroughly convinced of their truth: but perhaps he was of opinion thoſe pious frauds were no detriment to religion. Be this as it will, he had a very great opinion of Dunſtan's ſanctity. After Athelm's death, Odo, by birth a Dane, was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, but lived not long after his inſtallation. To him ſucceeded Elfin, who died as he was going to Rome for his pall [e]. This happening in the beginning of Edgar's reign, Brithelm, biſhop of Bath, was elected to the vacant ſee. But Edgar being deſirous of having Dunſtan archbiſhop, called a general

Malmsb. G. Pontf.

959. S. Dunelm. Dunſtan made archbiſhop.

haw-thorn-tree (in Wirral Park, hard by) that budded on Chriſtmas day as if it were in May. This tree has been cut down many years; but there are ſome ſtill growing in the county, from branches of the old tree, particularly one in the garden of William Stroud, eſq. poſſeſſor of the ground where the other ſtood; and another in the garden of the White-hart inn in Glaſſenbury. Theſe things ſeem to be relics of monkery.

e He was frozen to death on the Alps, which the monkiſh hiſtorians interpret as a judgment for his diſreſpect to Odo's grave. Malmsb. Others, for his ſimony. Mat. Weſtm.

council,

council, where he repreſented Brithelm as unqualified for ſo great a poſt, whereupon he was ordered to return to his old dioceſe, and Dunſtan was choſen in his room. This election not being exactly canonical, it was thought fit Dunſtan ſhould go to Rome, on pretence of receiving his pall, that he might at the ſame time juſtify theſe proceedings. The pope, who was not ignorant of Dunſtan's great influence at the court of England, nor of his zeal in eſpouſing the intereſt of the church of Rome and the monks, readily confirmed his election, conſtituting him moreover his legate for England, with a very extenſive authority. At his return, Oſwald his relation was, through his means, made biſhop of Worceſter, and Ethelwald, his intimate friend, of Wincheſter. Theſe three prelates, by holding together, intirely governed the church during this reign. Edgar committing to them the management of all eccleſiaſtical affairs, was not contended with granting whatever they deſired, but even took a pleaſure in doing them favours unaſked.

963. Sax. Ann. Oſwald is made biſhop of Worceſter and Ethelward of Wincheſter.

As ſoon as Dunſtan ſaw his credit firmly eſtabliſhed, he returned to his grand project in favour of the monks, which he had been forced to lay aſide during the reign of Edwy. This affair was not without its difficulties: the great men of the nation looked upon it as a misfortune, that the guidance of the churches ſhould be wreſted out of the hands of the ancient and lawful governors. They were ſtill leſs pleaſed with its being committed to the monks, who, by the rule of their order, and according to the cuſtom hitherto obſerved, were excluded from the paſtoral functions, in order to employ themſelves wholly in prayer, within the walls of their monaſteries. Beſides, they were of opinion, that inſtead of encouraging and enriching the monks, it would be much better to put a ſtop to the people's zeal, who were perpetually bequeathing to them conſiderable legacies, whereby eſtates were paſſed away in mortmain, to the great prejudice of the nation. It was eaſy therefore to ſee this project would meet with great oppoſition from the nobles. But on the other hand, the people who did not look ſo far before them, were entirely in the intereſt of the monks, and extremely offended at the ſcandalous lives of the ſecular clergy, who applied the revenues of the church to uſes directly contrary to the intent of the doners[f]. It muſt be confeſſed, the clergy at that time were

964. Dunſtan returns to his project of ejecting the ſecular clergy. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

f It muſt be obſerved, that after the demoliſhing of the abbeys in Alfred's time, the ſecular clergy repaired ſome of the monaſteries, took poſſeſſion of them, were incorporated under certain regulations, performed divine ſervice in their

were very ill livers, and that pride, avarice, gluttony, drunkenneſs, luxury, openly reigned among them. Dunſtan and his party did all that lay in their power to expoſe theſe irregularities, in order to irritate the people againſt their paſtors. They ſucceeded ſo well in their deſign, that multitudes eſpouſed the cauſe of the monks, purely out of contempt of the ſecular clergy. But what did the monks moſt ſervice was the king's being ſo vigorous a champion for them. His good opinion of them was ſtill increaſed by comparing them with the ſe-
969. culars, who indeed obſerved no meaſures in their exceſſes: and therefore this prince thought to do the church ſignal ſervice in putting it under the government of the monks, whom he looked upon as ſo many ſaints. Edgar being thus inclined, Dunſtan found no difficulty to purſuade him to countenance a reformation he believed ſo advantageous to the church. To give the finiſhing ſtroke to this work, he cauſed a council to be aſſembled, in hopes their authority, together with the king's, would ſurmount all obſtacles. Edgar was pleaſed to aſſiſt in perſon at this council, and made a ſpeech, which plainly ſhewed how greatly he was prejudiced in their favour. As this harangue manifeſtly diſcovers the diſpoſition of the king, of Dunſtan, and of the other directors of the affairs of the church, with regard to the ſecular clergy, it will not perhaps be amiſs to give the reader the whole of it; and the rather, as it relates to one of the principal events of this reign.

Edgar's harangue to the council. Ethelred, Rievellenſis, p. 360.

'Almighty God having vouchſafed of his infinite mercy to 'ſhew his goodneſs to us in a remarkable manner, it is moſt 'reaſonable, reverend fathers, we ſhould exert our endea-'vours to make a ſuitable return. That we are in poſſeſſion 'of this plentiful country is not owing to any ſtrength of our 'own, but to the help of his all-powerful arm, who has been 'pleaſed to manifeſt his loving-kindneſs towards us. It is 'but juſt therefore we ſhould bring ourſelves, our ſouls, and 'bodies, in ſubjection to him, who has ſubdued all things for 'us, and ſhould take care that all that are under us ſhould be 'obedient to his laws. It is my office, reverend fathers to 'adminiſter juſtice without reſpect of perſons; ſuppreſs the 'rebellious; to puniſh the ſacrilegious to protect the poor 'and weak from the hand of the oppreſſor. It is my buſi-'neſs alſo to take care that the church and her miniſters, the 'holy fraternities of the religious, have all things neceſſary 'to their ſubſiſtence and well being. But it is your duty to

their reſpective churches, lived ſingle ſtood in the ſame condition with our or married as they thought fit, and preſent prebendaries.

exam-

'examine into the life and converſation of the clergy. To
'you it belongs to ſee that they live agreeably to their pro-
'feſſion: that they are ſober, temperate, chaſte, hoſpitable
'to the poor and the ſtranger: that they are careful in the ad-
'miniſtration of their office, conſtant in their inſtructions to
'the people. In a word, that they are worthy of the glori-
'ous character of the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt. With ſubmiſ-
'ſion be it ſpoken, reverend fathers, had you taken due care
'of theſe things, I ſhould not have had the diſſatisfaction of
'hearing from all hands the enormous crimes daily com-
'mitted by the clergy of this land. I inſiſt not on the ſmall-
'neſs of their tonſure, contrary to the canons of the church,
'or their effeminacy in their habits, or their haughtineſs in
'their geſtures, on their immodeſt diſcourſes, which plainly
'ſhew all is not right within. I omit their negligence with
'regard to divine ſervice: hardly will they vouchſafe their
'company at the public prayers, and when they come to
'church to celebrate the holy myſteries, one would think
'they were going to act a play. But the chief ſubject of my
'complaint, I ſpeak it with extreme regret, is what miniſters
'occaſion of grief to the good, and of joy to the prophane,
'I mean the lewd and ſcandalous lives of the clergy. They
'ſpend their days in diverſions, entertainments, drunkenneſs,
'and debauchery. Their houſes may be ſaid to be ſo many
'ſinks of lewdneſs, public ſtages, and receptacles of liber-
'tines. There they have gaming, dancing, and obſcene
'ſinging. There they paſs the night in rioting and drunk-
'enneſs. It is thus, reverend fathers, it is thus the bounty
'of my predeceſſors to the church, and their charities for
'the maintenance of the poor, and what is more, the ador-
'able blood of our Saviour, are conſumed. Was it for this
'that our anceſtors exhauſted their treaſures? was it for
'this they were ſo liberal of their eſtates? was it to deck
'the concubines of their prieſts, to provide for them ſplen-
'did entertainments, to furniſh them with dogs and hawks,
'that our forefathers diſplayed their munificence to the
'church? Theſe are the crimes which the people complain
'of in private, and the ſoldiers in public; which are ſung
'in the ſtreets, and acted on the ſtage; and yet they are
'forgiven, they are overlooked, they are connived at by you!
'Where is now the ſword of Levi, and the zeal of Simeon?
'where is the wrath of Moſes againſt the worſhippers of the
'golden calf? where is the indignation of St. Peter againſt
'Simon the magician? Imitate, reverend fathers, imitate
'the zeal of theſe holy perſons, and follow the way of righ-
'teouſneſs,

'teouſneſs, ſhewn you by the Lord. It is high time for you 'to draw the ſword of St. Peter, whilſt I make uſe of the 'great Conſtantine's. Let us join our forces to expel the 'lepers out of the temple, to cleanſe the ſanctuary, and to 'cauſe the Lord to be ſerved by the true ſons of Levi, 'who
Deut. xxxvi. 9. "ſaid to his father, and to his mother, I know you not; "and to his brethren, I know not who you are?' Let the 'diſreſpect to the relics of the ſaints, and the daily profaning 'of the holy altars, rouze you up. Be moved at the great 'abuſe of the piety of our forefathers. One of my anceſtors, 'you all know, dedicated to the church the tithes of the king-'dom: the glorious Alfred, my great-grandfather, laid out 'his revenues in religious uſes. You are not ignorant of the 'great benefactions of my father and uncle, which it would 'be highly diſhonourable ſo ſoon to forget, ſeeing the altars 'are ſtill adorned with them. You, O Dunſtan, father of 'fathers, raiſe your imagination a little, I pray you, and fancy 'you behold my father looking down from heaven, and ex-'poſtulating with you in this manner: 'It was you that ad-"viſed me to the building of ſo many churches and mona-"ſteries; it was you I made choice of for my ſpiritual guide, "and the inſpector of my behaviour. Did not I always obey "your voice? did I not always prefer your advice before "wealth? how frankly did I lay out my treaſures, when "you ſaid the word? my charities were always ready when "you called for them. Whatever was deſired for the churches "was immediately granted. If you complained the monks "were ſhort in their conveniencies, they were forthwith ſup-"plied. You uſed to tell me, ſuch liberalities brought forth "immortal fruit, and were highly meritorious, ſince they "were expended in ſupporting the ſervants of God, and main-"taining the poor. And is it not an intolerable ſhame they "ſhould be laid out in adorning and decking a pack of pro-"ſtitutes? are theſe the fruits of my benefactions? are theſe "the effects of your glorious promiſes?' Theſe, O Dun-'ſtan, are the complaints of the king my father. What can 'you anſwer to this charge? I am convinced that you have 'hitherto been unblameable, when 'you ſaw a thief, you "conſented not to him, neither have you been partaker with "the adulterer.' No, you have endeavoured to correct theſe 'abuſes. You have argued, exhorted, threatened. But ſince 'theſe means have proved in vain, it is time to apply more 'effectual remedies. You have here ready to aſſiſt you the 'reverend father Ethelwald biſhop of Wincheſter, and the 'venerable Oſwald biſhop of Worceſter. To you three I

'refer

'refer the management of this important affair. Exert the 'epiſcopal in conjunction with the regal authority, to expel 'from the church of God the diſorderly clergy, and put in 'ſuch as live regularly in their room [g].'

After the king had made ſo full a declaration of his mind, the friends of the ſeculars durſt no longer oppoſe Dunſtan's deſigns, perceiving it would be to no purpoſe. Shortly after, the ſecular prieſts were expelled from the monaſteries, and the regulars put in their place. Ethelwold, biſhop of Wincheſter, leading the way in his dioceſe, was quickly followed by Dunſtan and Oſwald, and all the other biſhops, who, being monks, without much ſolicitation, imitated theſe three prelates. The ancient hiſtorians, for the moſt part, repreſent thoſe days as the golden age, and as the happieſt England ever knew. 964. Sax. Ann. G. Malmsb. lib. ii. cap. 2. S. Dunelm.

Perhaps it will ſeem ſtrange that the ſecular clergy ſhould at this time be more bitterly inveighed againſt than in the following centuries, when the lives of the prieſts were no leſs ſcandalous. To account for this, it muſt be obſerved, the popes had for ſome time prohibited the clergy from marrying, and were very ſevere to all who refuſed to comply with their decrees. This prohibition, which at preſent is a fundamental article in the church of Rome, met at firſt with great oppoſition, eſpecially in England, which ſet the pope upon uſing all means to bring the Engliſh prieſts to a compliance. Dunſtan's intereſt, and his addreſs to engage Edgar in the project, where great helps to them. We muſt therefore carry in our minds this prohibition againſt the clergy's marrying, in order to comprehend the occaſion of the complaints of the monks and their favourers againſt the ſeculars, and to judge how far they are to be credited. Though it is but too true, the prieſts at that time led very diſorderly lives, yet that was not the thing that drew this ſtorm upon them: it was their marriage which gave the offence, and which their enemies would have to be thought a more heinous crime than concubinage, or any other they could lay to their charge. Their wives were always called concubines, or by a more opprobrious name. But notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the court of Rome, this pretended abuſe could not be reformed till the end of the twelfth century, when the celibacy of the clergy was eſtabliſhed after a three hundred years ſtruggle. Remarks on the invectives againſt the ſecular clergy.

[g] Collier obſerves this ſpeech is raiſed and poliſhed in the original above the elocution of the tenth century; and therefore ſays, he ſhould have ſuppoſed Joſſelin might have worked the matter he found into a brighter form, had he not met with this harangue in Rievallenſis, an ancient hiſtorian.

The

Obſervations on Edgar's character and encomium given him by the monks.

The monks were bound in gratitude to make a ſuitable return for the ſervice Edgar had done them. Accordingly, the monkiſh hiſtorians have endeavoured by their exceſſive commendations to make him paſs for a real ſaint. But whether for want of attention, or ſome other reaſon, they have related ſome particulars of his life, which beget not that idea they intended to give of him. Indeed, to conſider only his political actions, it muſt be confeſt, he was a great prince. But a great king and a great ſaint, are two very different characters. For inſtance, it is difficult to juſtify, by the rules of the goſpel, a bloody execution [h] done by Edgar's order in the iſle of Thanet, upon a very ſlight occaſion, as hiſtorians do allow. What might not theſe ſame hiſtorians have ſaid of his unruly luſt, and vicious inclination to women [i], of which I am now going to give a few inſtances, who publiſhed to the world that the ſoul of his brother Edwy was about to be dragged into hell, for having had but a ſingle miſtreſs?

It was eaſy to ſee if Edgar had not purchaſed the good opinion of the monks by his exceſſive complaiſance, they would have given him no better quarter than his predeceſſor, who was much leſs faulty in that reſpect.

Edgar's amours.

To conclude the reign of Edgar, which was diſturbed neither by foreign nor domeſtick wars, it remains only that I give an account of his amours, which are ſomething uncommon, and ſhew his good qualities were not without a great mixture of failings. His firſt miſtreſs was a nun, whom he took by force out of a convent, and could not be prevailed with to ſend back again by the ſolicitations of Dunſtan. He had a daughter by her named Editha, who was greatly celebrated for her ſanctity. It is true, he atoned for his crime by not wearing his crown during the ſpace of ſeven years. A ſevere penance, indeed, for a fault his confeſſor ought to have looked upon as a ſacrilege! But this is not the firſt time the ſins of princes have been extenuated, and the rigor of their penance magnified. His ſecond miſtreſs, whom ſome however call his lawful wife, was Elfleda, ſirnamed the Fair, from her complexion. By her he had a ſon called Edward, who ſucceeded him. An extraordinary adventure gained him a third miſtreſs. Going one day by Andover, he took up his lodging at a lord's houſe, who had a very beautiful daughter, with

Malmsb. lib. i. c. 8.

Malmsb. Ibid.

h Edgar in the Saxon Annals, anno 969, is ſaid to have ordered all Thanet to be laid waſte. Brompton ſays, it was for inſulting his laws. M. Weſtminſter affirms, it was for ſeizing and plundering ſome York merchants that touched upon the iſland.

i Malmsbury owns, that he was reported to have been laſcivious and cruel.

whom

whom he fell paſſionately in love at firſt ſight. As he was very violent in his paſſions, he reſolved to gratify his love without delay, ſo commanded the young lady to be brought to his bed, without troubling himſelf to obtain her conſent. The mother of the lady being utterly againſt her daughter's being the king's concubine; but withal, dreading by her denial, to draw down his diſpleaſure upon herſelf and family, deviſed this expedient. She prevailed upon one of her waiting-women to lie with the king inſtead of her daughter. At break of day the king perceiving his bedfellow was going to riſe, would not let her, by which means ſhe was forced to diſcover the cheat. He was at firſt very angry at being thus deceived. But the good-liking he had taken to the girl moderating his anger, and giving him time to reflect on the diſhonour he intended his hoſt, he readily forgave the trick he had been ſerved. He kept this girl as his miſtreſs till he married.

Edgar's marriage. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 8. Brompt.

As all Edgar's amours, it ſeems, were to have ſomething particular in them, ſo his very marriage was not to be in the common way. He was informed that Ordang, earl of Devonſhire, had a daughter the greateſt beauty in England; upon which he reſolved to marry her, if ſhe anſwered the deſcription given of her. However, as he was unwilling to make any advances he might have reaſon to repent of, he communicated his deſign to earl Ethelwold his favourite, and ordered him to go upon ſome pretence, and ſee whether the lady's beauty was as great as fame reported. Ethelwold being arrived at the earl of Devonſhire's, had no ſooner caſt his eyes on Elfrida his daughter, but he fell deſperately in love with her. His paſſion was ſo ſudden and violent, that forgetting all the king his maſter's favours, he demanded Elfrida for himſelf. His ſuit being granted, he was married as privately as poſſible, making his father-in-law believe he had important reaſons for not divulging his marriage. Returning ſoon after to court, he told the king there was nothing extraordinary in Elfrida. that he was amazed the world ſhould talk ſo much of her charms, that probably the fame of her beauty was owing more to her father's riches than any thing elſe. This report, which was far from inflaming the king's love, had the effect Ethelwold expected. Edgar, growing out of conceit with the match, laid aſide all thoughts of it. Ethelwold perceiving the king was grown perfectly cool upon the matter, repreſented to him one day, that though the fortune of the earl of Devonſhire's daughter was nothing to a king, yet it would be the making of a ſubject; and therefore humbly deſired his leave to make his addreſſes to her, as being the greateſt heireſs

in

in the kingdom. Edgar, who had loſt all inclinations to Elfrida, very willingly granted his favourite's requeſt, and even appeared extremely well pleaſed that he was likely to marry to ſo great an advantage. Ethelwold, as ſoon as he had obtained the king's conſent, returned to his wife, and publickly ſolemnized his wedding. But fearing his ſpouſe ſhould appear too beautiful in the king's eyes, he kept her on ſome pretence at his country ſeat, without ſuffering her to come to court.

How cautious ſoever Ethelwold had been, is was not poſſible his treachery ſhould be long a ſecret. Favourites are ſeldom without private enemies, who deſired nothing more than to have an opportunity of ruining them. Edgar at length was informed of the truth; but diſſembling his reſentment, he was willing, before he ſhewed it, to be ſatisfied with his own eyes of the truth of what had been told him. To that end, he took occaſion to go into thoſe parts where Ethelwold kept his wife, and when he came near the place, told him he had a mind to viſit his lady, of whom he had formerly heard ſo many fine things. Ethelwold was thunder-ſtruck at this, and did all he could to divert the king from his purpoſe; but his artifices were all in vain, and ſerved only to confirm the king the more in his reſolution. All he could obtain, was leave to go before, on pretence of preparing for the king's reception. As ſoon as he came home, he threw himſelf at his lady's feet, and confeſſing what he had done for the ſake of poſſeſſing her, conjured her to uſe all her endeavours to conceal her charms from the amorous king. Elfrida promiſed him whatever he deſired, but was bent however to break her word. No ſooner was he gone to meet the king, but ſhe ſet off her natural beauty with all the art ſhe was miſtreſs of. The event anſwered her expectation. The moment Edgar caſt his eyes on her, he fell deſperately in love, and from that inſtant was reſolved to make her his own. The better to effect his deſign, he pretended to ſee nothing extraordinary in Elfrida's beauty, at which the huſband was overjoyed. He took his leave of her with a ſeeming indifference, but at the ſame time in his heart raged love and revenge, which of all the paſſions raiſe the moſt violent emotions in the ſoul of man. Quickly after, he ordered Ethelwold to go for Northumberland, on pretence of ſome urgent affairs. But the unfortunate earl never performed his journey. He was found dead in a wood, where he was thought at firſt to be murdered by robbers. But people's eyes were ſoon opened, when they ſaw that the king, inſtead of making inquiry after the murderers, married the widow.

Some

Some ſay, that Edgar ſlew Ethelwold with his own hand at a hunting match [k].

After what has been ſaid, it is eaſy to ſee, there was a great mixture of good and bad qualities in this prince, and that the commendations given him are in many reſpects carried too far. This was the effect of the prejudice of the monks in his favour, for his ſo vigorous eſpouſing their cauſe. This prejudice was ſo great, that one of them makes no ſcruple to ſay, Edgar was to the Engliſh, what Romulus was to the Romans, Cyrus to the Perſians, Alexander to the Macedonians, Arſaces to the Parthians, and Charlemagne to the French. But one plainly perceives, this encomium raiſes his character too high, ſince he came infinitely ſhort of the great men he is compared with. After-ages, leſs prepoſſeſſed in his favour, have ranked him among more ſuitable company, in a much lower claſs. Very judicious hiſtorians have taken him from among the ſaints, where his flatterers placed him, and have not ſcrupled to rank him in the number of the vileſt of princes [l]. This notion of him may be grounded on what is related of Canutus the Great, who upon mention of the ſanctity of Editha, Edgar's daughter, ſaid, "He could never believe it poſſible for "the daughter of ſo wicked a father to be a ſaint." This leaves room to ſuſpect, the monkiſh hiſtorians have paſſed over in ſilence ſeveral of Edgar's actions, which would have made us conceive a very different idea of their hero, from what they have given us.

Edgar's character.

S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Brompt. p. 909.

Edgar reigned ſixteen years from the death of his brother Edwy. He died in 975, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, leaving two ſons and a daughter. Edward, his eldeſt ſon, was born of a concubine, or at leaſt of a very doubtful marriage. Ethelred, his youngeſt, was the ſon of the beautiful Elfrida. Editha his daughter by his firſt miſtreſs paſſed her days in a nunnery, and after her death was honoured with the title of ſaint [m].

975.

Edgar's death and children.

k Malmsbury ſays, he took Ethelwold into a wood (Harwood foreſt) upon pretence of hunting, and killed him there with his lance. The natural ſon of this nobleman happening to come in at this accident, and viewing the dead body of his father, the king ſternly aſked him, "How he liked the game?" The youth replied calmly, that whatſoever pleaſed the king, ought not to be diſpleaſing to him. This courtly anſwer, on ſo moving an occaſion, ſurprized the king, and gave him a ſtrong affection for the young man ever after.

l Dr. Burnet in his preface to the Hiſtory of the Reformation, places Edgar in the ſame claſs with Brunichild and Irene. Rapin.

m By Elfleda (whether his wife or concubine is uncertain) he had Edward who ſucceeded him. Hoved. p. 426.—By Wifrida, a nun, he had Editha. Malmsb. p. 60.—And by Elfrida, earl Ordgar's daughter, he had Edmund, who died in his infancy in 971, and Ethelred. Sax. Ann.

Elfrida built a nunnery in the place where her husband was ſlain. Malm.

Edgar

Edgar had too well deſerved of them, who looked upon themſelves as authorized to reward their votaries with a ſainſhip, not to have a place in the Calendar. But as there are no other proofs of his ſanctity during his life, but his affection to the monks, and his founding monaſteries [n], it is pretended, he gave more ſubſtantial ones after his death. It was reported, when his body was taken out of the coffin, to be put into a ſtately ſhrine, it was as freſh as when he reſigned his laſt breath. It was further affirmed, that the ſhrine being made too ſhort, though he was low of ſtature [o], and ſome body daring to ſever his head from his body, the blood guſhed out in great abundance. After ſuch convincing proofs as theſe of the ſanctity of this prince, his body was placed near the high alter of Glaſſenbury church, where it was ſaid to work afterwards ſeveral miracles.

Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 8.

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13. EDWARD II. the Martyr.

Diſſenſions on account of the monks. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 9. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

UPON Edgar's deceaſe, they who had with impatience born the great power of the monks, thought it a fair opportunity to reduce them to their primitive ſtate. Elfer, duke of Mercia, their ſworn enemy, turned them out of all the benefices they poſſeſſed in that province, and replaced the ſeculars in their room. Some other lords did the like in other places. But the duke of Eaſt-Anglia [p], and ſeveral other great men, firmly adhered to Dunſtan and his party. This diverſity of opinion, on account of the monks, cauſed ſuch heart-burnings among the nobles, that they were upon the point of coming to blows. The breach ſtill grew wider, when they came to chuſe a ſucceſſor to the deceaſed king. That prince had left two ſons who had both their adherents, though their age would not permit them to proſecute their reſpective titles to the crown. Many believed it was devolved to Ethelred,

n It is obſerved that his building ſo many monaſteries (forty-eight, ſays Ingulphus, p. 45) proved one great occaſion of the Danes conquering England; for by theſe means he exhauſted the treaſury, and gave great portions of lands for the maintenance of the monks, who refuſed his ſon Ethelred aſſiſtance according to his neceſſity. Brady.

o Though Edgar as to his perſon was both low and ſlender, yet was he ſo well proportioned, that he is ſaid to contend often with ſuch as were thought ſtrongeſt in his court; and diſliked nothing more than that they ſhould ſpare him out of reſpect, or fear of hurting him.

p Ethelwin. He, and others, aſſembled an army, and protected the monaſteries in Eaſt-Anglia. S. Dunelm.

pretend-

pretending there was a flaw in Edward's birth, and that his mother was never lawfully married to Edgar. But Dunſtan and all the biſhops were for Edward, pleading his being named his ſucceſſor by Edgar in his laſt will and teſtament. To this was added another, and no leſs powerful motive to them that eſpouſed his intereſt, namely, their expectation of governing the kingdom under this young prince, which they could not hope for, if they placed his brother on the throne, becauſe his mother Elfrida did not ſeem much inclined to be guided by their counſels.

Dunſtan crowns Edward by his own authority. S. Dunelm. Brompton.

In the mean time Ethelred's party being moſt numerous, Edward was in danger of being excluded, if Dunſtan his ſupporter did not find means to break their meaſures. As he ſaw himſelf favoured by the people from their high conceit of his ſanctity, he made uſe of their inclinations to execute his deſigns. In the midſt of the public debates which of the two princes ſhould ſucceed, Dunſtan ſuddenly riſing up, and taking prince Edward by the hand, leads him towards the church, attended by the other biſhops and a great crowd of people. As ſoon as he comes there, he anoints the young prince king, without regarding the oppoſition of the contrary party. The nobles bemoaned their falling once more under the government of that imperious prelate. But as they ſaw the people ready to ſupport him, they were forced to ſubmit.

The conteſt between the prieſts and the monks is revived.

Edward was but fourteen years old when he began to reign under the guardianſhip of Dunſtan, who immediately took all the power into his hands. As ſoon as he was fixed in the regency, he uſed all poſſible endeavours to keep the monks in poſſeſſion of the benefices they had acquired in the laſt reign, and made uſe of the king's authority to that end. But he met with greater oppoſition than he imagined. As the king was but a minor, the orders given in his name were not ſo readily complied with. Dunſtan aſſembled ſeveral councils about this affair [q]. But perhaps his endeavours would have all proved ineffectual, if by means of ſeveral miracles which were never wanting upon occaſion, he had not brought the people to believe that heaven interpoſed in the affair.

Several councils about it.

Miracles in favour of the monks. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 9. Eadmer. J. Pike.

In one of theſe councils held at Wincheſter, the majority being againſt the monks, they would have infallibly loſt their cauſe, if, on a ſudden, a crucifix that hung aloft in the room had not pronounced theſe words with an audible voice; "It

q Particularly one in 977 at Kirding, in Eaſt-Anglia, (now Kirtling or Catlidge, in Cambridgeſhire. Camd.) The Sax. Ann. call the place Kyntlingtune, which is ſuppoſed to be Kyrlington in Oxfordſhire. Tyrrel, p. 16. Another of theſe ſynods was held at Ambresbury. Flor. Wor.

" ſhan't be done, it ſhan't be done: you have decided the mat-
" ter well hitherto, and would be to blame to change." Aſto-
niſhed at this oracle, the moſt obſtinate came in and voted for the monks.

Another time at an aſſembly in the ſame place, Dunſtan uſed all his endeavours to have Elphegus a monk choſen dean of that church; but the people were for having that dignity conferred on a ſecular prieſt. The conteſt ran ſo high, that there was like to be a ſedition which might have been of dangerous conſequence. But St. Andrew the apoſtle on a ſudden revealing to St. Dunſtan in the audience of all the people, that the monk ought to be elected, he was immediately inſtalled. Theſe and ſeveral other miracles, too many to be inſerted here, not being however ſufficient to unite all men in favour of the monks, there was one at laſt that ſtopped the mouths of their moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers.

978. A remarkable accident at the council of Calne. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Huntingd. Eadmer.

Dunſtan had called a council at Calne in Wiltſhire, to decree that the monks ſhould keep poſſeſſion of their benefices. This was one of thoſe mixt councils ſpoken of hereafter, where the king and all the nobility were preſent, as well as the biſhops and abbots. Probably the affair would have been decided againſt the monks, conſidering the great number of their oppoſers in this aſſembly. But whilſt they were warmly diſputing on both ſides, the floor of the room happened to break under the company, and cruſhed ſeveral to death. The beam on which Dunſtan's chair was placed, was the only one that did not give way, ſo that he came off unhurt [r], whilſt ſcarce a man beſides himſelf in this numerous aſſembly eſcaped being either killed or bruiſed. This was ſufficient to convince the people the monks were the favourites of heaven, ſince their head and protector was ſo wonderfully preſerved. There were ſome malicious people however, who inſinuated that Dunſtan prevented the king, contrary to cuſtom, from being in the council that day. After this ſeaſonable accident the monks were left unmoleſted; whether the miraculous preſervation of Dunſtan had made an impreſſion upon the minds of his enemies, or their moſt potent oppoſers periſhed in their fall.

979. The tragical end of king Edward. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 9.

Beſides theſe eccleſiaſtical matters, we find nothing remarkable in the reign of Edward, but his tragical death in 979, four years after he aſcended the throne. The ſtory is thus related by the greateſt part of hiſtorians. Edward paſſing one day, as he was returning from hunting, near Corf-caſtle [s], where

r Huntingd. ſays he ſaved himſelf by taking hold of a beam, p. 357.

s In the iſland Purbeck in Dorſetſhire. This caſtle is a conſiderable piece

where his mother-in-law Elfrida reſided with her ſon Ethelred, rid off from his company, in order to pay her a viſit. Elfrida being told the king was at the gate, ran to receive him, and urged him very earneſtly to alight, and come in to refreſh himſelf. But as the king's deſign's was only to pay his reſpects to his mother-in-law as he went by her caſtle, he only deſired a glaſs of wine to drink her health. Whether Elfrida had already formed a deſign of deſtroying the king, to make way for her ſon to the crown, or that favourable opportunity put the thought in her head, the young king had no ſooner lifted the glaſs to his mouth, but a ruffian ſtabbed him in the back with a dagger[t]. Perceiving himſelf wounded, he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, which ſoon carried him out of ſight; but not being able to keep his ſaddle, by reaſon of the loſs of blood, he fell off his horſe. To complete his misfortunes, his foot hung in the ſtirrup, and by that means he was dragged a good way before his horſe ſtopped, near a poor blind woman's houſe that ſtood in the road. To this houſe, the people ſent after him by Elfrida, tracing him by his blood, found him dead, and his body miſerably torn. Elfrida imagining ſhe could conceal this horrid deed, known only to her domeſtics, ordered the corps to be thrown into a well. But it was found there a few days after, and carried to Warham[u], from whence it was removed to Shaftſbury, and laid in a monaſtery founded by king Alfred. It is pretended to have worked many miracles there; that a blind man was reſtored to his ſight, and a cripple to his limbs, by only touching the body. The poor woman alſo, in whoſe houſe his body lay one night, is ſaid to be cured by his interceſſion; and the well into which he was thrown, endued with the virtue of healing ſeveral ſorts of diſtempers. In fine, it is reported that Elfrida, curious to know herſelf the truth of theſe miracles, reſolved to go to the place; but her horſe, in ſpite of all her endeavours, would not ſtir one ſtep forward. With ſuch prodigies as theſe do the hiſtories of thoſe times abound. Thus far is certain, Elfrida, willing to atone for her crime, founded two nunneries, one at Ambreſbury[w], and another at Whorwel Brompton.

piece of antiquity; the foundation whereof is not cleared by hiſtory. After the ſtrength and ſafety of the realm began to conſiſt in caſtles, this was one of the moſt principal belonging to the crown. It was repaired by Henry VII and in the civil wars was a garriſon for the king, defended by the owner, lord chief juſtice Banks. Camd. Add. to Dorſet.

t Knighton ſays, that Elfrida herſelf ſtabbed him.

u In Dorſetſhire. Part of his body was buried in Leot or Leof's monaſtery, (perhaps Leominſter) near Hereford; and the other part at Abingdon. Knighten and Higden.

w In Wiltſhire, ſo called from Ambroſius, who built here a monaſtery for

Malmsb. wel near Andover. In this laſt ſhe ſhut herſelf up, in order to do penance the reſidue of her days. She is ſaid to have frequently covered her body all over with little croſſes to keep off the devil, whom ſhe had but too much reaſon to fear.

I do not know upon what foundation Edward was made both a ſaint and a martyr, unleſs it was pretended, he was murdered out of revenge for his great affection to Dunſtan and the monks. Indeed that was ſufficient then to procure him theſe glorious titles. It is certain, in thoſe days all the favourers of the monks paſſed for ſo many ſaints, and their enemies for the objects of God's wrath. However this be, the young prince, whoſe reign I have gone through, is generally known by the name of Edward the Martyr [x].

for three hundred monks, to pray for the ſouls of the Britiſh noblemen ſlain by Hengiſt. The tomb of Quinever, Arthur's wife, was found here within this laſt century, and this inſcription on the wall in maſſy gold letters, R. G. A. C. 600. The antiquity of which is very ſuſpicious, ſince ſhe muſt have out-lived Arthur fifty years; and beſides, ſhe is ſaid by hiſtorians of credit to hve been buried at Glaſſenbury. Queen Elfrida's nunnery is famous for queen Eleanor's being a nun there; and alſo Mary daughter to Edward I. with thirteen noblemens daughters, were veiled here on Aſſumption Day. Camd. Add. to Wilt.

x King Edward's martyrdom was kept on three ſeveral days; on the day he was murdered, and at the two removes of his body. See Martyr. Engl. 18. of March, and Feb. and June 20. He has likewiſe the honour of ſtanding in the Roman Martyrology, March 18. where Baronius takes notice of a letter in pope Innocent V's regiſter, for the keeping St. Edward's Feſtival, Coll. l. 3.

THE
State of the Church of ENGLAND,
FROM
The Union of the ſeven kingdoms to the end of the reign of EDWARD the Martyr.

THE continual wars in England during the hundred and fifty years we have run through, were no leſs fatal to the church than the ſtate. They produced an extreme corruption of manners. The deſtruction of the churches and monaſteries, the plundering what was deſigned for their ſubſiſtence, and the neceſſity of defending themſelves againſt the Danes, and of being wholly employed in the exerciſe of arms, turned multitudes from the ſtudy of religion. It is no wonder therefore, if during ſuch troubleſome times, we meet with very few materials for an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. To this may be added, the greateſt part of the monaſteries, where the memoirs of what paſſed in church and ſtate were preſerved, having been demoliſhed, the hiſtorians who have wrote of thoſe times, were deprived of that aſſiſtance. The reader therefore muſt expect to find but few remarkable events relating to religion, but few councils to inform us of the doctrine and faith of the church of England, and but very few learned men, whoſe writings might afford us ſome light. It will be neceſſary however to relate the principal circumſtances tranſmitted down to us, as they will be of ſervice in clearing the events of future and more happy times. State of the Church,

During the reign of Egbert, nothing happened in the church worth notice. Ethelwulph's reign furniſhes us with a ſubject, of which, though mentioned elſewhere, it will not be improper to ſpeak a little more fully in this place; I mean the grant of the tithes. The charter runs thus:

"I, ETHELWULPH, by the grace of God king of "the Weſt Saxons, &c. with the advice of the biſhops, earls, "and all other perſons of diſtinction in my dominions, have, "for the health of my ſoul, the good of my people, and the "pro- Ethelwulph's charter for the tithes.

" ſperity of my kingdom taken the prudent and ſerviceable
" reſolution of granting the tenth part of the lands through-
" out my whole kingdom, to the church and miniſters of
" religion, to be enjoyed by them with all the privileges of
" a free tenure, and diſcharged from all ſervices due to the
" crown, and all other incumbrances incident to lay-fees.
" The grant has been made by us to the church, in honour
" of Jeſus Chriſt, the bleſſed virgin, and all ſaints, and out
" of regard to the paſchal ſolemnity and that almighty God
" might vouchſafe his bleſſing to us and our poſterity.
" Dated at the palace of Wilton, in the year 854, in-
" diction the ſecond, at the feaſt of Eaſter."

Remarks on this charter.

The terms, date and ſubſcriptions of this charter, have induced ſeveral learned men to believe it ſpurious. But without entering into the controverſy, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that long before this charter, the clergy of England claimed a right to the tithes, if they were not already in actual poſſeſſion of them. This is evident from the ſeventeenth canon of the council of Calcuith, held in 785, where we find they urged the payment of tithes from the law of Moſes. It is true, king Ethelwulph might have a mind to confirm the rights of the clergy, by granting them a charter for the ſame. But in that caſe, it is ſomething ſtrange he ſhould paſs over in ſilence the divine right of tithes, on which the clergy chiefly inſiſted. If this charter therefore is not to be conſidered as a forgery, it ſeems at leaſt to be of very doubtful authority. Add to this, that by the tenth part of the lands muſt neceſſarily be meant the tenth part of the profits; which muſt be owned to be a very forced interpretation, eſpecially in a primordial act, ſuch as this [a].

In the reigns of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred I. we have nothing relating to the church, but the deſtruction of the monaſteries, and the pathetic deſcriptions made by the hiſtorians, of the Daniſh fury exerciſed upon the monks. This they chiefly inſiſt upon, as being, in their opinion, the

a The charter here tranſlated is in the Monaſticon, p. 100. and is dated at Wilton in 854. Whereas there is another charter very different from this in Ingulphus and Matthew of Weſtminſter, dated at Wincheſter in 855. To ſolve this difficulty, it is ſuppoſed that Ethelwulph repeated this grant firſt at Wilton for the tithes only of his own demeſne, and the year following at Wincheſter, for the tithes of the whole kingdom. Though it muſt be owned that they both ſeemed equally to extend to all his dominions. See Ingulph. p. 17. Edit. Gal. & M. Weſt. Flor. Hiſt. An. 854. Ingulphus ſays, this charter was made after Ethelwulph's return from Rome; but that could not be, ſeeing he was then only king of Kent.

moſt

moſt material hiſtorical events. They particularly lament the three famous monaſteries of Croyland, Ely and Medeſhamſted, whoſe monks were all maſſacred, and the libraries burnt.

The pretended martyrdom of Edmund king of Eaſt-Anglia would require our notice, had it not been ſpoken of elſewhere [b]. I call it pretended, becauſe it does not appear, this prince loſt his life in any of thoſe cauſes which make the ſufferer a martyr. Otherwiſe we muſt ſay, that there were in England as many martyrs as there were chriſtians put to death by the Danes. However, he ſtands in the calendar with that title, and miracles were affirmed to be frequently wrought at his tomb during ſeveral ages [c]. Remarks on Edmund's Martyrdom.

Though I have amply inſiſted on every thing concerning the reign of Alfred, it will not be improper to remind the reader of two things, which may be of uſe hereafter. The firſt is, the ruin of the monaſteries, which was ſo great, there was not a monk left in England, being all ſlain by the Danes, or forced to fly out of the kingdom. Some of them perhaps took other profeſſions when they ſaw the loſs of their revenues had deprived them of their ſubſiſtence. As ſoon as Alfred was rid of the Danes, he built monaſteries, and furniſhed them with foreign monks, there being none to be found in the kingdom. It will ſeem ſtrange, no doubt, that he ſhould chuſe to be at the charge of new monaſteries, rather than repair the old, whoſe walls, for the moſt part, were ſtill remaining. But it muſt be obſerved, the ſecular clergy had taken poſſeſſion of them, and lived there in common under the direction of an arch-prieſt. It is plain, Alfred ſaw ſome inconveniency in diſlodging them.

The other thing I would put the reader in mind of, is, the groſs ignorance the Engliſh were fallen into during the war with the Danes. We have already ſeen in the life of Alfred, how that prince himſelf complained of it, and reſolved for

b Anno 945. K. Edward I. gave one of his royal towns, then called Beadricesworth, with divers other lands, to build a church and monaſtery, in memory of St. Edmund the martyr, whoſe body was there enſhrined; which town was from him called St. Edmundsbury. Mat. Weſt.

c Matthew Weſtminſter ſays, his head being thrown among the briars and thorns in the ſame wood where Lodebroch was murdered by Bern, the Eaſt-Anglians, after the Danes were gone, went out to ſee for it, and having ſought in vain for ſome time, the head at laſt cried out, Here, Here, Here, and never ceaſed till they came to the place. The head was put to his body, and buried with it. When they came to take up his corps, many years after, it was found whole and entire, and the head grown to the body, without the leaſt ſcar, only a mark round the neck like a ſcarlet thread. Mat. Weſt. Fl. Hiſt. Ann. 870. Malmsb. Geſt. Pontif. lib. 2.

that reaſon to invite into his dominions as many learned foreigners as poſſible, to found the univerſity of Oxford [d], and uſe ſeveral other means to reſtore the ſciences in his kingdom.

Edward the elder, following the example of his father, founded, for the ſame reaſon, the univerſity, of Cambridge, as ſome aſſert [e]. I ſhall not here alledge the arguments for and againſt the antiquity of this illuſtrious univerſity as being a matter attended with great difficulties, and beſides, not immediately relating to the ſtate of the church. But we have another particular belonging to this reign, where religion is

d There is a paſſage in Aſſerius's life of king Alfred, publiſhed by Mr. Camden, that talks of a diſpute between Grimbald, whom Alfred had ſent to Oxford, and the old ſcholars ſettled there before. From whence it is inferred, that Alfred was not the firſt founder of this univerſity. On the other hand, it is objected, that this paſſage in Aſſer is ſpurious. That it is not in the copy publiſhed by archbiſhop Parker; that Uſher is poſitive for its being interpolated, and that it ſpeaks of things done after Aſſer's death, &c. It is farther objected, both againſt the antiquity of Cambridge, as well as Oxford, that neither of them are mentioned by Bede; that Alcuin paſſes them over in ſilence, and talks of York as the ſeat of learning then: That Ingulphus, in his deſcriptions of the burning of the libraries and monaſteries by the Danes, ſays not a word of any damage done to Oxford or Cambridge: That Alfred complains there were very few on this ſide the Humber, that underſtood the church-prayers in Engliſh, or could conſtrue Latin. Laſtly, That had there been then in being two famous univerſities in England, what occaſion was there for his ſending beyond ſea for learned men to inſtruct his ſubjects? The moſt probable opinion therefore is, that the univerſity of Oxford was firſt founded by Alfred in 886. See book of Winch. Higden. lib. vi. Harpsfield. Malm. The firſt time Oxford is mentioned in the ancient hiſtorians, as an univerſity or ſchool of learning, is in Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, who lived in the reigns of William I. and II. Speaking of himſelf, he ſays, "Ego "Ingulphus,—pro literis addiſcendis "in teneriori ætate conſtitutus, primum Weſtmonaſterio, poſtmodum "Oxonienſi ſtudio traditus eram. "Cumque in Ariſtotele arripiendo ſupra multos coætaneos meos pro"feciſſem, etiam rhetoricam Tullii "primam, & ſecundam talo tenus "induebam." Ingulph.

e There is a manuſcript charter of privileges lodged in the library of Clare-Hall, ſaid to be granted to Cambridge by this king Edward. But however, ſome have carried back the antiquity of this univerſity to the year 394 before Chriſt, pretending it was then founded by one Cantaber, a Spaniard, and that it was reſtored by Sigebert king of Eaſt-Anglia, in 630, whom others account the founder. But it is plain from the reaſons in the foregoing note, that there was no ſuch thing as any univerſity at all till Alfred's time. And as ſome ſay, (Conf. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 299.) we have no authentic teſtimony of any univerſity at Cambridge till the year 1110, (Xth Hen. I.) when Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, ſent one Giſlebert, a divine, and three others to Cambridge, to teach the ſciences. Theſe monks coming to Cambridge, hired a barn to teach in, and in a year's time their audience ſo encreaſed, that no houſe or barn was big enough to contain them. From this ſlender beginning, ſays Petrus Bleſenſis, the univerſity of Cambridge grew up to a noble ſeat of learning. The firſt college, viz. Peter-Houſe, was founded by Hugh Balſham, biſhop of Ely, in 1284.——

more

more concerned, by reaſon of the conſequences pretended to be drawn from thence, and which it will be proper to inſiſt upon a little.

Malmſbury relates in his hiſtory, that in the reign of Edward the elder, pope Formoſus being informed, there had been a ſeven years vacancy in the Weſt Saxon ſees, ſent a bull into England, excommunicating the king and all his ſubjects. Whereupon the king aſſembled a general council, and Plegmund archbiſhop of Canterbury cauſing the bull to be read, it was reſolved the vacancies ſhould be filled, and three new ſees erected in Weſſex. Plegmund (continues the hiſtorian) went afterwards to Rome, to get the cenſure taken off, and at his return, conſecrated ſeven biſhops in one day. An ancient regiſter of the priory of Canterbury ſays much the ſame thing, with this addition, that the council made a particular proviſion for the Corniſh men to recover them from their errors. By the way, we are to underſtand by the errors of the Corniſh, who were ſome of the remains of the old Britons, their refuſing to acknowledge the papal authority.

Obſervation on the pretended bull of pope Formoſus. Malmſb. lib. ii. de Geſt. Reg. An.

Spelm. Conc. vol. i. p. 387.

The Roman Catholic writers make a great flouriſh upon this bull, and produce it as a ſtrong inſtance of the pope's authority, not only over the biſhops, but the kings of England. But after all, this bull upon examination will be found inconſiſtent with chronology. Malmſbury dates it in 904. But pope Formoſus died in 896, and was dragged out of his grave in 897, by Stephen his ſucceſſor. Baronius, to ſolve this difficulty, ſays the date in Malmſbury is falſe, and ſhould be written 894 inſtead of 904. It is true, this correction ſets the matter right as to Formoſus, but then the cardinal falls into another anachroniſm with regard to Edward, who did not aſcend the throne till the year 900. Edward therefore muſt be changed into Alfred. But no hiſtorian mentions Alfred's being excommunicated. Notwithſtanding all this, they are extremely loth to part with this pretended bull. Some have ſuppoſed two excommunications, one by pope Formoſus, in 894, againſt the biſhops only, without any mention of king Edward. Another by pope John IX. which threatened the king. To ſupport this ſuppoſition, Malmſbury, who ſpeaks of Formoſus's bull, and Polydore Virgil, who mentions pope John's, are cited. But theſe authorities are very inſufficient, ſince Malmſbury is plainly miſtaken, either in the date, or in the name of the pope, and Polydore Virgil does not ſay it was John IX. as is pretended, but John X. that threatened Edward with excommunication, as indeed it muſt be, if the bull was dated in 904. Thus this bull, which

The catholic divines anſwer to ſir Edward Coke, p. 136, 137. Spelman, ibid.

which has been ſo much boaſted of, falls to the ground, as inconſiſtent with chronology.

As to the conſecration of the ſeven biſhops mentioned by Malmſbury, there is not the ſame reaſon to queſtion the fact. Though as to the time, this circumſtance is ſomewhat perplexed, it is certain however, in the beginning of the Xth century, there were ſix biſhops in Weſſex, whereas a little before there were but three. Ralph de Diceto places the erecting of the three new ſees in 909. To reconcile this hiſtorian with Malmſbury, who fixes the date of them to 904, this expedient is propoſed, which, if it has no foundation, is at leaſt not improbable. It is thought, that in the ſynod or mixt aſſembly held at Wincheſter in 904, the erection of the three new biſhoprics was reſolved. But as theſe new ſees were to be taken out of the dioceſes of Wincheſter and Sherburn, it was agreed, this ſhould not be done till after the death of the preſent biſhops, that the revenues they had hitherto enjoyed might not be leſſened. Both theſe biſhops happening to die in 909, or perhaps a little before, and the biſhoprics of Worceſter and Suſſex being alſo vacant at the ſame time, Plegmund conſecrated ſeven biſhops at once, namely, Fridſtan biſhop of Wincheſter, Wereſtan of Sherburn, Kenulph of Worceſter, Beornock of Selſey in Suſſex, Eadulph of Crediton, or Kirton, Athelm of Wells, and Athelſtan of Petrockſtow, or Padſtow in Cornwal. The three laſt ſees were the newly erected. Though Malmſbury and Higden affirm the new erected biſhoprics had the pope's confirmation, it is certain at that time, and for more than two hundred years after, there was no ſuch thing required. And therefore very probably, when theſe two hiſtorians mentioned the pope's confirmation, they had an eye to the cuſtom of their own times.

We meet with very few particulars of moment, except ſome councils ſpoken of hereafter, in the reigns of Athelſtan, Edmund, and Edred. The moſt remarkable thing was the charter of privileges granted by Edmund on account of Dunſtan the firſt abbot, to Glaſſenbury abby, after it was rebuilt. Theſe privileges were ſo extenſive, that the king ſeemed to intend to inveſt the abbot with a ſort of ſovereign power within the precincts of his juriſdiction [f].

Great privileges granted Glaſſenbury abby. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 7.

The abby of Croyland was alſo rebuilt in the reign of Edmund, by Turketul the king's couſin and chancellor. He afterwards turned monk himſelf, and was made abbot by

Turketul rebuilds Croyland; Ingulph.

f This charter was engroſſed in letters of gold in a book of the four Goſpels, and preſented to the abby by the king.

Edred,

Edred, who put him in poſſeſſion, by the delivery of a paſtoral ſtaff, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days. Turketul obtained a very advantageous charter for his abby. However, Edred refuſed to grant him the privilege of ſanctuary, which that abby had enjoyed before its deſtruction, being unwilling malefactors ſhould be protected from juſtice.

but is refuſed the privilege of ſanctuary.

This prince was entirely ſwayed by Dunſtan, who uſed his intereſt, not only to put the monks in poſſeſſion of the abbies, which the ſecular clergy had appropriated to themſelves, but alſo of the beneſices. If Edred had not died ſo ſoon, Dunſtan would doubtleſs have ſettled his affairs in ſuch a manner, as to have made it unalterable. But this prince dying before it could be compleated, Edwy his ſucceſſor turned the monks out of the beneſices, and even out of ſome of their monaſteries. To read the tragical complaints of the monkiſh hiſtorians upon this occaſion, and their bitter invectives againſt Edwy, one would imagine this prince had utterly rooted out the chriſtian religion. Whereas upon a cloſer inquiry, it will appear, the monks were diſpoſſeſſed only of the two monaſteries of Abingdon and Malmſbury [g]. This loſs however was ſo grievous to them, that they excited the Northumbrians and Mercians to revolt, as hath been related.

It is needleſs to repeat here what has already been ſaid of the great intereſt of Dunſtan in the reign of Edgar, and what he did in favour of the monks. The truth is, he can't be blamed for exerting his power in replacing them in the monaſteries. Though the religious houſes were deſerted during the wars, they belonged not to the ſecular clergy, ſince they were founded for the monks. But he can't be ſo eaſily excuſed, for endeavouring to introduce the monks into the beneſices, on pretence that the ſecular prieſts were moſt of them married. I ſhall not examine here upon what ground the councils and popes prohibited the clergy from marrying. This matter has been ſo fully handled by ſeveral authors, that nothing new can be added. I ſhall only remark, that from the converſion of the Engliſh to Dunſtan's time, the clergy of England were not obliged to celibacy, and that Dunſtan undertook an unprecedented thing, when he attempted to bind them to it, in purſuance of the papal decrees. It has been obſerved in the reign of Edgar, how Dunſtan, countenanced by that prince, gained his point ſo far, as, not indeed to oblige them to put away their wives, but to expel them their beneſices for keep-

g And perhaps Glaſſenbury, which were all the monks had in Edwy's time, the reſt were in poſſeſſion of the ſecular. Wulſtan. Vit. Ethel.

ing

ing them. However, notwithſtanding his great intereſt and affection to the monks, he could never reinſtate them in the northern monaſteries. For above two hundred years the abbies in thoſe parts were uninhabited, and the very name of a monk was ſcarce heard of there.

The removal of the epiſcopal ſee.

I have but little to ſay concerning the new biſhoprics, or the removal of the epiſcopal ſees from one place to another, at a time when one half of the kingdom was in the hands of the Danes, who as yet were pagans [h]. Northumberland, Mercia, and Eaſt-Anglia being expoſed to their continual ravages, it is not to be expected the affairs of the church ſhould proceed in a regular courſe. Eaſt-Anglia had no biſhop for above two hundred years; and in Northumberland, the ſee of Hagulſtad was reduced to ſo wretched a ſtate, that having long been without a biſhop, it was forced at laſt to be united to York. During Alfred's reign, the biſhoprics of Leiceſter and Lincoln were united, and the ſee removed to Dorcheſter [i], where it continued till the reign of William the Conqueror, when it was tranſlated again to Lincoln. I have already mentioned the erection of the three new biſhoprics in Weſſex, and therefore it is needleſs to ſay any thing more of them. This is all that occurs, unleſs I were to give a liſt of the names of the biſhops that ſucceeded in each ſee, which would lead me too far. They who have a mind to it, may conſult Dr. Heylin, who has publiſhed a book upon that ſubject, where you have the year of the inſtalment of every biſhop.

Help to Engliſh hiſtery. Lond. 1709.

The councils.

The councils held in this interval, were properly mixt aſſemblies, conſiſting of the clergy and nobility, and termed in Saxon, Wittena-Gemot, that is, an aſſembly of wiſe men, or rather Micel-Synod, which ſignifies in the ſame language, the great or general aſſembly. Both theſe names were rendered in Latin by the word Concilium. But becauſe in theſe aſſemblies, laws and ordinances relating to the church as well as the ſtate, were enacted, ſeveral of them are reckoned among the councils or ſynods. As for the councils purely eccleſiaſtical, it does not appear there were any, from Egbert to Edward the Martyr.

Synod of Gractley.

928. Spelman. Conc. vol. i. p. 396.

Next to the aſſembly at Wincheſter, where Ethelwulph is ſaid to have given a grant of the tithes, the moſt conſiderable with regard to religious affairs, was the ſynod of Gractley, in the reign of Athelſtan. The canons or laws of this council are nine.

h Edred founded a biſhop's ſee at St. Germans in Cornwal, which was afterwards annexed by Canute to the ſee of Crediton, or Kirton. Speed, p. 341.

i In Oxfordſhire.

The

The Iſt enjoins the payment of tithes [k].

The IId commands the magiſtrates to put the laws in execution againſt thoſe that were convinced by all the circumſtances of an ordeal trial [l].

The IIId is againſt witchcraft and highwaymen.

The IVth relates to the towns where the money was to be coined. At Canterbury there were to be ſeven mints, four for the king, two for the archbiſhop, and one for the abbot of St. Auguſtine's. Rocheſter was to have three, two for the king, and one for the biſhop [m].

The Vth regulates the circumſtances and formalities of the ordeal trial, to know whether the perſon accuſed were guilty or not. And here we have two things worth remarking. The firſt is, that the prieſts are ſpoken of as fixed or ſettled in certain places. Whence it is plain, that in thoſe days they did not live together in common, but each had his particular church. The ſecond is, that the accuſed perſon was to receive the conſecrated bread. Whence it may be inferred, that ſince the euchariſt was called bread after the conſecration, the church of England was far from believing tranſubſtantiation.

The VIth forbids buying and ſelling on Sunday.

The VIIth is againſt perjuries and falſe witneſſes [n].

The VIIIth orders the biſhops to aſſiſt the judges in the execution of the laws, and to ſit upon the bench with them [o]. Brompt: The

k To which is added the king's order to all his officers and governors, to maintain a poor man in diet and cloaths; namely, that out of every two of his villæ, or towns, there ſhould be given an amphora, or nine gallons of meal, a gammon of bacon, or a ram worth fourpence. They were each of them alſo to manumiſe a ſlave. Spelman. Conc. vol. i. p. 398.

l See the manner of this trial at length, in the Diſſertation on the Government and Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

m London was to have eight, Winchester ſix, Lewis, Southampton, Exeter, Shaftſbury, Wareham, two each, and every other great town was to have one. If any perſon belonging to theſe mints was found guilty of debaſing the coin (which was to be all of one ſort) his right hand was to be cut off, and nailed upon the out-ſide of the mint. See Spelman, Conc. vol. i. p. 399. The ſame appointment was made by Athelſtan, only he ordered that (beſides the places here mentioned) Canterbury ſhould have ſeven, Rocheſter three, Haſtings and Chicheſter one each, &c. See Leg. 64. in Wilkins.

n The penalty is, not to be believed afterwards, and to be debarred of chriſtian burial.

o In this ſame council were ſome remarkable civil laws enacted, particularly one againſt thieves, requiring, that if a thief be taken in the fact, no man ſhall ſpare him, if he be above twenty years old, and had ſtole any thing above the value of eight-pence. If any one do contrary thereto, he ſhall pay the value of the thief's head, and make amends for the fault, and yet the thief himſelf ſhall not be ſpared; who if he contumaciouſly make reſiſtance, or fly for it, ſhall find no favour. A thief caſt into priſon ſhall there ſtay forty days, and then after the payment of one hundred and twenty ſhillings, be diſcharged;

The IXth lays a fine upon remiſs and negligent magiſtrates, which was to be paid to the biſhop [p].

Spelman, vol. i. p. 425.

We find another ſynod, or mixt aſſembly, in the reign of Edmund, wherein the ceremonies of marriage, and preliminary ſecurities the parties were to give one another, are ſettled.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of the council where Edgar harangued ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt the ſecular prieſts, and of ſeveral others, that were aſſembled on occaſion of the controverſy between the monks and clergy, and therefore ſhall ſay nothing more of them here.

Odo's conſtitutions. 923. Spelman, Conc. vol. i. p. 415.

To the eccleſiaſtical laws paſſed at theſe general aſſemblies or councils, may be aptly ſubjoined certain conſtitutions made in thoſe days. The ten following are Odo's, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The Iſt threatens all thoſe who injure the church in her property with excommunication.

The IId exhorts princes [and other great men] to be governed by the directions of the biſhops, becauſe God has entruſted them with the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

The IIId admoniſhes biſhops to diſcharge their duty [q], without any mercenary views, or reſpect of perſons.

The IVth and Vth give good advice to the clergy.

The VIth does the ſame with regard to the monks.

The VIIth prohibits unlawful marriages, upon the ſcore of nearneſs of relation, but the degrees of conſanguinity and affinity are not recited.

The VIIIth recommends unity and charity among chriſtians.

The IXth preſſes faſting on Wedneſdays, Fridays, and the four Ember weeks.

Mal. iii. 12. The Xth enjoins the punctual payment of tithes, from reaſons taken out of the Old Teſtament, without any mention of Ethelwulph's charter.

Other conſtitutions. Spelman, p. 444.

There are other conſtitutions, publiſhed under king Edgar, but the author of them is unknown. The principal are,

The Iſt, which confirms the civil privileges and immunities of the church, and orders the payment of tithes [r].

charged; but his kindred muſt give ſecurity for his good behaviour; after which if he ſteal again, they muſt either pay the value of his head, or bring him back to priſon; and in caſe one reſiſt, he ſhall pay to the king, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own head; and if any defend him, he ſhall pay to the king one hundred and twenty ſhillings.

p Namely, of the dioceſe where the magiſtrate lived.

q That is, to go and preach about their dioceſe every year, &c.

r The IIId orders the payment of the tithe of cattle before Whitſuntide, of the fruits of the earth before the Equinox, and of ſeeds at the feaſt of St. Martin. Spelman, p. 444.

And

And the Vth, by which the ſolemnity of Sunday is to begin at three o'clock on Saturday in the afternoon [s].

In this reign were publiſhed a body of canons [t], of which the following are particularly remarkable.

By the Vth, if a prieſt received any injury, the complaint was to be preferred to the ſynod, who were to treat the caſe, as if the injury had actually been done to the whole body of the clergy, and take care that ſatisfaction be made at the diſcretion of the biſhop of the dioceſe.

The XIth enjoins the prieſts to learn ſome employment, in order to get their livelihood in caſe of misfortune.

The XVIIth orders parents to teach their children the Lord's Prayer and the Apoſtles Creed, without which they were neither to be admitted to the euchariſt, nor buried in conſecrated ground.

The XXIXth forbids the burying in churches all thoſe that were not of known and approved probity.

The XXXIId prohibits the prieſts from officiating without the ſervice-book before them, for fear the truſting to their memories might make them miſtake.

By the XXXVIth, no perſon was to eat or drink before the receiving the communion.

The XXXVIIIth enjoins the prieſt to have the holy euchariſt always ready by him: but in caſe it grew ſo ſtale that it could not be eaten without diſguſting the palate, it was to be burnt in a clear fire, and the aſhes laid under the altar. Hence it is eaſy to ſee what the church's opinion was then of the euchariſt, ſince it was believed it could grow ſtale, and was to be burnt after it was ſpoiled.

The LIIId forbids the eating of blood [u].

After theſe canons, there follows a very particular form of confeſſion, with what penances the confeſſor is to enjoin. We find here that the penitent was ordered to ſay the Lord's Prayer threeſcore times a day, but not ſo much as one Ave Maria; a clear evidence, that the praying to the Virgin Mary was not yet introduced into the church.

s And to continue till break of day on Monday. Spelman, p. 445. Edgar made ſeveral other conſtitutions for the regulation of religious houſes. In thoſe in the book belonging to Wincheſter cathedral, Edgar makes himſelf general of the monks, and queen of the nuns. Spelman, p. 447.

t Theſe canons were tranſlated by Sir H. Spelman, from a Saxon manuſcript in Bennet-College in Cambridge. 'Tis not known where or by what authority they were drawn up. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 186.

u The LXIVth declares hunting and hawking are improper diverſions for a prieſt, who is to make books his entertainment. Spelman.

Nothing

Nothing more remains relating to the church of thoſe days, but to give a brief account of the moſt noted perſons for piety and learning.

Swithin. The firſt ſaint we meet with is Swithin or Swithun [w], who having been preceptor to king Ethelwulph, was promoted to the ſee of Wincheſter. By his advice Ethelwulph is ſaid to have granted a charter of the tithes to the church. This alone was ſufficient to gain him a ſaintſhip, though he had been diſtinguiſhed upon no other account. But beſides this, he is affirmed to have wrought many miracles, with which I do not think proper to ſwell this abridgment.

Humbert. Humbert, biſhop of Eaſt-Anglia, maſſacred, or, if you will, martyr'd by the Danes, with king Edmund, has the honour alſo of being ranked with the ſaints.

Alfred. Alfred the Great, independently of his royal dignity, was one of the moſt conſiderable for his piety and learning [x].

Scotus. Aſſer. vit. Alf. Johannes Scotus, ſirnamed Erigena, that is, Iriſhman, [Ireland being then called Erin] lived at this time. He had acquired a great reputation in France, where Charles the Bald entertained him at his court, and uſed to converſe with him with great familiarity [y], when Alfred invited him into England. At firſt he was the king's preceptor in languages and the other ſciences; afterwards he taught at Oxford, from whence, in all probability, he was removed to Malmſbury, ſince it was in this monaſtery that he is ſaid to be ſtabbed to death by his ſcholars with penknives. Before he left France, he was engaged by the emperor's order in the diſpute con-

w He was bred a monk at Wincheſter, where he was made abbot. Malm.

x He was twelve years of age before he could read, which he firſt began to learn upon this occaſion. His mother ſeeing him one day mightily delighted with a little book, beautifully adorned with capital letters in gold and other colours, ſaid in his and his brother's hearing, "She would give "that book to him that ſhould firſt "get it by heart." Alfred, who knew not ſo much as his letters, though twelve years old, applied himſelf ſo diligently to his buſineſs, that he never left till he could read and repeat the book to his mother. From this time, he had a great reliſh for books, and ſtudied hard. There is extant of this monarch's works relating to hiſtory, a paraphraſtical tranſlation of Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and a ſhort genealogy of the kings of the Weſt-Saxons. Poſterity had ſo great a veneration for his memory, that he has the title of ſaint ſometimes beſtowed upon him, and what is more, his name ſtands in the calendar of the Engliſh Martyrology, printed in 1608, and in two Saxon Calendars cited by the annotator on the Saxon tranſlation of the N. T. The day of his death is regiſtered on the 26th of October.

y The emperor one day, as he was ſitting oppoſite to him at table, aſking him merrily, "Quid intereſt inter "Scotum & ſotum?" He replied, "Menſa tantum." Which the emperor took in good part. Hoved.

cerning

cerning the nature of the Euchariſt. In his treatiſe [z] upon this ſubject, he ſtrongly argued againſt Paſcaſius's doctrine, who maintained, the body of Chriſt in the euchariſt to be the ſame that was born of the bleſſed virgin. It muſt needs be, that the contrary opinion defended by Scotus, was not looked upon then as heretical, ſince it prevented not Alfred from inviting him into England, from having a very great eſteem for him, and intruſting him with the education of youth. Nay it is certain, he was honoured as a ſaint and a martyr after his death. Roger de Hoveden ſays, Scotus at firſt had an obſcure burial, but afterwards a miraculous light ſhining over his grave for ſeveral nights together, the monks of St. Lawrence's removed his body into their church, and buried it cloſe by the altar. His epitaph alſo, the antiquity whereof, according to Malmſbury, appears from the ſtructure and diction of the verſes [a], is expreſs for his paſſing for a ſaint, when that was made. All theſe circumſtances are a ſtrong preſumption, at leaſt, that Tranſubſtantiation was not the doctrine of the church of England at that time. For had it been ſo, how was it poſſible the Engliſh ſhould honour as a ſaint one that had ſo openly combated their opinions? This inference a little perplexes the Roman Catholics. However, one of their hiſtorians does not ſcruple to own, that "the name of Scot is regiſtered in the ſupplement of the "Gallican Martyrology, and commemorated among the "ſaints on the fourth of the Ides of November." He moreover adds, "that his name had been inſerted even in the "Roman Martyrology, and did remain there till expunged "by Cardinal Baronius." This hiſtorian indeed pretends, Scotus retracted his former errors, but gives us no authority for what he ſays. He only alledges, that without a recantation it is not likely the church would have honoured his memory. But this is ſuppoſing that Tranſubſtantiation was the doctrine of the church at that time, which muſt firſt be proved, before this argument can be of any force. Creſſy's Church Hiſtory of England. p. 772.

Grimbald lived alſo in the ſame century. He was one of the firſt claſs for his learning, and had a great reputation. Grimbald, Aſſer.

z This book was condemned by the council of Vercelis in 1050, Bering. Epiſt. ad Rich. It is now loſt, though ſome will have it to be the ſame with that which goes under the name of Ratram or Bertram. But Mabillon confutes this opinion.

a Claudigur hoc Tumulo ſanctus Sophiſta Johannes,
Qui diratus erat jam viveas dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Chriſti conſcendere Regnum,
Quo meruit, Sancti regnant per Sæcula cuncti. Malm.

He was invited into England by Alfred the Great, (who was acquainted with him at Rheims) and preferred to the government of the new abby at Wincheſter.

Aſſerius Menevenſis. Among the Engliſhmen, eminent for their learning, Aſſerius was one of the moſt conſiderable. He wrote the life of Alfred the Great in 893, and died biſhop of St. David's in Wales [b]. He muſt not be confounded with another of the ſame name, biſhop of Sherburn, who died in 883.

Werefrid. Aſſer. Werefrid, biſhop of Worceſter in Mercia, lived in the reign of king Buthred. When the Danes became maſters of Mercia, he retired into France, from whence he was recalled by king Alfred. He tranſlated the dialogues of Gregory the Great into Saxon, and having acquired a great reputation when living, he was regiſtered a ſaint after his death.

Plegmund. Plegmund, who was archbiſhop of Canterbury, paſſed for a very learned prelate, and was particularly eminent for his ſkill in divinity.

Dunulf. Dunulf had been an herdſman. He is affirmed by ſome to be the ſame that ſheltered Alfred, whilſt the Danes were maſters of the kingdom. However this be, he had the good fortune to be known to this prince, who finding him a perſon of a genius ſuperior to his birth and employment, got him inſtructed in learning, and promoted him afterwards to the ſee of Wincheſter. As this city was then the metropolis of Weſſex, where Alfred kept his uſual reſidence, he uſed the advice of this prelate in affairs of the greateſt moment.

Wulfig. Wulfig biſhop of London, had alſo a great ſhare in Alfred's eſteem, as appears by his letter to this prelate prefixed to his tranſlation of Gregory's Paſtoral.

Neots. Neots was an abbot diſtinguiſhed for his birth, learning, regularity, and zeal for promoting the intereſt of the true re-

b He was bred a monk of Menevia or St. David's, whom the king prevailed upon, with much ado, to come to court, on condition he ſhould ſtay there ſix months, and at his abby ſix months, by turns. He wrote the life of Alfred to the 45th year of his age, i. e. to the year 893, according to his computation. It was continued to Alfred's death by ſome later hand. He ſhews through the whole a great deal of modeſty. He mentions nothing of the viſionary dialogue betwixt Alfred and St. Cuthbert, which other hiſtorians largely inſiſt on. He is copied by Florence of Worceſter and others. This treatiſe was firſt publiſhed by archbiſhop Parker in the old Saxon character. A new edition is lately put out by Mr. Wiſe, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, with a vindication of the conteſted clauſe about the antiqoity of Oxford. Another piece has been publiſhed by Dr. Gale, under the title of Aſſerius's Annals. The learned editor does not queſtion but it is the true off-ſpring of Aſſerius. Leland calls it the Chronicle of St. Neot's, becauſe he found it in that monaſtery.

ligion.

ligion. Some ſay, he was nearly related to king Alfred, and others, that he was deſcended from the blood-royal of East-Anglia. He died in 890 in Cornwall, where he left his name to the town of Neotſtow or St. Neod's [c].

Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the ſon of an East-Anglian-Dane. Though he was born of Pagan parents, he had the good fortune to know and reliſh the Chriſtian religion, and for that reaſon was expelled his father's houſe. In this extremity, he put himſelf into the ſervice of an Engliſh nobleman, who had him baptized, and ſent him to ſchool. When he became capable he entered into orders, in the reign of Edward the Elder. His zeal, virtue and capacity, gained him ſo great a character, that Athelſtan made him biſhop of Sherburn. Some aſcribe to the efficacy of his prayers, the glorious victory, obtained by that prince over the Danes at Brunanburgh. Odo had no leſs intereſt with king Edmund, who reſolved to promote him to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury; but Odo modeſtly excuſed himſelf, telling the king his abilities were too ſlender for ſo high a poſt. The king not admitting his excuſe, he further alledged, that tranſlations were not warrantable by the canons. This ſcruple being removed, by the examples of Juſtus and Mellitus, who were tranſlated from Rocheſter and London to Canterbury, he ſtarted another objection, and alledged, that the archbiſhops from Auguſtin downwards having been all monks [d], he looked upon himſelf as unqualified for that ſtation, ſince he had not been educated under any religious rule. This new difficulty was alſo got over by ſending to the abbot of Fleury in France, and entreating him to admit Odo into his ſociety. Thus the prelate having nothing more to object, accepted at length, though with great reluctance, the ſee of Canterbury. As he became afterwards a vigorous champion for the monks, it may be preſumed, this was one of the chief reaſons for placing him among the moſt illuſtrious eccleſiaſticks of his time. He is ſaid alſo to have the gift of miracles, which the favourers of the monks ſeldom failed to be honoured with. Odo.

Dunſtan would make a large article here, did I not think what I have elſewhere ſaid of him ſufficiently makes known Dunſtan.

c Where he was buried, and when earl Alric's ſeat in Huntingtonſhire was turned into a monaſtery upon his account, his body was removed thither, and the town before called Alnulphsbury, was from him named St. Neot's. From whence his bones were a third time removed to Croyland Minſter in 1217.

d There were ſeveral that in all probability were not monks, as Wigherd, whom Bede, lib. iv. cap. 1. calls a prieſt, and Nothelm, who ſucceeded Tatwine.

his character. There are modern hiſtorians, even among the proteſtants themſelves, who, carried away by the teſtimonies of the ancient writers, have given great commendations to this pretended ſaint, without conſidering upon what doubtful authorities they proceed. It is highly probable, that Dunſtan's firm adherence to the monks, was the ground of thoſe exceſſive praiſes beſtowed on him, of which, perhaps, he would otherwiſe have been deemed unworthy [e].

Ethelwald and Oſwald.

The ſame may be ſaid of Ethelwald, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter firſt, and afterwards archbiſhop of York. Their great zeal in the cauſe of the monks, is doubtleſs what contributed moſt to their reputation. The monks, being almoſt the only writers in thoſe days, have drawn the characters of perſons according to their prejudices or intereſts.

Turketul.

Turketul, king Edmund's near relation, and chancellor, became famous in this age, for preferring a cloyſter to a court, where he lived in great reputation. But what raiſed his merit moſt with the hiſtorians, was his rebuilding and reſtoring to its former ſplendor, the abby of Croyland [f], demoliſhed by the Danes.

e The famous ſtory of St. Dunſtan and the Devil is thus related by the monkiſh hiſtorians. As St. Dunſtan was one day buſied in his cell near Glaſſenbury, in making a gold cup of a curious workmanſhip, the devil appeared to him in a beautiful form, tempting him to ſin. Dunſtan perceiving in ſpirit who he was, takes a red-hot pair of tongues, and catching hold of the devil by the noſe, made him howl in ſuch a terrible manner, that he was heard all over the neighbourhood. Hig. Polych. p. 270. Edit. Gale. Brompt. p. 878, 879.

f Turketul left the monaſtery at his death in poſſeſſion of many curious relicks; among the reſt Ingulphus, (p. 51. Hiſt. Croyl. edit. Gale.) mentions the thumb of St. Bartholomew the apoſtle, given him when chancellor by the emperor; he had ſo great a veneration for it, that he always carried it about him, and when in any danger, croſſed himſelf with it. The naming of bells, together with the benediction, as a defenſative againſt thunder and lightning, being introduced in this age by pope John XIV. Turketul caſt a great bell, which he called Guthlac. His ſucceſſor taking the hint, added ſome more to it, and made the firſt tuneable ring of bells in England. Ingulph, p. 53.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

Containing the reigns of the kings of ENGLAND, *from* ETHELRED II. *to the* NORMAN *Conqueſt, being the ſpace of about eighty-eight years.*

14. ETHELRED II.

AFTER the murder of Edward, there was no pretence to refuſe the crown to his brother Ethelred, who was the only prince of the royal family, and too young to be accuſed of partaking in his mother's crime. Accordingly, Dunſtan could not help crowning him [a], being then but twelve years of age, though he plainly foreſaw it would prove fatal to his whole party. It is affirmed, that Dunſtan at his coronation foretold, by the ſpirit of prophecy, the calamities England was going to be expoſed to in his reign. But predictions of this nature are always to be ſuſ- 978. Ethelred II. crowned. G. Malmſb. lib. ii. cap. 10. Hoved. Ingulph. p. 54.

a He was crowned at Kingſton, April 25. Sax. Annal. Huntingd. lib. v. Brompt. p. 877.

pected, when attributed to saints, such as Dunstan, by authors who wrote after the event. However this be, the people
Sax. Ann. had very different thoughts of this new reign: they flattered themselves, they were about to enjoy a state of tranquillity, under a prince who had already given an instance of his good nature, in bitterly lamenting the death of the king his brother, though it procured him the crown: an historian says,
Malmsb. et Bromp. his tears appeared so unseasonable to his mother, that catching up a wax-taper in a passion, she beat him so unmercifully with it, that he could not endure the sight of a wax-light ever after.

980. The first thing Ethelred did after his coronation, was to
Sax. Annal. remove the body of the late king to Shaftsbury church.
H. Hunting. Hardly had he performed this office, but he found himself attacked by the Danes, who suffered him to enjoy no repose
His character. during the residue of his life. If this prince had followed the
G. Malm b. steps of his predecessors, perhaps he would have caused the old invaders to have laid aside all thoughts of any attempts upon England. But his natural cowardice, joined to an extreme sluggishness [b], an insatiable avarice, and many other failings, soon let them see, he was not like to prove a very formidable enemy. For sixty years past they seemed to have forgot England, and the English on their side to have lost all remembrance of the calamities they had suffered from the hands of these cruel enemies. However, after so long an interval, during which the Danes, settled in England, seemed to have entertained the same affection for this their second country as the natives themselves, the foreign Danes renewed their invasions. They no sooner appeared, but the others, resuming their old inclinations, joined their countrymen, in order to free themselves from the dominion of the English.

981. The Danish rovers made their first attempt on Southamp-
The Danes renew their invasions. ton, where they arrived with seven ships, and after plundering the town and the adjacent country [c], they carried the same devastations into Cornwal.

b This cowardly and sluggish temper of his was predicted by Dunstan, when at his baptism (like Constantine the emperor, from thence called Cognomento) he bewrayed the font, which, Malmsbury says, disturbed Dunstan so, that it made him swear, "By God and St. Mary, this "boy will prove a poltroon." lib. x. cap. 2. De Gest. Reg. Ang. But this has very much the air of a monkish aspersion.

c They either slew, or carried captive, almost all the inhabitants. They came from thence to the Isle of Thanet, and plundered it; and another band ravaged Chester. S. Dunelm. p. 161. Brompt. p. 877.

This

This year another band landing at Portland, pillaged and sacked the country round about, after which they proceeded elsewhere, to encrease their spoils [d]. Sax. Ann. G. Malmsb. Sim. Dun.

These frequent descents were so much the more incommodious to the English, as having so many coasts to guard, they knew not where to assemble and expect the enemy. If at any time they happened to have it in their power to give them battle, all the advantage they could gain, in case fortune favoured them, was to recover the plunder. But when they themselves were worsted, the country was sure to be exposed to all imaginable cruelties before another army could be assembled. Very often, whilst the English troops were upon the march, to oppose one of these bands, they were forced to change their rout, and march where the danger seemed more pressing. Thus, what care soever might be taken, one part of the kingdom was always exposed, since there was no forseeing where the pyrates would land. There was but one way to remedy this inconvenience, which was to keep a fleet at sea strong enough to engage the Danes, before they landed their troops. But a time of minority was not very proper to take such a precaution. 982. The advantages of the Danes in the war.

In this manner passed the first ten years of this reign. It would be needless to describe the ravages committed by the Danes during that time. It is easy to imagine the whole kingdom was a scene of murders, conflagrations, plunderings, and other devastations, which, after some short intermissions, were continually renewed.

During these troubles, Elfric, duke of Mercia, one of the best supports of his country, died in 983. His little regard for the monks after Edgar's death, was probably the reason of their reporting, among their votaries, that he was eaten up of lice. Alfric his son succeeded him. 983. The death of Elfric duke of Mercia. Sax. Annal. Hoveden.

The next year Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, one of Dunstan's confidents, and a great friend of the monks, departed also this life. He is said to have founded a dozen monasteries. If that be true, he was, no doubt, assisted by the liberality of the two former kings, with whom he was in great favour [e]. 984. Death of Ethelwold bishop of Winchester.

The credit of the monks declined very much in the reign of Ethelred, as well by reason of the frequent invasions of the Danes, as because the people, full of their misfortunes, Monkery goes to decay.

d This year also the city of London was destroyed by fire, but by what accident is unknown.

e He had the king's purse at command, besides those of most other people, who then looked upon such works as meritorious. Tyr. p. 21.

were regardleſs of every thing elſe. Nay, they began to miſtruſt the ſanctity of the monks, not being able to forbear wondering, that men who had obtained from heaven ſo many miracles on their own private account, could not by their merits and prayers ſecure the kingdom from the calamities it was inceſſantly expoſed to. On the other hand, as their credit with the former kings had helped to acquire them a great reputation, ſo this king's diſinclination to them turned greatly to their prejudice. Ethelred, whoſe thoughts were not taken up with religion, put the monks and other eccleſiaſtics upon a level with the reſt of his ſubjects. He gave a convincing proof how little he regarded the clergy, in a difference between him and the biſhop of Rocheſter. The biſhop having haughtily refuſed to comply with ſome demand of the king's, he ordered the ſoldiers to lay waſte the lands belonging to the cathedral, dedicated to St. Andrew [f]. In vain did the biſhop threaten him with vengeance from the apoſtle, and cauſe archbiſhop Dunſtan to interpoſe in his quarrel: Ethelred ſlighted both, nor could be appeaſed, but by money [g]. Dunſtan, diſpleaſed to the higheſt degree at this behaviour, denounced upon the king and his council the judgments of God, ready to fall on their heads, for preſuming to lay ſacrilegious hands on the church's property: but he was not heard. His credit was ſunk ſo low, that hardly was he known to be alive; ſo careful were the new miniſters to depreſs him. He died quickly after, in the year 988, not ſo much of old age, as of grief and vexation to ſee himſelf no longer diſtingniſhed as formerly.

986. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Knighton.

Dunſtan loſes his credit.

Dunſtan's death. Sax. Ann.

Oſwald archbiſhop of York dies. Sax. Ann.

Oſwald, archbiſhop of York, ſoon followed him. He was his particular friend, and one of the three prelates that governed the church during the reign of Edgar. The death of theſe patrons of the monks, a contagious diſtemper which ſwept away multitudes, and moreover the continual invaſions of the Danes, put an end to the quarrel between the ſecular and regular clergy, in ſuch manner, that is was never more heard of.

991. The Danes invade England again. Sax. Ann.

After the Danes had pillaged the coaſts of England ten years together, they gave over their ravages for about two years. This intermiſſion put the Engliſh in hopes, their enemies having turned their thoughts to ſome other country, would for the future leave them in quiet. But theſe hopes were ſhort-lived. In 991, Juſtin and Guthmund, two Daniſh captains,

[f] He firſt laid ſiege to Rocheſter, but not being able to take it, he waſted the lands of the cathedral. Malmsb. S. Dunelm.

[g] One hundred pounds. Knighton, p. 2314. Malmsb. p. 62.

landed

landed a great body of troops at Gipſwich, in Suffolk. Whilſt they were buſy in plundering, Brithnoth, duke of East-Anglia, advanced towards them, in expectation to ſurpriſe them, but found them too well prepared: he was overthrown, and his defeat expoſed the country to greater devaſtations. The victorious Danes having nothing more to fear, penetrated ſtill farther into the country, where they committed terrible ravages. Ethelred, being without an army, and unable to ſtop their progreſs, was perſuaded by Syric, archbiſhop of Canterbury [h], to give them a large ſum to be gone [i]. Perhaps he would have acted wiſer, if, in imitation of Alfred and Edgar, he had laid out the money in fortifying the kingdom againſt their inſults. However this be, the archbiſhop's advice was deemed afterwards very fatal to England. The preſent given to this band ſerved only to allure others, who being no leſs greedy of money, thought they had an equal right to make advantage of the weakneſs of the Engliſh.

Hoveden. S. Dunelm.

Ethelred gives them money.

993. Another Daniſh fleet. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Two years after another of their fleets ſailing up the Humber, the pirates landed on the north ſide, and ravaged in a mercileſs manner all that belonged to the Engliſh in thoſe quarters. Ethelred ſent an army againſt them, under the command of three earls, Fræna, Frithegiſt, and Goodwin: but the generals having led their forces in ſight of the enemies, were the firſt that turned their backs, and by their ſhameful cowardice occaſioned the loſs of the army. The king had imprudently truſted theſe three lords with his forces, who being of Daniſh extraction, were ſuſpected of treachery.

994. Sweyn and Olaus invade England.

How great ſoever the miſeries inflicted hitherto on England by theſe foreigners might be, it is certain they were nothing in compariſon of what followed. Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaus [k], king of Norway, allured by the ſucceſs of their ſubjects in England, wanted to ſhare in the ſpoil brought from thence every year. To that purpoſe, fitting out a numerous fleet they entered the Thames, and landed their troops near London: they made ſeveral attempts to become maſters of the city, but meeting with a braver reſiſtance than they ima-

S. Dunelm. G. Malmsb. lib. ii. cap. 10.

h And by the dukes Ethelward and Alfric, and the reſt of the nobility. S. Dunelm. p. 162. Chron. Mailros, p. 152.

i Ten thouſand pounds. Sax. Annal. 991.

k Some pretend Olaus, or Oloph, was the ſame with Anlaff, mentioned in the reigns of Edmund and Edred. But beſides that one was king of Norway, which cannot be ſaid of the other, Anlaff muſt have been exceeding old, ſince ſeventy years before he was a general. Hiſtorians not carefully diſtinguiſhing the princes that were called Anlaff or Olaf, made Selden ſay, it was a name which bred great confuſion in the Engliſh hiſtory. Rapin.

gined,

gined, retired. To make themſelves amends for the time ſpent in vain before London, they went and plundered Kent, Hampſhire, and Suſſex, threatening to lay waſte the whole kingdom. Ethelred who had no more conduct than courage, not knowing how to ſtop theſe ravages, had recourſe to the ſame means made uſe of before on a like occaſion. He bound himſelf by a treaty, to pay a certain ſum of money[l] within ſuch a time, on condition they left his ſubjects unmoleſted, and departed the kingdom. Whereupon the two foreign kings cauſed all hoſtilities to ceaſe, and retired to Southampton. Shortly after the king of Norway paid a viſit to Ethelred[m], who perſuaded him to be baptiſed, and ſtood himſelf godfather. At his departure, Olaus obliged himſelf by oath never to infeſt Engladd more, and performed his promiſe.

Ethelred promiſes them a ſum of money.

Olaus turns Chriſtian.

It would have been happy for the Engliſh, if Sweyn, who departed at the ſame time, would have followed his example; for they would have eſcaped all thoſe calamities that prince afterwards brought upon the land. When he ſailed for Denmark, he left a fleet at Southampton, to keep the Engliſh in awe, and oblige them to perform the articles of the treaty. After his departure his admiral very earneſtly preſſed the payment of the money: but as there was no haſte made to comply with his demands, he took their delay for a refuſal, and reſolved to renew the war. Mean while, to deceive the vigilance of the Engliſh, he ſet ſail as if he deſigned for Denmark, but on a ſudden he unexpectedly entered the Severn, and after deſtroying the country of the Welch with fire and ſword, croſſed the river and penetrated into Dorſetſhire[n], where he committed the ſame ravages.

The two Kings return home.

997. The war is renewed. Sax. Ann.

All the forces that could be brought againſt the Danes, were as ſoon defeated as levied: they ſacked whole countries, it being impoſſible to oppoſe them. At laſt, finding nothing more to plunder in thoſe parts, they put to ſea again and landed in Kent[o]. The inhabitants, by endeavouring to make ſome reſiſtance, only increaſed the fury of their enemies, who treated them with the utmoſt barbarity. To complete their misfortunes, a fleet equipped by Ethelred, to engage them at ſea, was rendered uſeleſs by the diſſenſions and unſkilfulneſs of the commanders. In this melancholy ſituation England would have irretrievably periſhed, if the Danes, by a lucky and unexpected

998. The Danes ravage England.

l Sixteen thouſand pounds. Sax. An. 994.

m At Andover, in Hampſhire. Sax. Annal.

n As alſo into Devon and Somerſetſhire. See Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 882.

o They went up the Medway to Rocheſter. Sax. Annal.

expected accident, had not been called to the aſſiſtance of Richard II. duke of Normandy, whom the king of France would have diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions. Ethelred took this opportunity to go and ravage Cumberland, but for what reaſon is unknown [p]. After that he returned to London, where he kept his uſual reſidence. 999. Are unexpectedly called off. Sax. Ann. 1000.

The quiet Ethelred enjoyed was of no long continuance, the Danes ſtaying in Normandy no longer than was neceſſary to put the young duke out of danger, returned into England. Cornwal felt the firſt effects of their fury; then entering Weſſex, they became maſters of Exeter. The conſternation of the Engliſh was ſo great, that they made but a faint reſiſtance. Whether Ethelred was betrayed by his generals, or the long peace enjoyed by the Engliſh during the foregoing reigns, had enervated their courage, they were conſtantly vanquiſhed. The king himſelf was ſeized with ſuch terror, that he durſt not venture to be preſent in the battles, for fear of falling into the hands of the Danes, who probably would have ſhown him no favour. In fine, the Danes ever victorious, got poſſeſſion of the iſle of Wight, Hampſhire, and Dorſetſhire, where they had their magazines. From hence they made continual incurſions into the neighbouring counties, without any one daring to oppoſe them. England was then in a deplorable condition. The ſouthern counties were perpetually ravaged by the foreign Danes, and the northern peopled by the ſame nation, whom the Engliſh could not but look upon as their enemies. For, they not only refuſed to fight againſt the foreigners, whom they ſtill conſidered as their countrymen, but joining with them, even helped to deſtroy a country they ought to have defended with all their power, ſince it was become their own. In this extremity, Ethelred, who had no reſolution, was far from imitating the firmneſs of his anceſtors, who, in like circumſtances, were never daunted by misfortunes. This timorous prince, ſeeing no other way to avoid the ſtill greater miſeries the nation was threatened with, yielded at laſt to pay the Danes thirty thouſand pounds [q]. This ſum, 1001. They return into England. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunel. The miſerable condition of England. Sax. Ann.

[p] Though not one of our Engliſh hiſtorians have mentioned on whom or for what this war was made, John Fordun in his Scotiſh hiſtory gives this account of it: Ethelred having paid large ſums to the Danes, ſent to Malcolm prince of Cumberland, under Gryme king of Scotland, to pay his ſhare; which he refuſed to do, and aſſerting he was only bound to make war with the reſt of the kingdom, when required. Ethelred invaded his country, on pretence he favoured the Danes: but preſently after the two princes ſtruck up a peace, and became friends. See alſo S. Dunelm. p. 79, 80.

[q] All hiſtorians agree in ſaying that it was done by the advice of the Wittenagemot, or council——a rege & proceribus (Wittan) decretum eſt. Sax Ann. —habito

1002. Origin of Danegeld.

ſum, which in thoſe days was very conſiderable, was levied by a tax, callen Danegeld, that is, Daniſh money, or money for the Danes [r]. This was the original of that famous tax which afterwards became ſo extremely burthenſome to the nation, even long after the Danes had quitted England. But the clergy and monks always found means to be exempted.

The Danes return hom, but ſeveral ſtay behind,

The Danes, ſatisfied with this agreement, ceaſed their ravages, and returned home. However, many of them perceiving England to be much preferable to Denmark, ſtaid behind, and lived among the Engliſh. Their number indeed was not ſo great as to render them very formidable, conſidering they were diſperſed; but then they were ſupported by their countrymen of Northumberland, and Eaſt-Anglia. Beſides,

who behave inſolently.

the Engliſh dreaded nothing ſo much as the renewal of the war, which made the Danes very inſolent. They did what they pleaſed, withont any controul. The Engliſh diſpirited by their paſt calamities, were afraid, on the leaſt occaſion, of drawing into the kingdom freſh armies of foreigners. Thus whilſt the Danes, abounding in wealth and eaſe, paſſed their time agreeably, the Engliſh were forced to labour and toil inceſſantly, to ſatisfy the avarice of their new maſters. In

Hect. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. J. Walling. are thence called Lord Danes.

ſhort, the whole kingdom ſtood in ſuch fear of the Danes, that they had always the appellation of Lord-Danes. The word itſelf, as well as the meaning, was altered a little after. At this day, in ſome parts of England, a rich idle man that takes upon him, is by way of deriſion called a Lurdane. But notwithſtanding this alteration, the traces of its original ſignification are ſtill viſible in the word.

Elgivia, Ethelred's queen, dying, whilſt the Danes were thus inſolently domineering in England, the king demanded

——habito concilio cum regni ſui primatibus—S. Dunelm. p. 164. Hoved. p. 429.——Conſilio primatum ſuorum. ——M. Weſt. p. 386.

r For the payment of this money every hide of land was taxed yearly twelve-pence. A hide of land is ſuch a quantity of land as may be ploughed with one plough in a year. Bede reckons it as much as will maintain a family. Some ſay it was an hundred acres, others that it contained no certain number of acres. The diſtribution of England by hides of land is very ancient, mention being made of it in the laws of Ina. Danegeld was the firſt land-tax in England. It was afterwards called Hidagium, which name remained afterwards upon all taxes and ſubſidies impoſed on lands. The Normans called theſe ſometimes taxes, ſometimes tillages, and auxilia & ſubſidia. The Saxon kings before this had their levies of money and perſonal ſervices towards the building and repairing cities, caſtles, bridges, military expeditions, &c. which from the word Bote, that is, repair, were termed Burghbote, Brigbote, Heregeld, &c. Danegeld was releaſed by Edward the Confeſſor, but levied again by William I. and II. Then it was releaſed again by Henry I. and finally by king Stephen. This ancient tax probably might be a precedent for our land-tax for three or four ſhillings in the pound, when firſt granted. See Leg. Edw. Confeſſ. c. xii.

Emma

Emma [s], ſiſter of Richard II. duke of Normandy, in marriage. His ſuit being granted, and the marriage conſummated, he thought himſelf out of danger, depending upon the aſſiſtance of the duke his brother-in-law, when there ſhould be occaſion. This expectation inſpired him with the barbarous and furious reſolution of deſtroying the Danes by a general maſſacre. To excecute this project, orders were ſent ſo privately [t] throughout the kingdom, that in one day all the Danes were ſlain with ſuch implacable fury and cruelty, that the particulars cannot be read without horror [u]. Sweyn's ſiſter [w], who was married to an Engliſh lord, having at firſt been ſpared, Ethelred was ſo barbarous as to cauſe her children to be murdered in her preſence, and then her head to be cut off. This princeſs, who met her death with an heroic conſtancy, was ſeverely revenged ſhortly after.

Ethelred marries Emma of Normandy. Huntingd. lib. vi. Brompton. Maſſacre of the Danes. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

This bloody tragedy, acted on the thirteenth of November 1002, was very like the maſſacre of the Romans by the Britons under Boadicea; not only the ſame barbarities, but the ſame conſequences alſo attended both. The Engliſh, as the old Britons, were ſo far from throwing off their yoke by this wicked expedient, that it ſerved only to make it more heavy and inſupportable. Though hiſtorians aſſure us, all the Danes in England were maſſacred on this occaſion, it is hard to conceive how this could be effected in Northumberland and East-Anglia, where the Danes were moſt powerful. Was it poſſible they ſhould ſuffer their throats to be cut, without making any reſiſtance worth notice? This conſideration makes me apt to believe, that by all the Danes, we are to underſtand only thoſe lately ſettled in England, and diſperſed in Weſſex and Mercia.

Remarks on this maſſacre.

Ethelred was perſuaded, this bloody maſſacre of ſo many thouſands would procure him ſome repoſe. He could not

Ethelred's falſe views.

s In Saxon, Elgiva. S. Dunelm. p. 164. She was called from her extraordinary beauty, the pearl of Normandy. Ran. Higd. lib. vi. Huntingd. lib. vi.

t Huntingdon ſays that he himſelf, when a child, heard it from certain old men, that by the king's command letters were privately diſpatched all over England to make away the Danes in one night. The Saxon Annals add, it was becauſe the king was told the Danes deſigned to deprive him and his nobles of their lives, and to ſeize the kingdom. Anno MII.

u Among other cruelties, the Daniſh women were placed in holes in the earth, as deep as their waiſts, and then had their breaſts torn off by maſtiff dogs. See Joh. Walling. p. 547. edit. Gale. M. Weſt. lays the odium of this whole ſcene of barbarity on Huna, general of the king's forces, one of his evil counſellors, p. 391. Brady queſtions the truth of it, p. 124, note (m).

w Her name was Gunilda; ſhe is ſaid to have been married to a noble Dane of great power and wealth, who had been ſettled for ſome time in England: his name was Paleng. She was a Chriſtian, and had been a great inſtrument in making peace between the Engliſh and Danes. Mat. Weſt. p. 392.

imagine,

imagine, the Danes would ever think of any future invaſions. At leaſt, he hoped, in caſe the deſire of revenging their brethren ſhould bring them to England again, the Engliſh would ſee the neceſſity of ſhedding the laſt drop of their blood to prevent falling into the hands of their incenſed enemies. He relied moreover on the aſſiſtance of his brother-in-law the duke of Normandy, a powerful prince, intereſted in his defence. But ſuch a deteſtable policy rarely produces the intended effects, or rather, ſeldom fails of ending in the ruin of the projector. God, who beholds ſuch tragedies with horror, does not often ſuffer them to go unpuniſhed. Of this we have an inſtance in the miſeries that befel Ethelred and his ſubjects, who were almoſt as guilty as their king.

Sweyn reſolves upon revenge. M. Weſt. Walſing. J. Walling.

Sweyn received the news of this maſſacre by ſome Danes, who eſcaped by getting on board a veſſel ready to ſail for Denmark. The relation of the cruelties of the Engliſh to thoſe of his nation, would have been ſufficient to throw him into reſolutions fatal to England. But when he was informed of his ſiſter's death, and the barbarous manner of it, he was ſeized with a raging fury. Every thing contributing to fire him up to revenge, he ſolemnly ſwore he would never reſt till he had ſatisfaction for ſo bloody an outrage. It was not therefore with intent to plunder, that he made a ſecond expedition into England, but to deſtroy the whole country with fire and ſword. However, as he did not doubt but Ethelred had taken all poſſible precautions to oppoſe his entrance, he would not ſail without being ſure of a place where he might ſafely land his troops. Cornwal was then governed by earl Hugh a Norman, whom the queen had placed in that poſt as a man the king might perfectly confide in. To this governor Sweyn diſpatched a truſty meſſenger, to endeavour to gain him to his intereſt, by the offer of a great reward. Hugh yielding to the temptation, promiſed to admit the Daniſh fleet into his ports, and ſuffer the troops to land without moleſtation.

Sweyn lands in Cornwal and burns Exeter. Huntingg. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Upon this, Sweyn, having equipped a fleet of three hundred ſail, landed in Cornwal with a numerous army, and meeting with no oppoſition, marched directly to Exeter. As this city was in no apprehenſion of an attack, he eaſily became maſter of it, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword, reduced it to aſhes. This firſt exploit was followed by ſeveral others, no leſs fatal to England. Wherever Sweyn carried his arms, revenge and not conqueſt being his chief aim, he deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. Towards the end of the ſummer, being informed Alfric, duke of Mercia, was advancing with a powerful army to give him battle, he reſolved to meet him. Ethel-

red

red acted very unadviſedly in giving the command of his army to this lord, whom he had formerly baniſhed the kingdom out of mere caprice, and whoſe ſon's eyes he had ordered to be put out [x]. The remembrance of this injury being ſtill freſh in the duke's mind, he was pleaſed with having ſo fair an opportunity to revenge it. As ſoon as he was in ſight of the enemy, he feigned himſelf ſick on a ſudden, pretending he was unable to fight in his preſent condition, ordered a retreat, which he took care to make with ſo much confuſion, that the Danes very eaſily routed his army. After this victory, Sweyn took ſeveral towns [y], with an immenſe booty. But as he had no deſign to keep them, he ſet them on fire, and went and paſſed the winter in Denmark. Sax. Ann. Sweyn retires.

The calm England enjoyed upon Sweyn's departure, laſted not long. In the following ſpring he landed in Eaſt-Anglia, and taking Norwich, burnt the whole town to the ground. Ulfketel, governor of Eaſt-Anglia, unable to reſiſt him, gave him a great ſum of money, to prevent his doing any farther miſchief. But upon receipt of the money, Sweyn breaks the treaty, and takes Thetford by ſurpriſe, a town then of great note, and ſerved it as he had done Norwich. Incenſed at this breach of faith, Ulfketel levided ſome troops with great expedition, and poſted himſelf between the Daniſh army and fleet. Sweyn perceiving he intended to cut off his retreat to his ſhips, marched back to give him battle, before he ſhould be reinforced with more troops. He found the Engliſh very advantageouſly encamped, expecting him with a reſolution to ſtand their ground, and exert their utmoſt in defence of their goods and chattels, which their enemies were carrying away before their face. The ill fortune of the Engliſh was come to that height, that it was almoſt impoſſible they ſhould ſo much as once get the advantage. The Danes obtained a ſignal victory, though not without great loſs on their ſide. They even owned they were never in more danger of being defeated [z]. Ulfketel, though of Daniſh race, was the faithfulleſt as well as braveſt of all Ethelred's ſubjects, and did him the moſt ſervice. But it was not ſo with the other lords. All the hiſtorians agree, Ethelred was betrayed by all that approached him. Sweyn had his ſpies, not only in his court, but in his very He returns and burns Norwich and Thetford. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Defeats the duke of Eaſt-Anglia 1004. Ethelred betrayed on all hands.

x Though the Annals tell us not the reaſon, Malmsbury ſays it was for his father's perfidiouſneſs, who had revolted ſeveral times.

y Particularly Wilton and Sarum. Sax. Ann.

z The Saxon Annals tell us, the fight was very ſharp, and ended in a great ſlaughter on both ſides, wherein abundance of the Engliſh nobility were killed. But if all the Engliſh forces had been there, the Danes had never reached their ſhips. Anno 1004.

council.

council. The great men, for the moſt part were bribed, or at leaſt, there was ſcarce one that ſerved the king heartily, by reaſon of their little eſteem for him. Whatever councils were held to conſider of ways and means to reſiſt the Danes, the diſſenſions between the nobles, too common in the courts of princes of little reſpected, prevented them from coming to any reſolution, or executing what was reſolved. The avarice of the clergy, and particularly of the monks, very much helped to encreaſe the diſorder. Notwithſtanding their great riches, they refuſed to contribute their quota in defence of the kingdom, pleading their privileges and immunities, as if they had no ſhare at all in the danger. It is no wonder therefore the Danes obtained ſo many victories in a country ſo ill defended by them, who were ſo much concerned for its preſervation.

1005. The famine that happened ſoon after, would have completed the misfortunes of the Engliſh, had it not accidentally proved the occaſion of Sweyn's returning to Denmark for want of ſubſiſtence in England.

Famine in England, upon which Sweyn retires. Sax. Ann.

Upon the retreat of the Danes, and ceaſing of the famine, the Engliſh began to entertain hopes of enjoying ſome tranquility, when they ſaw another Daniſh fleet arrive at Sandwich in Kent. Ethelred immediately levied an army to give the new invaders battle; but after committing ſome ravages, they retired to the iſle of Thanet, where it was not poſſible to attack them. They knew the Engliſh army conſiſting only of volunteers who ſerved at their own expence, would ſoon diſband themſelves, as it actually happened. Winter coming on, the Engliſh returned to their homes, it not being in the power of the king to keep them any longer together. Then the Danes iſſuing from their retreat, renewed their ravages in Kent [a] and the neighbouring counties, well aſſured they ſhould

Another Daniſh fleet. Sax. Ann.

1007. meet with no oppoſition. Ethelred ſaw no other courſe to ſtop the progreſs of a miſchief that threatened the whole kingdom, but to give them the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds, with which they were very well ſatisfied.

The king marries his daughter to Edric, who proves a traitor. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 10. Huntingd. M. Weſt.

The king, being freed from this incumbrance, celebrated the wedding of one of his daughters with Edric, ſirnamed Streon [b], a very powerful lord, whom he had juſt made duke of Mercia. If hitherto Ethelred had lived in continual fears and troubles, it was nothing in compariſon of the misfortunes he drew on himſelf by this fatal marriage. He had inconſi-

a This was about Chriſtmas; they plundered [not Kent] but Hampſhire and Berkſhire, as far as Reading, and burnt Wallingford. See Sax. Ann. Hunting. p. 360. S. Dunelm. p. 166.

b Camden ſays, Streon ſignifies the Acquirer, and therefore it was not a proper, but ſirname only. Rapin.

derately

derately taken into his family a traitor ſold to the Danes, who never failed on all occaſions to betray the king and kingdom to the foreigners.

Hardly was a year paſſed ſince the laſt treaty with the Danes, when they demanded the ſame ſum again [c], pretending it to be a yearly tribute due by contract from Ethelred. This demand was accompanied with threats of deſtroying the whole kingdom with fire and ſword, if the money was not immediately paid. This new pretenſion of the Danes convincing the king and his council, there was no poſſibility of ever contenting their inſatiable avarice, it was judged the money would be better laid out in equipping a fleet capable of defending the kingdom from their incurſions. Neceſſity made them put this reſolution ſo ſpeedily in practice, that quickly after the king had a fleet well manned and victualled, the command whereof was given to Brithric, brother of Edric Streon, duke of Mercia. Theſe meaſures obliged the Danes to retire, for fear of being forced to a ſea-engagement, which their ſhips were not ſo fit for as thoſe of the Engliſh [d].

1008. Ethelred fits out a great fleet. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

The firſt thing Brithric did, after his being made admiral, was to uſe all his intereſt to ruin Ulnoth, a lord of diſtinguiſhed quality [e], but his enemy. He accuſed him to the king of I know not what crimes, of which Ulnoth did not think fit to purge himſelf by a public trial, being ſenſible his condemnation was already concerted. He reſolved therefore upon a voluntary exile, to ſkreen himſelf from this perſecution, and perſuaded nine captains [f] to follow him with their ſhips. After which he infeſted the Engliſh coaſts, and did as much miſchief as the Danes. Brithric, enraged at his enemy's eſcape, and his daring to brave him thus, put to ſea with eighty ſail to give him chace, and endeavour to ſeize him alive or dead. But he met with ſo violent a ſtorm, that the greateſt part of his ſhips were loſt, or fell into the hands of Ulnoth. Thus this great fleet, which could not be fitted out without a vaſt expence, was rendered unſerviceable by the admiral's paſſion. The loſs became ſtill more irretrievable by the diſ-

The fleet comes to nothing. Sax. Ann. Hoved.

c Which was paid them. Sax. Ann.

d The Saxon Annals tell us, this was the largeſt and beſt fleet England had ever ſeen. It was built after this manner all over England; every hundred and thirty hides of land were obliged to find one ſhip, and every eight hides a helmet and breaſt-plate. An. MVIII. MIX. It muſt be obſerved that the Annals tell us, the ſeveral ſums paid to the Danes, as well as this tax for building a fleet, were all levied with the joint conſent of the king and his great council, or Wittena-gemot.

e Thane of Suſſex, earl Goodwin's father. Sax. Ann.

f The Saxon Annals, and the reſt of the hiſtorians, ſay twenty. See Huntingd. p. 360. S. Dunelm. p. 166.

ſenſion among the ſea-officers, ſeveral of whom went and joined Ulnoth.

1009. The Danes arrive in Kent. S. Dunelm. Sax. Ann. Hunting. Brompt.

In the mean time, the Danes took advantage of theſe diſorders. The next ſpring two of their fleets arrived in England, one in Eaſt-Anglia, under Turkil, another in the iſle of Thanet, under Heming and Anlaff. Theſe leaders joining their forces in Kent, plundered the country, and then laid ſiege to Canterbury. The city would have infallibly fallen into the hands of the Danes, if the inhabitants had not purchaſed a peace with a large ſum of money [g].

Ethelred levies an army;

Whilſt the Danes were pillaging Kent, Ethelred drew an army together to oppoſe their ravages. As ſoon as he was ready, he poſted himſelf between them and their ſhips, to prevent their embarking and carrying off their booty. Probably, he would have executed his project, and perhaps gained ſome further advantage, conſidering the ſuperiority of his forces, if Edric had not found means to ſave the Danes. The traitor perceiving their danger, repreſented to the king, his father-in-law, that it would be more advantageous to let them retire than hazard a battle, which might prove fatal to him. This pernicious advice made ſuch impreſſion on the king, that he ſuffered them to march by, with all their plunder, unmoleſted. But inſtead of ſailing for Denmark, as 'twas expected, they threw themſelves into the iſle of Thanet; from whence, during the whole winter, they made incurſions into the neighbouring counties. They even made ſeveral attempts upon London, but were always repulſed. Mean while, Ulfketel, duke of Eaſt-Anglia, willing once more to try the fortune of a battle in defence of his government, had the misfortune to be overthrown, and by his defeat left them maſters of the country he intended to defend.

Hoveden.

but ſuffers the Danes to paſs by him unmoleſted by Edric's advice.

Ulfketel defeated.

The Danes mount ſome of their troops, and become maſters of almoſt all Weſſex. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompton.

Hitherto the Danes wanted cavalry, by reaſon of the difficulty of tranſporting horſes from Denmark. But as ſoon as they were in poſſeſſion of Eaſt-Anglia, a country abounding with horſes, they mounted part of their troops, and by that means extended their conqueſts. Shortly after they ſubdued Eſſex, Middleſex, Hertfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Oxfordſhire [h], Bedfordſhire, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Nor-

g Three thouſand pounds. Sax. Ann. MIX. After they had got theſe three thouſand pounds, they ſailed round to the iſle of Wight, and plundered Suſſex, Hampſhire, and Berkſhire, burning ſeveral towns. And here it was that Ethelred drew an army againſt them, not whilſt they were ravaging Kent. See Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

h Oxford being burnt that year by the Danes, all ſtudies ceaſed there till the year 1133. Tho. Redburn.

thampton-

thamptonſhire, Kent, Surrey, Suſſex, Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and Devonſhire, whilſt Ethelred, who had ſcarce any thing left, kept himſelf ſhut up in London, without daring to take the field and ſtop their progreſs. In all the abovenamed counties, London and Canterbury were the only places in the king's power. But at length they attacked the laſt ſo vigorouſly, that they took, plundered, and reduced it to aſhes. Elphegus, the archbiſhop, being taken priſoner, was afterwards murdered by theſe barbarians [i]. They proceeded with the ſame cruelty towards the monks of St. Auguſtin's, whom they put under a decimation, deſtroying nine parts in ten [k]. 1012. They burn Canterbury Thorn.

England being reduced to this deplorable ſtate, all the great men of the kingdom aſſembled at London with the king, to conſult upon a remedy for ſuch violent evils. The beſt expedient they could find, was to bribe theſe foreigners with money to leave the kingdom. The ſum agreed upon amounted to forty-eight thouſand pounds [l], which having received, they departed with their booty [m]. Money is given them: They retire. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

Though the retreat of the Danes coſt England dear, the people thought themſelves happy to be thus freed from their enemies, hoping they ſhould repair by a peace, the damages ſuſtained by the war. But they were far from ſeeing yet the end of their miſeries. Hardly had they enjoyed any quiet, when news came that Sweyn [n] was entered the Humber [o] with a powerful fleet, threatening the whole kingdom with deſolation and ruin. As this prince found the country unprovided with troops, and unable to defend itſelf, he quickly became maſter of Northumberland, Eaſt-Anglia, in a word, 1013, Sweyn returns into England. He becomes maſter of ſeveral counties. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Mat. Weſt.

i He was killed at Greenwich, to which place, the ſtation of their ſhips, they had brought him priſoner. And therefore in the old church of Greenwich, on the top of the partition wall, between the nave of the church and the chancel, was this inſcription, "This "church was erected and dedicated to "the glory of God, and memory of St. "Alphage, archbiſhop of Canterbury, "here ſlain by the Danes, becauſe he "would not ranſom his life by an un"reaſonable ſum of money. Anno "1012." He was firſt buried at St. Paul's in London, and afterwards removed to Canterbnry. He was honoured as a martyr, and ſtands in the Roman Martyrology on the 19th of April.

k Florence of Worceſter ſays, the burghers were ſerved in the ſame manner; ſo that only four monks, and about eight hundred laymen, were left alive. Lambard ſuppoſes there were about forty-three thouſand two hundred perſons maſſacred. Peramb. of Kent.

l Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 361. and Brompton ſay but eight thouſand.

m Forty-five of their ſhips ſubmitted to Ethelred, and promiſed to defend the kingdom, provided he would ſupply them victuals and cloaths. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 361.

n The Engliſh hiſtorians have not told us the reaſon why Sweyn ſtaid away ſo long, as from 1005 to 1013, eight years.

o He came firſt to Sandwich, and from thence ſailing to the mouth of the Humber, he went up the Trent, as far as Gainsborough. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.

of all the counties lying north of Watling-Street. But theſe conqueſts not ſatisfying his ambition, he takes hoſtages of all the principal towns, and leaving his ſon Canute to command the conquered counties, he advances ſouthward, and on a ſudden lays ſiege to London, where Ethelred was ſhut up. Though he was but ill previded with neceſſaries to beſiege in form a place of that importance, he imagined the citizens would be terrified at his menaces. But finding they were not moved by them, he deſiſted from his enterprize, and went and ravaged the weſtern parts of Weſſex, where he found no oppoſition to his arms. However, as he could not be eaſy whilſt London was out of his power, he reſolved to beſiege it once more. But whilſt he was preparing for the ſiege with greater precaution than before, he had information of Ethelred's departure from thence. This unfortunate prince ever dreading to fall into the hands of an enemy he had ſo heinouſly injured, and perceiving himſelf unſafe at London, retired into Normandy with all his family. Whereupon the Londoners being left to take care of themſelves, judged it a raſh undertaking to maintain alone the rights of a prince relinquiſhed by himſelf. They reſolved therefore to ſubmit to the king of Denmark, to whom all the reſt of the kingdom was now ſubject. Preſently after the ſurrender of London, Sweyn was proclaimed king of England without any oppoſition, no one perſon in the kingdom daring to diſpute his title.

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15. SWEYN king of Denmark, and firſt of the Daniſh kings in England.

Sweyn impoſes a great tax.

THE firſt act of ſovereignty exerciſed by the new king, was an immenſe tax on the kingdom for payment of the Daniſh troops who aſſiſted him in his conqueſts. No hiſtorian mentions the coronation of this prince. Perhaps he neglected this ſolemnity, believing it unneceſſary; or, it may be, matters of greater importance afforded him no time to think of it, during his ſhort reign of leſs than a year. Some ſay he died a natural death, being choaked by a rheum. Others believe he was poiſoned. Whatever was the cauſe, 'tis certain he died ſuddenly, which gave occaſion to the legend writers to ſay he was killed with a club or lance by St. Edmund,

1014. He dies ſudd nly. Maimſb. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

mund, formerly king of East-Anglia. It is pretended, this saint did it to save the town, where his body lay buried [p], from being plundered for refusing to pay the tax imposed by the new king. The shortness of his reign, and perhaps his not being crowned, are the reasons historians, for the most part, have not reckoned this prince in the number of the kings of England.

ETHELRED II. restored.

Ethelred II. 1014.

UPON the death of Sweyn, his son Canute was proclaimed king of England by the Danes. But the English recalled Ethelred, promising to support him in the throne, against all the attempts of the Danes, whose government was become insupportable. Ethelred at first was loth to trust to their promises, being apprehensive of a design to deliver him into the hands of his enemies. But being encouraged by the good reception his son met with, whom he had sent before to sound the people's inclinations, he returned to England. He was received with great demonstrations of joy, and his subjects swore allegiance to him again, as if he had begun a new reign, his flight being considered as a sort of abdication of the crown. For his part, he promised to reform whatever was amiss in the administration of the government before his retreat. The eagerness of the English to throw off a foreign yoke, made them flock to the king with such zeal and haste, that he soon found himself at the head of a powerful army. His first expedition plainly shewed, his misfortunes had made no great alteration in him. Instead of marching against the Danes, he made use of his forces to be revenged on the men of Lindsey [q], who had some way displeased him. After he had gratified his passion by the chastisement of these people, he prepared to march and fight the Danes, who little expected so sudden a revolution. Though Canute had for him all the Danes, and the same forces his father Sweyn had conquered England with, he did not think fit to hazard a battle. On the contrary, before Ethelred was advanced near enough to oblige him to fight, he led his troops to the sea-side, and em-

Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

He chastises the Lindseymen.

Canute returns into Denmark: the reason of it.

p St. Edmund's-bury.

q One of the three divisions of Lincolnshire, viz. Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey. The Saxon Annals tell us, the men of Lindsey had provided the Danes with horses, and designed to join with them in their ravages. An. MXIV.

barking them, ſet ſail for Denmark. But before his departure, he ordered the hands and feet of the hoſtages he had in his power, to be cut off, leaving them thus mangled on the ſhore [r].

The cauſe of his leaving England.

The retreat of this prince cannot but ſeem ſtrange, ſince he had never been worſted, and beſides, had many ſtrong places ſtill in his hands. It is no leſs to be wondered, that the Engliſh hiſtorians ſhould not explain the cauſe of ſo haſty a retreat. But what the Engliſh hiſtory paſſes over in ſilence, is ſupplied by the Daniſh. We are there informed, that Canute had a younger brother, named Harold, who being regent in the abſence of his father Sweyn, ſeized upon the kingdom for himſelf. 'Twas this that obliged Canute to leave England, with a precipitation that ſeemed to be an effect of fear rather than ſound policy, as it really was. This prince did not believe he ought to abandon the kingdom of his anceſtors, for the ſake of a ſtrange and newly conquered country, ripe for a general defection. And indeed, if the revolt of the Engliſh had engaged him in a long war, as was but too probable, what aſſiſtance could he expect from Denmark, whilſt the kingdom was in the hands of his brother? He made it but too viſible afterwards, when having ſettled his affairs in the North, he returned with his victorious troops to England, that he was incapable of the fear that was laid to his charge.

Avarice and cruelty of Ethelred. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

As ſoon as Ethelred ſaw himſelf freed from the Danes, he never thought of performing his promiſe to his ſubjects. On the contrary, he reſumed his old maxims, and impoſed, on ſeveral pretences, exceſſive taxes [s], which raiſed great murmurings among the nobles and people.

Puts two earls to death for their eſtates. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. M. Weſt. S. Dunel.

To theſe occaſions of public complaint, he added others of a more private nature, which deſtroyed all the hopes entertained of his amendment. Morcard and Sifferth, lords of Daniſh extraction, who had all along firmly adhered to the intereſt of the king and their new country, were ſacrificed to his avarice. To draw theſe two earls into his ſnare, the king convened a great council at Oxford [t], where he cauſed them to be murdered, and then ſeized their eſtates, as if they had

r He ſailed to Sandwich, where he ſet the hoſtages on ſhore, and then went away to Denmark. The hiſtorians ſay, he cut off their hands, noſes, and ears, without any mention of their feet. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

s Particularly twenty-one thouſand pound, for his fleet and army that was at Greenwich. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 362. S. Dunelm, and Hoved. ſay, it was thirty thouſand pound. p. 141. 453. —Anno, 1014. Sept. 28. there was ſuch an inundation of the ſea, that it overflowed ſeveral towns, and drowned abundance of people. Sax. Ann. Malm.

t Of Engliſh and Danes. Malmsb.

been

been condemned by the common forms of juſtice [u]. Algitha, widow of Sifferth, was ſhut up in a monaſtery, to which confinement ſhe was indebted for her after greatneſs. Edmund, the king's eldeſt ſon, paſſing that way ſome time after, had a mind to ſee a lady ſo renowned for her beauty, and fell ſo deſperately in love with her, that he married her, even againſt his father's conſent. The marriage of his ſon Edmund, Malmſb.

1016. The calm England enjoyed after the retreat of the Danes, laſted but one year. Canute having got poſſeſſion of the throne of Denmark, immediately ſet out for England, and, when leaſt expected, landed a numerous army at Sandwich. Ethelred being then out of order, Edmund his ſon, with Streon duke of Mercia, his ſon-in-law, commanded the army againſt the Danes. Edmund ſoon perceived his brother-in-law was a friend to Canute. This diſcovery made him invent ſome pretence to divide the army in two bodies, that he might be ſeparated from him, not daring to puniſh the traitor, for fear of exciting a revolt in Mercia, where Streon's power was great. Beſides, he dreaded his father's diſpleaſure, who would never be perſuaded, his ſon-in-law held intelligence with the Danes. Canute taking advantage of this diviſion of the Engliſh forces, made large conqueſts immediately; and the treacherous Edric, who had joined Edmund with no other view but to betray him, finding he had loſt his aim, openly declared for Canute. This would have been rather an advantage than a detriment to the king's affairs, if the traytor had not carried with him a conſiderable body of troops, with forty ſhips of war. This deſertion, which proved very ſerviceable to Canute, was a mortal wound to Ethelred. The people went over in crowds to the Danes, in proportion as the king's affairs fell to decay. Even Weſſex itſelf was not very ſecure [w]. Canute returns to England. Is favoured by Streon. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

Canute's expectation daily increaſing by theſe ſucceſſes, he turned his arms againſt thoſe of the Mercians, who continued in their allegiance to the king, and at length, with the aſſiſ- Canute ſubdues all Mercia, and reſolves upon attacking Weſſex.

[u] Florence of Worceſter, and Matthew Weſtminſter relate, that theſe two earls were privately accuſed by Edric, who gaped after their eſtate, of treaſonable practices againſt Ethelred, by whoſe order Edric invited them to a feaſt, where he cauſed them to be treacherouſly murdered. Their dependants, who went about to revenge their deaths, were forced to fly into St. Frideſwide's church in Oxford, which being ſet on fire, they periſhed in the flames. But the king repenting of his cruelty, cauſed the church to be rebuilt. In this, and ſeveral other particulars, it is plain that Ethelred was egged on by the treacherous Edric, to make him odious to the people; and that he was not ſo bad as is repreſented, as appears from the good laws he made, which are ſtill extant. He was ſo particularly careful of the execution of juſtice, that having found one Walgeatus, a judge, whom he loved, guilty of injuſtice, he depoſed him from his office.

[w] Canute plundered Dorſet, Wilts, and Somerſetſhire. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

Streon does him great ſervice. Sax. Ann.

tance of Streon, entirely ſubdued them. After which he formed a deſign to attack Ethelred in Weſſex itſelf. He had the more reaſon to expect ſucceſs in this enterprize, as Edric had artfully inſtilled into the Mercians that were in the Engliſh army, a notion that it was a ſin to bear arms againſt a prince, in poſſeſſion of their country. All that Edmund could obtain of theſe troops, was, that they would follow the king when he commanded the army in perſon, refuſing to fight under any other general. In this extremity, Edmund uſed all poſſible endeavours to perſuade the king his father, who feigned himſelf ſick at London, to take the command of the army. But the more Ethelred was preſſed, the more he was confirmed in his ſuſpicion of a deſign to deliver him to the Danes, imagining the Engliſh had no other way to make a peace with them. As he durſt not quit London, where he thought himſelf ſafe, he refuſed to go to the army; and the prince his ſon had the vexation to ſee his troops diſperſe, without being able to oblige them to ſtand a battle. In the mean time, Canute taking advantage of theſe diſorders, enlarged his conqueſts with great rapidity.

Ethelred's fears.

He promiſes to head the army. Sax. Ann.

In theſe wretched circumſtances, Edmund ſaw no remedy but to go himſelf to London, and try to perſuade the king to head the army. He prevailed at laſt with great difficulty, and by his extraordinary care, raiſed another army more numerous than the former. His deſign was to give Canute battle, perſuaded as he was, that nothing but a ſignal victory could retrieve the affairs of the Engliſh. Ethelred came to the army according to his promiſe, but, upon his arrival, was ſeized by his old fears. Whether he had any good ground for his ſuſpicion, or it was inſtilled into him by the traytors about his perſon, he made but a very ſhort ſtay, returning to London with all imaginable ſpeed. After his departure, the army being much weakened by the retreat of the Mercians, who abſtinately refuſed to fight without a king at their head, Edmund was obliged to keep at a diſtance from the Danes, for fear of engaging at a great diſadvantage. Then Canute finding no farther oppoſition, became maſter of ſeveral counties in Weſſex, and ſoon ſaw himſelf in condition to compleat the conqueſt of the whole kingdom.

He goes, but ſuddenly retires.

Edmund goes into the North and joins Uthred. Sax. Ann.

Edmund perceiving he was unable to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, reſolved to go and join Uthred earl of Northumberland, who had levied ſome troops in the North. They ravaged together thoſe parts of the country that joined with the Danes [x], whilſt Canute and the duke of Mercia laid waſte

[x] Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, Leiceſterſhire. Sax. Ann.

the

the ſouthern counties that perſiſted in their obedience to Ethelred [y]. But Canute did not long ſuffer his friends to be expoſed to the ravages of the Engliſh. The moment he was informed of what paſſed in the North, he marched thither with the utmoſt expedition, and compelled Edmund and Uthred to retire into Lancaſhire, where they were not very ſecure. Uthred, finding he was no match for Canute, thought beſt to ſubmit to the Daniſh king, who continued him in his government, though but for a little while. As he plainly ſaw the earl had changed ſides purely by compulſion, and had reaſon to fear he would not remain faithful, he cauſed him to be put to death, and placed Eric, a Daniſh lord, in his room.

Canute follows him.

Uthred ſubmits to him.

and is put to death.

Edmund being at a loſs what to do, retired to his father at London, and earneſtly preſſed him to exert himſelf on the preſent occaſion; but all to no purpoſe. Ethelred, who till then had feigned himſelf ſick, fell dangerouſly ill, and died ſoon after in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his reign [z]. Never was England in a more deplorable ſtate, than in the reign of this prince.

1006. Ethelred dies.

He had by his firſt wife Elgivia [a], Edmund, who ſucceeded him; Athelſtan, who died in his childhood; another ſon called Edwy, and three daughters. Edgiva, the eldeſt, was married to an Engliſh earl, who was ſlain in battle. Edgith, his ſecond, had the misfortune to fall to the lot of the traitor Edric duke of Mercia. Edgina, the youngeſt, was wife of Uthred earl of Northumberland. By Emma of Normandy, his ſecond wife, he had Alfred and Edward, and a daughter named Goda, who was firſt married to Walter earl of Mantes, and afterwards to Euſtachius earl of Boulogne.

His iſſue.

Ethelred has commonly the ſirname of the Unready given him by the hiſtorians, either becauſe he was often ſurpriſed by the Danes, or was never ready when he was to go to the wars. At his coming to the crown he found the kingdom in a rich and flouriſhing condition, but left it at his death in extreme poverty and deſolation.

y Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Nottingham ſhires; and ſo through Northumbria towards York. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

z He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Malmsb.

a Or Ethelgiva, the daughter of earl Egbert. Brompt. p. 877. He ſays in the ſame place, that he had his firſt children by a foreigner, that was his concubine;—by the daughter of earl Toreth, ſays Rievallenſis.

16. EDMUND II. surnamed IRONSIDE.

Edmund proclaimed king by the Engliſh. Higden. Polychron.

AFTER Ethelred's death, the city of London and all the lords there preſent, proclaimed his ſon Edmund king of England, who had already given ſignal proofs of his courage and conduct. But the Danes, and all the counties in their poſſeſſion, declared for Canute [b]. However, as the Engliſh obeyed him againſt their wills, many of them came and offered their ſervice to Edmund, whom they looked upon as their lawful prince, though they were conſtrained to ſwear to his rival. By this means the two kings were more upon an equality, which occaſioned many engagements with various ſucceſs, that ſerved only to prolong the war, but not to decide the quarrel. The city of London being a great ſupport to Edmund, the Daniſh king thought of taking it from him, believing the depriving him of his chief ſtrength would put a ſpeedy end to the war. With this view, whilſt Edmund was elſewhere employed [c], he approached London, and forming the ſiege, carried it on vigorouſly. But the brave reſiſtance of the citizens giving Edmund time to throw in ſuccours from the other ſide of the Thames, Canute was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Having thus loſt his aim, he uſed many ſtratagems to ſurpriſe the enemy, or draw him off from London. This laſt project ſucceeding, he went and laid ſiege a ſecond time to the city: but he met with the ſame difficulties as before, the inhabitants, by a very obſtinate defence, giving Edmund time to come to their relief.

The Danes declare for Canute. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. M. Weſt.

London beſieged twice, and both times relieved.

A battle where neither ſide had the victory.

Canute, vexed to ſee his meaſures thus broken, ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege, to go and offer Edmund battle, who was no leſs deſirous of deciding the quarrel by one ſingle action, and therefore, inſtead of retreating, marched towards him. In this battle, which was very bloody, they both gave ſignal proofs of their conduct and courage, without either of them being able to make victory incline to his ſide. After a long fight, the two armies were obliged to part, with al-

b Simeon of Durham, and others, ſay, that the biſhops, abbots, and many of the Engliſh nobles coming to Southampton, abjured the race of Ethelred, at the ſame time they choſe Canute for their king, and ſwore fealty to him; who alſo ſwore to them, in matters eccleſiaſtical and civil, to be their faithful lord.

c He was gone to ſecure Weſſex, which ſubmitted to him. Sax. Annal. Huntingd.

moſt

moſt an equal loſs. The Engliſh army however had like to have been worſted by the artifice of Edric Streon, who was on the ſide of the Danes: this lord perceiving the Engliſh troops contrary to his expectation, fought in ſuch a manner as made the victory dubious, cut off the head of one Oſmer, a ſoldier, who very much reſembled Edmund, and fixing it on the top of his lance, advanced to the foremoſt ranks, and expoſing it to the view of the Engliſh, cried out aloud, "Fly, "fly, you ſcoundrels, behold the head of your king, in "whom you truſt." The Engliſh were thunder-ſtruck at this ſight, which would have occaſioned their defeat, had not the king ſhown himſelf with his helmet off to his aſtoniſhed troops, and by that means revived their courage, which the belief of his death began to cool. The battle laſting till night, without any viſible advantage on either ſide, Edmund prepared to renew the fight the next morning: but Canute, who had other deſigns, retired, during the night [d], to his fleet that expected him, and embarking his troops, rowed along the coaſt for ſome time, to amuſe the enemy, who could not gueſs his intention. When he thought he had deceived Edmund, he landed his forces, and beſieged London a third time. But ſucceeding no better than formerly, he retired elſewhere.

Artifice of Edric to diſhearten the Engliſh. Malmsb. H. Hunt. S. Dunelm. M. Weſtm. Brompt.

Canute withdraws in the night;

and beſieges London again without ſucceſs.

The particulars of this war would be curious enough, if it were poſſible to give a clear account of them: but we meet with extreme confuſion in this part of the Engliſh hiſtory. What may be gathered from hiſtorians for certain, is this, that the two contending princes fought, within the ſpace of one year, five pitched battles. One of theſe battles, fought in Eſſex, would have infallibly proved fatal to Canute, had it not been for the pernicious advice of Edric Streon, who, continually changing ſides, was then in the Engliſh army. Edward had been ſo generous as to pardon him, and ſo eaſy as to give credit to his oaths of being entirely devoted to his ſervice for the future. Nevertheleſs, this traitor, who was a creature of the king of Denmark, let no opportunity ſlip of ſerving the Dane: as he ſaw the Danes, hard preſſed by the Engliſh, retreating in great diſorder, he artfully perſuaded Edmund to ſtop the purſuit of the fugitives, by making him apprehenſive their deſpair might cauſe them to rally, and the victory, by ſome unforeſeen accident, ſnatched out of his

Five battles between Edmund and Canute in one year. 1016. Sax. Annal. G. Malmsb. H. Hunting. S. Dunelm.

The fatal advice of Edric to the king.

[d] This battle was fought at Scoerſtan, which Camden ſuppoſes to be Sherſton, in Wiltſhire. Others think it to be the place where four ſtones, called Shire-ſtones, part the four counties of Oxford, Glouceſter, Worceſter, and Warwick. Milton makes the battle to have laſted two whole days, and Canute to have marched off the ſecond night: ſo doth Matt. Weſtm. p. 498. and he relates Edric's ſtratagem under the ſecond day.

hands.

hands. This artifice which had formerly taken effect with Ethelred, wrought likewiſe with Edmund, who ſuffered himſelf to be guided by this fatal advice. One is at a loſs which to admire moſt, Edmund's imprudence in being governed by a man of known diſloyalty, or the traitor's boldneſs and confidence. Tired at length with diſſembling his real ſentiments, he threw away the maſk in the laſt battle, near Aſſandun [e]. Whilſt the two armies were engaged, he ſuddenly deſerted his poſt, and joined the Danes, who received him as their friend. This treachery cauſed ſuch conſternation among the Engliſh, that throwing down their arms, they thought of nothing but ſaving themſelves by flight. Edmund's loſs upon this occaſion was irretrievable, the flower of the Engliſh nobility being ſlain in this unfortunate battle. The earls Alfric, Goodwin, Ulfketel, Ethelward, all of diſtinguiſhed valour and loyalty, fell that day, with their ſwords in their hands, in defence of their king and country.

The battle of Aſſandun, wherein Canute gains the victory by the treachery of Edric.

Sax. Annal. Brompton. M. Weſtm. Huntingd.

After this important victory, Canute looked upon himſelf as irreſiſtible. He could not conceive Edmund would ever be able to bring another army into the field that durſt look him in the face. But as the Engliſh were in extreme danger, they made extraordinary efforts for their deliverance. Edmund had for him the hearts of his ſubjects, and particularly the Londoners, who were always ready to give him effectual proofs of their affection and loyalty: and therefore ſo far was he from being diſcouraged by this grievous misfortune, that he rallied his diſperſed troops, and drawing together a more powerful army than what he had loſt, went in queſt of his enemy, who was marching to Glouceſter. Canute, for his part unwilling to give him time to augment his forces, made haſte to meet him, with intent to offer him battle. The two kings ſtood in ſight of each other for ſome time, at the head of their reſpective armies [f], without either giving the ſignal of battle. The dread of the event held them equally in ſuſpence: Edmund was ſenſible he ſhould be irretrievably undone, if he loſt the day; and Canute foreſaw a general defection of the Engliſh, in caſe he were vanquiſhed. Thus,

Edmund raiſes another army.

Sax. Annal.

[e] Aſhdon, in Eſſex, near Walden. Canute built a church here in memory of this battle to pray for the ſouls of the ſlain; and cauſed four hillocks to be thrown up as monuments of thoſe that were killed in the battle. Two of theſe monuments being opened, and ſearched into, there were found three ſtone-coffins, with abundance of pieces of bones in them, and many chains of iron, like thoſe on horſes bits. Theſe hills are commonly called Bartlow-hills, though they lie in Aſhdon parish. Some think it was Bartlow church that was built by Canute. See Mag. Brit. vol. i. p. 670. and Camden.

[f] The place was Deerhurſt, in Glouceſterſhire. S. Dunelm.

in

in all appearance, the gain or loſs of a great kingdom depended on the ſucceſs of that important day. At laſt Edmund, who was ſtrong and robuſt of body, and for that reaſon ſirnamed Ironſide, ſent Canute word, that, to prevent the effuſion of blood that was going to be ſpilt in their quarrel, he judged it proper for them two to decide it by ſingle combat. Canute returned for anſwer, that, though he came not behind his antagoniſt in courage, yet being of a weak conſtitution and ſmall ſtature, he ſhould take care how he engaged in ſo unequal a combat: adding, if Edmund was deſirous to prevent any further effuſion of blood, he was ready to refer the deciſion of matters to the principal officers of the two armies. This propoſal was received with joy by the nobles of Edmund's party, who paſſionately deſired to find ſome expedient to end ſo fatal a war. Edmund, on the contrary, would fain have decided the quarrel by arms, but however, durſt not oppoſe the nobility, for fear it ſhould occaſion their deſertion. Plenipotentiaries therefore were nominated on both ſides, who met in a little iſle in the Severn, called Alney, over-againſt Glouceſter, to conſult about ſettling the pretenſions of the two princes. After a ſhort conference, the peace was concluded by the partition of the kingdom. Weſſex, that is, all the country, ſouth of the Thames, with the city of London, and part of the ancient kingdom of Eſſex [g], was aſſigned to Edmund. Canute had for his ſhare the kingdom of Mercia, including Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia. Every thing being ſettled, the two kings met in the Iſle of Alney, and mutually ſwearing to preſerve the peace, Edmund retired into Weſſex [h].

Edmund ſends a challenge to Canute, who refuſes to accept it. Malmsb.

The peace is made by the diviſion of the kingdom. Sax. Annal. S. Dunelm.

Edmund's callenging Canute, has given occaſion to ſome hiſtorians to affirm the two kings actually fought in the Iſle of Alney. And to make this appear the more probable, they have taken care to be very particular in the circumſtances of this famous duel: they tell us, that after it had laſted a good while, without any advantage on either ſide, Canute, finding his ſtrength to fail him, lifted up the viſor of his helmet, and propoſed the diviſion of the kingdom, which Edmund conſented to immediately. It is further added, at the ſame inſtant they ran to embrace one another, to the aſtoniſhment of the two armies, who were ſpectators. But the beſt hiſtorians not mentioning this ſingle combat, it cannot be conceived

Remarks on the pretended duel between the two kings. H. Hunting. Brompton. M. Weſtm. Ethel. Riev.

g And all Eaſt-Anglia, Mat. Weſtmonaſterienſis.

h And Canute into Mercia. Sax. Annal.

they

they would have neglected to embelliſh their hiſtories with ſo notable an event, had there been any foundation for it [i].

1017. Edmund's death. G. Malmsb. H. Hunting. M. Weſtm. R. de Diceto.

Edmund did not long enjoy the peace that coſt him ſo much pains. Edric Streon, his brother-in-law, fearing the union of the two kings might prove fatal to him, bribed two of the king's chamberlains to aſſaſſinate him. Some report he employed his own ſon in this execrable treaſon. Thus died that brave prince, who deſerved a better fate [k]. He had not ſat on the throne a whole year. But in ſo ſhort a reign he had given frequent proofs of an undaunted courage, a conſummate prudence, and a generous temper.

He left, by Algitha, his wife, two ſons, Edmund and Edward, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. He had alſo a natural ſon, named Edwy, who was afterwards put to death by Canute.

Canute's promiſe to Edric. H. Hunting. Ethel. Rievallenſis. M. Weſtm.

The duke of Mercia, who was pleaſed with doing Canute ſo ſignal a ſervice, made haſte to bring him the firſt news of it, but Canute deteſted ſo barbarous a deed. However he concealed his ſentiments, becauſe he thought he ſhould have farther occaſion for the traitor, and even promiſed "to advance him above all the peers of the realm." He kept his word with him, but in a very different manner from what the villain expected.

i Ethelred, abbot of Rievalle, gives a very particular account of what paſſed before, at, and after this famous duel. With him agree Huntingdon and Matthew of Weſtminſter. Malmſbury ſays, Edmund challenged Canute, but he declined the combat, and offered to divide the kingdom. Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden, mention nothing of the challenge or duel, but only ſpeak of the diviſion of the kingdom by the perſuaſion of Edric, in the ſame manner as the Sax. Annals. So great is the uncertainty of this fact.

k Malmſbury and Brompton relate, that the two villains ſtabbed him with a ſharp piece of iron, as he was eaſing nature. Some will have him to be taken off by poiſon: others, to be ſlain by an arrow ſhot by an image made on purpoſe, which diſcharged itſelf upon the king's touching it. But this is improbable. See the various opinions about his death in Brompton, p. 906. The Annals ſay only, he died ſuddenly. He was buried by his grandfather Edgar, at Glaſſenbury. With him fell the glory of the Engliſh Saxons, and by his death the Danes prevailed, and the Saxon monarchy in a manner ended, after it had laſted one hundred and ninety years from the eſtabliſhment by Egbert, four hundred and thirty-two from the founding of the Heptarchy, and five hundred and ſixty-eight from the arrival of the Saxons under Hengiſt.

Vernue Sculp.

17. CANUTE the Great, the ſecond DANISH king of ENGLAND.

THE death of Edmund furniſhed Canute with an opportunity and pretence of becoming maſter of Weſſex, which the lawful heirs were little able to diſpute with him. It was not properly by force of arms that he undertook to carry his point, but by extorting the conſent of the nobles. How adverſe ſoever the Engliſh might be to the Daniſh government, he hoped the dread of plunging the kingdom into freſh calamities, would make a ſtill deeper impreſſion on them, and conſtrain them to comply with his deſires: wherefore he required a general aſſembly to be called in Weſſex, in order to ſet forth his claim; reckoning it would be time to uſe force if he met with too ſtrong an oppoſition. Edmund having left two ſons and two brothers, Canute did not ſeem to have any right to pretend to the crown. But he maintained, that in the treaty of the Iſle of Alney, the agreement was, the ſurvivor of the two kings ſhould ſucceed the other. He moreover plainly intimated, he ſhould not ſtand to the determination of the aſſembly, if the matter were decided againſt him. Edmund's two ſons were very young, and his brothers in Normandy, where they thought of nothing leſs than obtaining the crown of Weſſex. On the other hand, Canute was in great power, and threatened very heard. Beſides his poſſeſſing half the kingdom, he had many friends among the Weſt-Saxons themſelves, without reckoning thoſe who were perſuaded any expedient was preferable to the renewing of the war. It was therefore ſcarce poſſible for the friends of the Engliſh princes to ſurmount ſo great obſtacles. Had they been bent to continue the ſucceſſion of the family of Edmund, they would have probably rekindled in the kingdom a war, which muſt have ended in its deſtruction. In this perplexity they were contented with inſinuating, that they would agree Canute ſhould be declared protector of Edmund's children, till the eldeſt was of age to govern. By this means, though they placed not theſe princes on the throne, at leaſt they preſerved their rights entire. But Canute was not ſatisfied with a borrowed power. He was reſolved to ſucceed Edmund in his own right, by virtue of the treaty of Alney, a right which though all did not acknowledge, yet none durſt openly

1017. Canute get's himſelf acknowledged king of all England.

S. Dunelm. Rog. Hov. Brompton.

openly conteſt. Though the treaty did not expreſly ſay what he aſſerted, he maintained it to be the true ſenſe thereof, and that it could not be otherwiſe underſtood without infringement. To prove this to be the deſign and intent of the parties concerned in the treaty, he called to witneſs all thoſe who were preſent at the concluſion of the peace, and demanded of them, whether there was any thing ſtipulated in favour of Edmund's ſons? and upon their anſwering, there was no mention at all of the princes [l], he inferred from thence they had no right to ſucceed their father. This reaſoning, weak as it was, being ſupported by the votes of his party, and moreover by the fears of the Engliſh in general, was ſufficient to determine the aſſembly to comply with his will. His reaſonings were thought, or feigned to be thought, very ſolid; and without a cloſer examination, he was acknowledged and proclaimed king of all England, and all the lords, both Engliſh and Daniſh, ſwore allegiance to him. Then he was crowned, and immediately after he divided the kingdom into four governments, Mercia, Northumberland, Eaſt-Anglia, and Weſſex. The firſt he gave to Edric Streon, the ſecond to Eric, the third to Turkill, reſerving Weſſex to himſelf, without appointing either duke or earl.

S. Dunelm. Rog. de Hov.

He divides England into four parts. Malm. lib. ii. cap. 11. H. Hunting. Sax. Annal.

Canute was too public not to know the motive of the Engliſh acknowledging him for their ſovereign. Though all that came near him, took care to hide their ſentiments, he was ſenſible an enmity of near two hundred years ſtanding, and fomented by continual wars, could not be extinguiſhed in ſo ſhort a ſpace. For this reaſon he reſolved to uſe all poſſible precautions to hinder the revolt of the Engliſh. To this end two things were equally neceſſary, namely, the gaining the affection of his new ſubjects, and the getting rid of thoſe that could give him any uneaſineſs. Though theſe two projects ſeemed inconſiſtent, he deſpaired not however of accompliſhing them, and accordingly ſpent the beginning of his reign to that purpoſe. As he well knew the moſt effectual means of becoming popular, was to cauſe juſtice to be adminiſtered fairly and impartially, he publicly declared there ſhould be, for the future, no diſtinction between the Engliſh and Danes. After this he publiſhed an edict [m], ordering that every county ſhould be governed by the ſame laws as in the time of the Saxon kings. He excepted however the northern counties, becauſe they were peopled with ſcarce any other but Danes, who had introduced particular laws of their

He lays a ſcheme to get rid of his enemies, and gain the love of the people. Malmsb.

S. Dunelm. Brompton.

l S. Dunelm. and Hoveden plainly ſay, that they lyed.

m This was done by a wittenagemot, at Oxford. Brompt. p. 908.

own

own, which there was no occaſion to alter. The ſame edict denounced the ſevereſt puniſhments againſt malefactors, of what nation ſoever, the king's aim being to let the Engliſh ſee, they had no reaſon to fear any reſpect of perſons. Theſe wiſe precautions produced the intended effect. The people were never weary of teſtifying their ſatisfaction to ſee themſelves governed by their ancient laws, under the protection of an equitable prince, who ſeemed to have no other view but the happineſs of his ſubjects.

He endeavours to get rid of the Anglo-Saxon princes. Sax. Ann.

As ſoon as Canute ſaw the progreſs he had made in the hearts of the Engliſh, he believed he might venture without danger upon the ſecond branch of his project, the freeing himſelf from thoſe that gave him moſt uneaſineſs, and particularly the Saxon princes. Alfred and Edward, brothers of the late king, were retired into Normandy, with their mother Emma, plainly foreſeeing it would not be in the power of the Weſt-Saxons to do juſtice to the roval family. As for Edmund's two ſons, they remained in England, being too young to think of providing for their ſafety. Theſe two princes, notwithſtanding their youth, made the new king ſomewhat uneaſy, by reaſon of the people's affection for them. He would not have ſcrupled to put them to death, but he could not take ſuch a ſtep in England, without running the riſk of becoming odious to the Engliſh, which was deſtroying his deſigns. However, as he did not think himſelf perfectly ſafe, whilſt theſe two princes were alive, he gave them in charge to one of his domeſticks to carry them into Denmark [n], under colour of ſending them abroad to travel. But in reality it was only to have it in his power the more eaſily to diſpatch them out of the way, when their abſence ſhould have leſſened the affection of the people. The perſon entruſted with the princes, being conſcious of the king's deſigns, was touched with compaſſion for theſe innocents, and inſtead of carrying them to Denmark, conducted them to the king of Sweden, diſcovering at the ſame time his maſter's intentions. The king of Sweden gave the Engliſh princes a very civil reception; but however, not to quarrel with Canute, he ſent them to the court of Solomon, king of Hungary, his relation, who was willing to take care of their education. In proceſs of time, Solomon gave one of his daughters in marriage to Edmund, and to Edward his ſiſter-in-law Agatha,

Sends Edmund's two ſons into Denmark. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Knighton. M. Weſt.

But they are carried to Sweden;

and from thence to Hungary, where Edmund dies. Brompt.

n All the Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, that Walgar (for that was the domeſtick's name) had orders to carry them to the king of Sweden, Scanorum, or Suevorum. Hoved. M. Weſtm. Flor. Worc.

daughter of the emperor Henry II. Edmund died ſoon after his marriage, but Edward had five children, of whom two died in Hungary; the reſt were Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Chriſtian.

The two Edwy's are baniſhed. Sax. Ann. Sim. Dun.

There were ſtill in England two ſons of Ethelred II. both named Edwy, of whom one was born in wedlock, the other a baſtard. This laſt was called, but for what reaſon I know not, The king of the clowns. Canute was no leſs troubled about theſe than the other princes, every thing contributing to the ſuſpicions of a prince, who not being ſatisfied with the lawfulneſs of his title, thinks himſelf unſecure in the throne. And therefore to make himſelf eaſy in this reſpect, he baniſhed them the realm. But ſome time after, recalling the firſt, under pretence of being reconciled to him, found means to diſpatch him out of the way. The other, after enduring many hardſhips in exile, returned into England, where he kept himſelf concealed, being privately ſupplied by his friends with neceſſaries for his ſubſiſtence [o].

Recalls one, and puts him to death. G. Malmsb. M. Weſt.

Canute would have been very glad to be freed with the ſame eaſe, from the trouble occaſioned by Alfred and Edward, brothers of king Edmund, who were retired into Normandy with their mother. But he knew not how to get them out of the hands of duke Richard II. their uncle. He was even apprehenſive, the duke, whoſe forces were not to be deſpiſed, would one day eſpouſe their cauſe. To prevent this danger, he bethought himſelf of gaining the duke of Normandy to his intereſts, by demanding in marriage his ſiſter Emma, widow of Ethelred II. and by offering him at the ſame time Eſtritha, on of his ſiſters. Theſe propoſals being accepted, the two marriage-ſolemnities were celebrated in a magnificent manner. If Emma was pleaſed with being once more queen of England, it was not ſo with Alfred and Edward her ſons, who openly ſhewed their diſlike. Edward eſpecially, never forgave her for thus ſcandalouſly eſpouſing the mortal enemy of her firſt huſband. Both of them were alſo extremely incenſed againſt her for conſenting, the ſucceſſion to the crown of England ſhould be ſettled, by the marriage-articles, on the heirs of her body by Canute. This was cutting off, as far as lay in her power, from the family of Ethelred, all hopes of ever mounting the throne.

Canute marries Emma of Normandy. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

One of the marriage-articles.

o Theſe two Edwy's are confounded by ſeveral hiſtorians; but they are plainly diſtinguiſhed in the Saxon Annals; and in the genealogy at the end of the hiſtory of Alfred, written by Spelman. Rapin. As alſo in H. Huntingdon, who calls the firſt Edwiadelinge, and the ſecond Edwicheorleging, p. 363. Malmsbury ſays, Edwy-adelinge was buried at Taviſtock in Devonſhire.

After

After Canute had by theſe precautions ſecured himſelf from all danger from the Saxon princes, he thought it time to get rid of ſome lords, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, or whoſe power made him uneaſy. The three principal were the duke of Mercia, the duke of Eaſt-Anglia, and the earl of Northumberland. Theſe lords had done him ſignal ſervices, but this was the thing that rendered them formidable to him, being ſenſible how it lay in their power to hurt him, if they ſhould undertake it. He knew Edric Streon was a villain, and as he could not rely on his fidelity, ſince he had ſo often betrayed the two former kings, notwithſtanding the obligations that ought to have attached him to their intereſts, he reſolved to begin with him. He quickly found a fair opportunity to execute his deſign, by even doing an act of juſtice very acceptable to the Engliſh. This lord, having one day the inſolence to upbraid him publickly, for not rewarding him for his paſt ſervices [p], and particularly for freeing him from ſo formidable a rival as Edmund, afforded him the pretence he had ſome time been ſeeking. Edric had no ſooner dropt theſe words, but the king anſwered in a rage, ſince he was ſo audacious as openly to avow ſo black a treaſon, of which he had hitherto been only ſuſpected, he ſhould receive his due puniſhment. At the ſame inſtant, without giving him time to reply, he commanded him to be immediately beheaded, and his body thrown into the Thames [q]. It is ſaid he ordered his head to be fixed on the higheſt Tower of London, that he might perform his promiſe to the traitor, "to raiſe him "above all the peers of the realm." Thus Edric received at laſt the juſt reward of his treacheries. Eric earl of Northumberland, was baniſhed the kingdom ſhortly after, under ſome pretence. Turkil duke of Eaſt-Anglia, frighted by theſe examples, and perhaps by the king's emiſſaries, voluntarily abſented himſelf [r], for fear ſomething worſe might befal him. Several other lords of leſs note falling in like manner a ſacrifice to the king's jealouſy or ſuſpicions, their poſts were filled with thoſe in whom he placed greater confidence. From this time the Engliſh began to enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity,

Canute diſpatches ſome lords he was jealous of. Sax. Ann. G. Malmsb. Huntingd.

Brompt. M. Weſt. Knighton.

Edric Streon put to death. Brompton.

p He upbraided him for having deprived him of the earldom of Mercia. M. Weſtm. p. 402.

q He was beheaded in the king's palace, and his body flung out of a window, into the Thames. Malmſb. p. 73. M. Weſtm. p. 402. So that the king's palace ſtood cloſe to the Thames. Other hiſtorians ſay, that the body was caſt upon the wall of the city, and left there unburied. S. Dunelm, p. 177. Hoved. Brompt. 908.

r He went to Denmark, where, as ſoon as he landed, he was taken, and put to death. Malmſb. p. 73.

which appeared the ſweeter to them, as they had been many years ſtrangers to it, and had no reaſon to expect it. However, they were forced to pay a tax of fourſcore thouſand pounds [s] for the arrears due to the Daniſh army, great part of whom were ſent back to Denmark [t].

1018.

1019. Canute finding the whole kingdom in profound tranquillity, and having no reaſon to fear a revolt, reſolved upon a voyage to Denmark. His preſence was abſolutely neceſſary there, on account of the Danes and Vandals being at war. He took with him ſuch of the Engliſh lords as he ſuſpected, leſt his abſence ſhould encourage them to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom. For this reaſon alſo he carried with him the flower of the Engliſh troops, under the command of earl Goodwin. ſon of Ulnoth, mentioned in the reign of Ethelred II. Goodwin, who was a perſon of great experience, ſignalized himſelf in this war, by a very bold tho' ſucceſsful action. The two armies of the Danes and Vandals being near one another, Canute deſigned to attack the enemies early the next morning. Whilſt his troops were refreſhing themſelves, in expectation of the battle, Goodwin privately withdrawing from the camp, with the body under his command, fell upon the Vandals in the night, and putting them in diſorder by this ſudden attack, made great ſlaughter of them, and routed the whole army. At break of day, Canute preparing for the battle, and not finding the Engliſh at their ſtation, did not queſtion but they were revolted to the enemy. While he was perplexed in his thoughts, at this unexpected accident, he ſaw the Engliſh general arrive, who was come himſelf to bring him news of his victory [u]. Though this action was of a dangerous conſequence, the king however was very willing, upon this occaſion, to diſpenſe with the rules of military diſcipline, which required that Goodwin ſhould be puniſhed for daring to fight without orders. He received him with many careſſes, and as a reward for ſo ſignal a ſervice, created him earl of Kent. I ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of this earl, who became at length the greateſt lord in England.

Canute goes to Denmark, to war againſt the Vandals. Sax. Ann. H. Hunt. Brompt.

A bold action of earl Goodwin.

s The Saxon Annals, Anno MXVIII. ſay it was ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, Huntingd. and Brompt. eighty thouſand pounds, beſides eleven (Florence ſays fifteen thouſand paid by the city of London. Hence may be ſeen the flouriſhing condition of that city in thoſe days, ſince it could pay almoſt a ſixth part of this great tax.

t By the perſuaſion of queen Emma. M. Weſtm. Canute kept forty ſhips in England. Sax. Ann.

u Huntingd. and Brompt. ſay, that Canute himſelf advanced as far as the enemies camp, where he found nothing but ſlaughter, &c.

This

This war being happily ended, Canute returned into England, where immediately after his arrival he convened the great council [w], to confirm the Daniſh laws, which, for ſome time, had been obſerved in part of the kingdom, and particularly in Northumberland. There were then in England three ſorts of laws, namely, the Weſt Saxon, Mercian, and Daniſh laws [x]. But theſe laſt had not the ſanction of public authority, till Canute, at his return from Denmark, put them upon a level with the ancient laws of England.

Sax. Annal. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Three ſorts of laws in England.

Canute after his return into England, lived in profound tranquillity, wholly employed in cauſing juſtice and peace to flouriſh, and rendering his ſubjects happy. But ſome time after he was obliged to diſcontinue theſe pacifick employments, and take a ſecond voyage to Denmark, then invaded by the Swedes. This expedition was not very proſperous. The Engliſh troops he carried with him were great ſufferers, and he had the mortification to meet with misfortunes he had not been uſed to.

1025. Expedition of Canute againſt the Swedes. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. M. Weſt.

Two years after, unmindful of his ill ſucceſs in the laſt war with the Swedes, he entered into another, which made him ample amends for his former loſſes. He reſolved to revive ſome old pretenſions to Norway, which had never been fully cleared. Olaus, who then ſat on the throne of Norway, was a weak and unwarlike prince. Canute thought it would be eaſier for him to proſecute his pretenſions in the reign of ſuch a prince, than at any other time. He began the execution of his deſign with privately forming a ſtrong party among the Norwegian lords. As ſoon as matters were ripe, he ſailed for Denmark with a conſiderable body of Engliſh troops, and ſuddenly landed them in Norway. Olaus, who had no intelligence of his practices, ſurprized at this attack, and more ſo, to ſee the major part of his ſubjects join with the enemy, found there was no remedy but to

1027. He becomes maſter of Norway. Sax. Ann. Hoveden. G. Malmsb. Sim. Dun. Brompton.

w At Cirenceſter, at Eaſter: and there, "enjoined the obſervance of "the laws made by his predeceſſors." Malmſb. Flor. Worc. ſays, it was at Oxford, and that the Engliſh and Danes unanimouſly agreed to obſerve the laws of Edgar.

x Weſt-Saxenlaga, Merchenlaga, and Denalaga. Biſhop Nicholſon in his letter to Dr. Wilkins, prefixed to his edition of the Saxon laws, makes it appear that this threefold diviſion of the Engliſh laws is imaginary, and proceeded from the Norman interpreters miſtaking the meaning of the word Laga, which they thought was the ſame with Ley or Law. Whereas Laga ſignifies Region, Territory or Province, as is plain from ſeveral places in the Saxon laws, wherein Denalaga means the ſame as, among the Danes, or, in the territories of the Danes. See p. 53. and 135, of Dr. Wilkins's Anglo-Saxon laws. The author of the dialogue De Scaccario, was the firſt that led the way in this error, lib. i. cap. 16.

abandon his kingdom, and ſave himſelf by flight. Upon his retreat, Canute was crowned king of Norway, regardleſs of the right, ſo long as he had the power in his hands. Two years after the diſpoſſeſſed prince attempting to recover his dominions, was ſlain by his own ſubjects, and Canute remained peaceable poſſeſſor of the kingdom. Olaus after his death, was ranked among the ſaints, and honoured with the glorious title of martyr.

Canute turns his thoughts to acts of devotion.

The conqueſt of Norway fully ſatisfied Canute's ambition. From that time, laying aſide all thoughts of warlike affairs, he gave himſelf up to acts of devotion, that is to ſay, he made it his principal buſineſs to enrich the churches and monaſteries, as if the uſurpation of two kingdoms and all the conſequent evils could be repaired by ſo ſlight a ſatisfaction. Among other things he took particular care to give publick marks of his reſpect to St. Edmund, formerly king of East-Anglia, ſlain by the Danes. Perhaps he gave ſome credit to the ſtory of his father Sweyn's being killed by that ſaint, or rather, was willing to ſtifle the report. However this be, he built a ſtately church over the grave of that prince, and very much enlarged the town where his body lay buried, which from him had the name of Edmundſbury. The monaſtery, which was in the ſame place, and called Breadicſworth, had been endowed by Edward the Elder. Canute enlarging the building, and augmenting the revenues, this religious houſe became one of the fineſt and richeſt in the kingdom [y].

Malmsb. de Geſt. Pontifc. lib. i. Brompt.

1031. He goes to Rome. Sax. Ann. G. Malmsb.

After he had ſhewn, as he thought, viſible marks of his devotion, he reſolved upon a journey to Rome, which he performed in 1031. Whilſt he ſtaid there, he made many rich preſents to the churches, and confirmed all the grants of his predeceſſors to the church of Rome and the Engliſh college. He obtained for his part, certain privileges for the Engliſh churches, and ſome advantages for thoſe who came to viſit

y Leland, who was an eye-witneſs of this town and monaſtery in their ſplendor, gives this deſcription of them: "A city more neatly ſeated the ſun never ſaw, hanging upon a gentle deſcent, with a little river on its eaſt-ſide; nor a monaſtery more great and ſtately, whether we conſider the endowments, largeneſs, and unparalleled magnificence. The monaſtery itſelf looks like a city, ſo many gates it has (ſome whereof are braſs) ſo many towers, and a church, than which nothing can be more ſtately, to which as appendages, there are three more of admirable beauty and workmanſhip in the ſame church-yard." There are two ſtill entire; viz. St. Mary's and St. James's; the third, which lies in ruins, was the great church of the monaſtery. Beſides the immenſe value of the gifts at St. Edmund's Tomb, the revenues at the diſſolution amounted to one thouſand five hundred and ſixty pounds a year; a large ſum in thoſe days. See Camden in Suffolk.

the

the Tombs of the Apoſtles. But the moſt material privilege procured for the Engliſh, was an exemption from paying any toll as they paſſed through Italy. The emperor Conrades I. who was then at Rome, and with whom he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip, granted him the ſame privilege. The king of France was pleaſed alſo, on his account, to grant the ſame favour to the Engliſh in his dominions. By this means the Engliſh pilgrims and travellers were eaſed of a great expence, and freed from a thouſand inſults and oppreſſions to which they were moſt liable in France, Italy, and Germany. We have a large account of theſe matters in a letter writ by this monarch from Rome, to the aſſembly-general of the Engliſh nation, informing them what he had done in favour of his ſubjects. In this letter he profeſſes a great piety, and a fixed reſolution to govern his kingdom after the moſt exact rules of juſtice, deſiring withal his nobles to aſſiſt him in this good deſign [z].

His letter to the Engliſh. Ingulph. Malmſb. p. 75.

As ſoon as he returned to England, he applied himſelf to the dedication of the church of St. Edmund, which he had begun before his journey to Rome. In fine, having ſpent ſome years longer in continual acts of devotion [a], he died in 1036, in the nineteenth year of his reign [b].

He returns to England.

1036.

He dies.

Hiſtorians have not failed to give this prince the ſirname of Great, a title which ſeems peculiar to conquerors, as if true grandeur conſiſted in invading the rights and properties of others. But, not to confine grandeur within ſuch narrow bounds, Canute may be ſaid to merit this glorious title, if we conſider only the latter part of his reign. The end of his life was very different from the beginning. One would have thought he had not been the ſame prince, who, to gain kingdoms that belonged not to him, had cauſed ſo much blood to be ſpilt, and trampled upon religion and juſtice. Some

His character.

z This epiſtle, which is extant in Malmſbury, was ſent into England by Livingus abbot of Taviſtock. It was addreſſed thus: "To Æthelnoth "biſhop of Canterbury, to Alfric of "York, with all the biſhops and pri-"mates; and to all the Engliſh nati-"on, as well nobles as plebeians, "health, &c." In it he gives an account of the valuable preſents made to him, whilſt there, in gold and ſilver veſſels, in curious garments, &c. by the emperor, and other princes who were there at that time.

a He founded alſo the noted abby of St. Bennet's in Holme in Norfolk. He gave rich and extraordinary jewels to the church of Wincheſter, of which one is recorded to be a croſs, worth one year's revenue of the kingdom. It was conſumed with the abby by fire in Henry I's time. He gave alſo to Coventry the arm of St. Auſtin the great doctor, which he bought at Pavia in his return from Rome, and is ſaid to give for it a hundred talents of ſilver, and one of gold. Malmſb. p. 75. Brompt.

b He died at Shaftsbury the 12th of November, and was buried in the old monaſtery in Wincheſter.

years before his death, he became humble, modeſt, juſt, and truly religious. If there be no exaggeration in what hiſtorians ſay of him, from the time he was thoroughly ſettled on the throne of England, he gave daily marks of piety, juſtice, and moderation, which gained him the affection of his ſubjects, and an univerſal eſteem among foreigners. We have the following ſtory of him, which ſhews at once his good ſenſe, and to what height courtiers are apt to carry their flatteries. One day, as he was walking by the ſea-ſide [c], his attendants extolled him to the ſkies, and even proceeded to compare him to God himſelf. Offended at theſe extravagant praiſes, and willing to convince them of their folly and impiety, he ordered a chair to be brought, and ſeating himſelf in a place where the tide was about to flow, turned to the ſea, and ſaid: "O ſea, thou are under my dominion, and the "land I ſit on is mine: I charge thee not to preſume to ap- "proach any further, nor to dare to wet the feet of thy ſove- "reign." Having ſaid this, he ſat ſtill for ſome time, as expecting the ſea ſhould obey his commands. But the tide advancing as uſual, he took occaſion from thence to let his baſe flatterers know, that the titles of Lord and Maſter belong only to him whom the land and the ſea obey. He is ſaid, from that moment, never to wear his crown again, but ordered it to be put on the head of the Crucifix at Wincheſter.

Malmsb. Huntingd. Brompton. M. Weſtm.

He left three ſons, all of a fit age to govern, to whom he bequeathed his three kingdoms by will. Sweyn the eldeſt, and a baſtard, had Norway for his ſhare. Some affirm he was not his ſon, but impoſed upon him for ſuch by the mother [d]. To Harold his ſecond ſon, by the ſame woman, he gave England; and to Canute or Hardicanute, whom he had by Emma of Normandy, the kingdom of Denmark. Gunilda his daughter by the ſame princeſs, was wife of the emperor Henry IV.

R. de Diceto, Brompton. Knighton.

As I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to mix the affairs of Normandy with thoſe of England, it will not be improper to give ſome account of what paſſed among the Normans.

Affairs of Normandy. W. Gemiticenſis, lib. v. c. 10.

Richard II. duke of Normandy, dying in 1026, Richard III. his ſon ſucceeded him, who reigned but one year, and by his death left the dukedom to Robert his brother; who

[c] At Southampton.

[d] She is called by the hiſtorians Algiva, Ailiva, or Alwina, (M. Weſtm. Hunting.) and by Flor. Worc. p. 622, and Brompt. ſaid to be the daughter of Alfhelm earl of Northampton; being barren, ſhe feigned a lying-in, and got a prieſt's, or a nun's, ſon newly born, to be put upon her credulous husband. R. de Diceto, who calls her queen, ſays ſhe did the ſame by a ſhoemaker's ſon alſo, which was Harold.

was

was no ſooner in poſſeſſion, but he ſhewed an inclination to eſpouſe the intereſt of Alfred and Edward his couſins, ſons of his aunt Emma and Ethelred II. As they were both at his court, and he could not help pitying their caſe, he believed his recommendation might procure them ſome favour in England. Perſuaded of this, as ſoon as he heard of the death of Edmund's ſon, he ſent ambaſſadors to Canute, to intreat him to give the two princes ſome part of the kingdom of their anceſtors. This ambaſſy arrived in England, when Canute found himſelf ſo firmly ſeated in his throne, that he thought he might ſafely diſregard the ſolicitations of the duke of Normandy. Robert was ſo incenſed at his refuſal, that he reſolved to compel him to do juſtice to the Engliſh princes. To that purpoſe he fitted out a powerful fleet, and embarking with a numerous army, reſolved to make a deſcent upon England, where he did not queſtion but the Engliſh would readily join him. But meeting with a violent ſtorm, he had the mortification to behold the greateſt part of his fleet periſh, a loſs which could not be eaſily repaired. In the mean time, theſe preparations ſatisfying Canute, that the duke of Normandy really intended to attempt the reſtoration of his couſins, he endeavoured to amuſe him with offering them part of the kingdom of Weſſex. But Robert would not have been impoſed upon by this offer, had not his misfortune at ſea conſtrained him to ſuſpend the execution of his deſign, as it induced Canute alſo to go from his word. Some time after, Robert took a reſolution to go in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, deferring, till his return, his intended invaſion of England. But he died in his way home. He left only a natural ſon, called William, on whom, before his departure, he ſettled the ſucceſſion. This is the ſame William the Baſtard, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter aſcend the throne of England.

Robert duke of Normandy protects the two brothers of Edmund. Brompt.

His fleet is deſtroyed by a ſtorm.

He dies, and is ſucceeded by William his baſtard.

18. HAROLD I. Sirnamed HAREFOOT, the third DANISH king of ENGLAND.

WHEN Canute eſpouſed the princeſs of Normandy, it was agreed, that the children by this marriage ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England. Notwithſtanding this agreement, Canute left England to his ſon Harold, born in Denmark, and gave Denmark to Hardicanute, his ſon by Emma

Harold I. 1039.

Emma of Normandy [d]. In all appearance, he did not think the Engliſh had been ſufficiently inured to the Daniſh yoke, to venture to place on their throne his yonngeſt ſon, who was not above fifteen or ſixteen years of age, and of no great genius. However this be, that article of his will met with great oppoſition from the Engliſh. They looked upon Hardicanute, born in England, of a lawful wife, widow of one of their kings, as the only perſon capable of ſucceeding, whereas Harold was conſidered but as a foreigner and a baſtard. The Danes, on the contrary, were firmly bent to perform Canute's laſt will and teſtament. This difference might have been of ill conſequence, if Harold had not with the utmoſt expedition ſeized the treaſure laid up by the king his father at Winchester [e]. By the help of this, he was enabled to make himſelf feared, and to gain ſeveral of his oppoſers. Conſequently, in a general aſſembly in Mercia [f], he ſecured a majority of voices, and got himſelf proclaimed king of England. The Danes were all for him, and of courſe the Engliſh Mercians, or the inhabitants on the north of the Thames, who looking upon the Danes as their maſters, durſt not directly oppoſe their will.

Harold proclaimed in Mercia. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Ingulph.

Mean time, the Weſt-Saxons, who did not think themſelves conquered, as ſoon as they came home, convened an aſſembly of the ſtates of Weſſex, and by the management of earl Goodwin, Hardicanute was elected and proclaimed king of Weſſex, the Weſt-Saxons leaving the Mercians free to acknowledge Harold for their king [g]. For the better underſtanding this matter, it muſt be remembered, there were Danes, or people of Daniſh extraction, diſperſed all over England; but their chief ſettlements were in Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland. And therefore, in all the country north of the Thames, called then by the general name of Mercia, there were more Danes than Engliſh. On the contrary, in Weſſex, that is, ſouth of the Thames, the Engliſh were the moſt numerous, having admitted among them ſuch of their countrymen, who, to avoid living under the

and Hardicanute Weſſex. Sax. Annal.

[d] She is called Elgiva by the Saxon Annals and others, which is the Saxon name for Emma. S. Dunelm. Tyrrel.

[e] And which he had left to his queen Emma. S. Dunelm.

[f] At Oxford, Ann. Sax. This conteſt about the election of a king, very much weakens the authority of Simeon of Durham and others, in relation to Canute's will, eſpecially conſidering the marriage articles wich Emma, and the ſilence of the Saxon Annals. Beſides, the ſtates of the kingdom very ſeldom or never failed to elect whom the laſt king appointed in his will.

[g] It was agreed amongſt them, that Emma ſhould live in Wincheſter, and keep poſſeſſion of all Weſſex; and that Goodwin ſhould be general of the forces. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

domi-

dominion of the Danes, had quitted the northern parts. By this means Weſſex was very populous, and become more powerful than ever, being capable of bringing into the field as great armies as all the reſt of England. After this manner the kingdom of Judah, in old time, grew ſtrong at the expence of that of Iſrael. The forces therefore of the Weſt-Saxons and Mercians being equal, it is no wonder they were jealous of ane another, and every one deſired to have for ſovereign, him of the two princes that was like to be moſt favourable. It was very probable, this diviſion would cauſe a war between the two nations. But Harold, who was not poſſeſſed of his father's qualities, imagined he was not ſtrong enough to undertake the conqueſt of Weſſex. It was owing therefore to the equality of their forces, that the two kingdoms remained in peace. Ingulph.

Earl Goodwin regent of Weſſex.

Hardicanute, who was in Denmark [h], made no haſte to come and take poſſeſſion of the crown of Weſſex, whether he was detained by other affairs, or on this, as well as on all other occaſions, gave way to his natural indolence. During his abſence, earl Goodwin held the reins of the government in an abſolute manner, independent of Emma, the queen-mother, who was not beloved by the Weſt-Saxons. Mean while Harold was contriving to gain by ſecret practices, a kingdom which he found himſelf unable to ſubdue by arms. As he had been deprived of it by the ſole credit of earl Goodwin, he believed there was no readier way to aſcend the throne of that kingdom, than by gaining the earl to his intereſt. He took advantage therefore of his brother's abſence, to make Goodwin his friend, by means, which, though not declared in hiſtory, may be eaſily gueſſed at [i]. Be this at it will, he ſucceeded to his wiſh. Goodwin, who was not very ſcrupulous, finding his account in what was propoſed to him by Harold, promiſed to place him on the throne of Weſſex. This affair was ſo dexterouſly managed, that ſuddently, on pretence that Hardicanute neglected to come into England, Goodwin procured Harold to be acknowiedged king of Weſſex. This change however was not made with the unanimous conſent of the Weſt-Saxons, but by the ſole contrivance of Goodwin and ſome other lords, who engaged ſo heartily in the affair, that it was done before any meaſures could be taken to obſtruct it. Thus the Weſt-Saxons ſaw a new king on the throne, without having the liberty to deliberate whether they

Delivers up the kingdom to Harold.

h Ingulph ſays, that he was in England at the time of the election, and went back to Denmark.

i He is ſaid to have promiſed the earl to marry his daughter.

ſhould

ſhould approve or reject him. This is not the only inſtance of the like intrigues producing the like events.

Emma forms a deſign to place on the throne one of her ſons by her firſt husband. S. Dunelm. Ch. Mailros. Hoved. M. Weſt.

Emma, mother of Hardicanute, was extremely ſurpriſed at this revolution, which not only deprived her ſon of the crown of Weſſex, but herſelf alſo of the hopes of ever having any ſhare in the government. She perceived, as matters ſtood, there was no poſſibility of recovering the crown for her ſon Hardicanute; and therefore turning her thoughts another way, ſhe formed a project, the execution whereof ſeemed to her very practicable, which was, to cauſe one of her ſons by Ethelred to mount the throne. She was in hopes the Engliſh would countenance with all their power an enterprize, tending to ſet the crown on the head of a prince of the race of their ancient kings. Perhaps the deſire of humbling Goodwin influenced her as much as her ſon's advancement. To ſucceed in this deſign, there was need of great prudence and diſſimulation. Above all it was neceſſary to find ſome pretence, without raiſing the king's jealouſy, to ſend for the two princes her ſons, who were in Normandy, that they might form a party for themſelves. With this view, ſhe feigned to be unconcerned at the expulſion of Hardicanute, confining herſelf to Wincheſter, where ſhe daily frequented the churches, and ſeemed to be wholly taken up with the care of her ſoul. When ſhe imagined the king was ſufficiently convinced of her diſregard of ſtate-affairs, ſhe begged leave to ſend for the two princes her ſons at Wincheſter, whom ſhe had not ſeen ſince her ſecond marriage. Her requeſt being granted, Alfred and Edward arrived ſoon after in England, without diſcovering any other intention but to viſit their mother. They were careſſed by great numbers of people, who, having Engliſh hearts, always firmly adhered to the antient royal family.

Alfred and Edward come into England.

Goodwin acquaints the king with the queen's deſigns.

Goodwin, who was a perſon of great ſagacity, quickly perceived the queen's deſign. It was difficult to impoſe upon ſo refined a politician. As ſoon as he began to ſuſpect her, he employed ſo many ſpies, that he found at length his ſuſpicions were not groundleſs. He acquainted Harold with the matter, who ſeemed ſtartled at it. But the earl, who was not ſo eaſily alarmed, told him, the conſpiracy was yet but in embryo, and might with eaſe be prevented; that the difficulty did not lie ſo much in avoiding the preſent, as in guarding againſt future danger: that to ſcreen himſelf, once for all, from the like practices, he ſaw no better expedient than to make away with the two Saxon princes, ſince ſo fair an opportunity offered. Harold approving of this project, Goodwin adviſed him to put on a ſeeming ſecurity, to draw them the more readily

He adviſes them under of the two princes. Brompt.

readily into the ſnare. This reſolution being taken, Harold made as if he were ignorant of the queen's deſigns, and the two princes continued ſome time at Wincheſter, without his ſhewing the leaſt uneaſineſs upon their account. At laſt, making uſe of an occaſion, which naturally offered itſelf, he invited them to paſs a few days at court, before they returned into Normandy, where he feigned to believe they intended to go very ſhortly. Emma was in great ſuſpence on this occaſion. She was very ſenſible it would be difficult for her ſons to gain a powerful party among the nobility, without appearing at court, where the lords of the greateſt credit were uſually preſent. But on the other hand, ſhe could not reſolve to deliver them into the hands of a prince whoſe intereſt it was to deſtroy them. In this perplexity, ſhe took a courſe, which ſhe judged proper to prevent the apprehended danger. This was, to ſend Alfred her eldeſt ſon to the king, and detain Edward under ſome pretence. She imagined in caſe Harold had any ill deſign, he would defer the execution till he had both the brothers in his power, ſeeing it would be to no purpoſe to make away one, whilſt the other was alive. Goodwin, pleaſed that his advice had thus far ſucceeded, managed ſo that he was ſent to meet Alfred, ſeemingly to do him honour, but in reality, becauſe he was unwilling to truſt another with the execution of his deſigns. Alfred's little train, compoſed of Normans, were at firſt charmed with the reſpect Goodwin paid to the prince. But their ſatisfaction was quickly turned into a great conſternation, when the prince and all his attendants were ſtopped at Guildford-caſtle, where they had been carried under colour of refreſhing themſelves. Alfred was immediately conducted to Ely, and, after his eyes were put out, ſhut up in the monaſtery [k]. The unhappy prince had ſcarce time to be ſenſible of his misfortune, ſince he died a few days after, either out of grief, or by ſome more violent means. At leaſt, Goodwin was afterwards charged with his murder [l]. As ſoon as Edward was informed of his brother's tragical

1037. Alfred's death.

k His attendants were tortured in the moſt cruel manner, by Goodwin's order, and decimated, that is, nine were killed, and the tenth only ſaved; ſix hundred are ſaid to have been put to death in that manner. S. Dunelm. p. 179. M. Weſt. p. 410. Knighton and Brompton mention one helliſh kind of torture, which, it may be ſuppoſed, was only practiſed then, and in the Iriſh maſſacre in 1641. They ript up ſome of the people's bellies, and tying one end of their bowels to a poſt, made them turn round that poſt till they were all wound up upon it. Brompton, p. 935. Knighton, p. 2326. Ruſhworth.

l This account of Alfred's death, Malmsbury ſays, was built on common report, and not being recorded, refuſes to vouch the fact. But Matthew Weſtminſter, and others, relate it without diffidence. Moſt of the ancient manuſcript

Edward returns to Normandy. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

tragical death, he ſpeedily returned into Normandy, for fear of the like treatment. Shortly after, Emma, receiving orders to depart the kingdom, retired to Baldwin earl of Flanders, who aſſigned her the city of Bruges to reſide in. It ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, ſhe ſhould not go to Normandy to duke William her nephew; but probably, they who had the adminiſtration of affairs during the duke's minority, did not think proper to receive her. And indeed, it was to be feared this intriguing princeſs would increaſe the troubles of the dukedom, where William was not yet firmly eſtabliſhed.

Mat. Weſt.

1039. Harold dies. S. Dunelm. Brompton. Sax. Ann.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, Hardicanute waking at length from his lethargy, formed a deſign of recovering by arms the kingdom of Weſſex, uſurped by his brother. For that purpoſe he came to Bruges, to conſult with the queen his mother. In all appearance he would have found it very troubleſome to execute this deſign, had not the death of Harold, which happened at that very time, removed all difficulties. This prince died [m] in 1039 without iſſue, and without having done any thing memorable [n]. He was ſirnamed Harefoot, becauſe his foot was all over hairy, or, as others affirm, becauſe

Knighton.

ſcript annals in the Cottonian library, as alſo a treatiſe called Encomium Emmæ, (which, 'tis plain, Malmsbury never ſaw) being a panegyrick wrote on that queen, by a monk of her own time, relate the matter thus. Harold ſeeking by treachery to get theſe two young princes into his power, forged a letter in the name of Emma their mother, earneſtly inviting them into England, wherein (perſonating her) "She "gently chides them for their delay, "in not coming over to inſpect their "own affairs, ſince they could not but "know that it daily confirmed the "uſurper in his power, who omitted "no artifice to gain the chief nobi-"lity over to his party: yet aſſured "them the Engliſh had much rather "have one of them to reign over them; "and therefore urged them to come as "ſpeedily and as privately as they "could, to conſult what meaſures "were moſt proper to be taken." This letter was ſent to Normandy by an expreſs meſſenger, and received by the princes with joy, who ſent word by the ſame hand, that one of them would be with her ſhortly, naming both the time and place. Accordingly Alfred the youngeſt, (by others ſaid to be the eldeſt) at the appointed time, with a few ſhips, and a ſmall number of Normans, ſailed for England; where they were no ſooner landed, but they fell into the hands of Goodwin, who ſerved them as Rapin has above related. What makes this account the more probable, is, that had both the princes come over in the manner abovementioned, Harold would certainly have put them both to death, ſince it would have been in his power. The Saxon Annals ſay nothing of Alfred's death, and ſome place it after Harold's deceaſe. Such is the uncertainty of this matter; which makes it appear, how little traditional accounts are to be depended upon, though of no long ſtanding, ſince this ſtory, tranſacted but a few years before the Conqueſt, is told ſo many ways. Malmsb. Knighton, Brompt.

m He died at Oxford, in the fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Wincheſter; or, according to Brompton, at Weſtminſter.

n He laid a tax of eight marks on every port, towards fitting out ſixteen ſhips. He made but one law, mentioned by Selden, which was, that

any

becauſe he was light and ſwift of foot [o]. His death happened in one of the hardeſt winters that had ever been known in England [p].

19. CANUTE II. or HARDICANUTE, the fourth DANISH king of ENGLAND.

AFTER the death of Harold, the great men of both nations unanimouſly made an offer of the crown to Canute, ſirnamed the Hardy, not to denote his courage, but his ſtrong conſtitution [r]. He was then at Bruges, concerting meaſures with the queen his mother, for the recovery of the kingdom of Weſſex, by means of a powerful aid promiſed him by the earl of Flanders. The news of Harold's death putting an end to their conſultations, he came to England with forty ſhips he had brought from Denmark. He was received with great demonſtrations of joy, both by the Engliſh and Danes: earl Goodwin himſelf, though he had no reaſon to rejoice at his arrival, after what he had acted againſt him, was the foremoſt to do him homage.

1039. Hardicanute is acknowledged king of all England. Sax. Ann. G. Malmsb. S. Dunelm.

The new king began his reign with an uncommon act of cruelty: the ceremony of his coronation was hardly over, when, out of impatience to be revenged on his brother, though dead, he commanded his body to be dug up, and thrown into the Thames [s]. But all his care to prevent the body from being buried again, proved ineffectual: ſome fiſhermen finding the corpſe floating on the water [t], delivered it to the Danes, who interred it in the burying-place of their nation in London [u]. It is further added, the king being informed of

He digs up his brother's corpſe. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 12. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

any Welſhman coming into England, without leave, was taken on this ſide Offa's ditch, he ſhould have his right hand cut off by the king's officer.

o Brompton ſays, he had his ſirname for refuſing to ride on horſeback, and chuſing always to walk on foot, which, ſays he, was very unbecoming his royal ſtate.

p The Saxon Annals ſay, that this year a ſeſter, or horſe-load of wheat, was ſold for fifty-five pence, and more.

r The word Hardy is rendered by thoſe that wrote in Latin, by Durus, and not by Audax. See Pontanus, Hiſt. Dan. Rapin.

s The perſons employed in this affair, were Alfric archbiſhop of York, earl Goodwin, Styr the ſteward, Edric the ſewer, and Troudh the executioner: they cut the head off, and flung the body at firſt into a ſink, and afterwards into the Thames. Malmsbury, p. 76. St. Dunelm. M. Weſtm. Brompton.

t They pulled it up in their nets. S. Dunelm. Malmsb. p. 76.

u Which conſtant tradition affirms to be the church and church-yard of St. Clement Danes. Brompt. p. 933.

it,

it, ordered the body to be thrown once more into the river; but being found again, it was privately buried at Weſtminſter.

1040. He impoſes a heavy tax. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

Shortly after, Hardicanute impoſed an exorbitant tax on the kingdom [w], for the payment of the fleet ſent back to Denmark. Though the Engliſh had often paid the like tax, termed Danegeld, they were diſſatisfied to have it renewed on this occaſion, when there appeared no neceſſity for it. The inhabitants of Worceſter oppoſed the levying this tax with the greateſt heat. They proceeded ſo far as to kill two of the collectors [x]. Whereupon the king immediately ordered Goodwin duke of Weſſex, Leofric duke of Mercia, and Siward earl of Northumberland, to draw their forces together, march to Worceſter, and deſtroy the city with fire and ſword. Theſe lords executed in part the king's orders, though with great reluctance. The city was burnt, after having been plundered four days together. But the inhabitants had leave to retire into a ſmall iſland in the Severn, named Beverly, till the king was appeaſed [y].

Sedition at Worceſter on that account. Camden in Worceſter.

The city burnt.

Prince Edward comes to court. S. Dunelm.

Demands juſtice againſt Goodwin.

Who gets off by a noble preſent to the king. Malmſb. S. Dunelm.

Not long after, prince Edward, ſon of Ethelred II. and brother of the king by the ſame mother, appeared at court. He met with a very civil reception, and preſently demanded juſtice againſt Goodwin, charging him with the murder of his brother Alfred [z]. The king was well enough pleaſed with having an opportunity to puniſh the earl, not ſo much perhaps for the death of prince Alfred, as for what he had done in favour of the late king. He was cited therefore to appear and anſwer to what was alledged againſt him. But Goodwin, who knew the covetous temper of the king, wiſely diverted the ſtorm by a magnificent preſent before his trial. This preſent was a galley, with a gilt ſtern, manned with fourſcore choice ſoldiers, every one of whom had upon his arm a gold bracelet weighing ſixteen ounces, with helmets and ſwords all

w Of twenty-one thouſand and ninety-nine pounds for the army, and eleven thouſand forty-eight pounds for his thirty-two ſhips. Sax. Annal. Malmſ. bury ſays, he gave twenty marks to every ſailor; but others affirm, it was eight marks to every ſailor, and ten or twelve marks to each of the captains. S. Dunelm. Mat. Weſtm.

x Who were too buſy and exacting. Malmsb. p. 76.

y This city, the Branonium of Antoninus, and Branogenium of Ptolemy, whence called by the Welſh at this day Caer Vrangon, was named by the Saxons, Wogarceſter, Wegornaceſter, and Wireceſter, perhaps from the foreſt Wire hard by. It was built by the Romans, as a frontier town againſt the Britons or Welſh. It was fenced formerly with high Roman walls, and has now a ſtrong wall. It was made an epiſcopal ſee by Sexwulfus, biſhop of the Mercians, in 980. It was ſoon rebuilt after being burnt here by the Danes. Camden.

z Simeon of Durham ſays, it was Alfric, archbiſhop of York, that accuſed Goodwin and Livingus, biſhop of Worceſter, of this murder. S. Dunelm.

gilded,

gilded, and a Daniſh battle-ax, adorned with gold and ſilver, hanging on his left ſhoulder, and a lance of the ſame in his right-hand. Every thing in the gallery was anſwerable to this magnificence. By means of this noble preſent, the earl was acquitted, upon taking his oath he had no hand in the death of prince Alfred [a].

Hardicanute did not long enjoy a crown he was unworthy to wear. He died ſuddenly in the third year of his reign [b], at the nuptial feaſt of a Daniſh lord at Lambeth [c]. Perhaps his death was haſtened by poiſon [d]; but his exceſſive cruelty and gluttony rendered him ſo odious, that he died unlamented, neither was any enquiry made into the manner of his death. All hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, he ſpent whole days and nights in feaſting and carouſing [e]. There is one however that praiſes him for keeping open table four times a day, and exclaims againſt the niggardlineſs of the kings his ſucceſſors, who abliſhed ſo laudable a cuſtom. 1041. Death of Hardicanute. H. Hunting.

20. EDWARD III. the Confeſſor.

HARDICANUTE leaving no iſſue, Edward, ſon of Ethelred II. and Emma of Normandy, was the only prince then in England that had any pretenſions to the crown. It was but reaſonable the race of the Saxon kings ſhould be reſtored to the throne of which they were unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed. But then it was no leſs right to recall out of Hungary Edward III. Difficulties concerning the ſucceſſion.

a This year alſo, as Brompton tells us, Hardicanute ſent over his ſiſter Gunilda to the emperor Henry, to whom ſhe had been betrothed in her father's time; before ſhe went, the king kept her nuptial feaſt with that magnificence in cloaths, equipage, and feaſting, that Matthew Weſtminſter ſays, it was remembered in his days, and ſung by muſicians at all great entertainments. After the princeſs had been ſome time in Germany, ſhe was accuſed of adultery, and could find, it ſeems, no better champion than Municon, a little page ſhe had brought with her from England, to vindicate her honour. She took it ſo heinouſly to be accuſed, that ſhe forſook her husband, and retired to a monaſtery, where ſhe ended her days. M. Weſtm. Bromp.

b Or rather in the ſecond; for he reigned but two years wanting ten days. Sax. Annal.

c i. e. A dirty Station. Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, exchanging a manor with the biſhop of Rocheſter, began here a palace in 1183.

d Moſt probably he died in a drunken fit. S. Dunelm. He was buried in the old monaſtery in Wincheſter, by his father Canute.

e He allowed his court four meals a day. Huntingd. John Roſſe relates, that the day of king Hardicanute's death was kept by the Engliſh as a holy-day in his time, four hundred years afterwards, and was called Hog's-tide, or Hock-Wedneſday. De Regibus Angliæ.

prince Edward, ſon of Edmund Ironſide, and place him on the throne preferably to his uncle, who was one degree farther removed. On the other hand, the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of four Daniſh kings, who had poſſeſſed the throne for the ſpace of twenty eight years, with the conſent of the Engliſh, bred another difficulty, ſeeing Sweyn, ſon of Canute the Great, was ſtill alive. It is true, he was reckoned by ſome as a baſtard: but beſides that the king his father had not treated him as ſuch in the partition of his dominions, it might be ſaid in his favour, he ought to have the ſame privilege with his brother Harold, to whom his being born of the ſame mother was no obſtacle to his mounting the throne. It was therefore no eaſy thing to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the ſatisfaction of all parties. On the contrary, it was to be feared, that, on this occaſion, the old animoſities between the two nations would be revived, and the kingdom plunged into its former calamities. Edward, ſon of Ethelred II. having ſpent moſt part of his days in Normandy, was little known in England. Beſides, his merit, which was not very conſpicuous, was incapable of adding any thing to his right. However, a fortunate advice, which neceſſity conſtrained him to follow, procured him a ſupport, by which alone he was enabled to maintain his pretenſions, I mean earl Goodwin. Though it was but a few months ſince, that Edward had proſecuted this lord as the murderer of his brother, he was adviſed to court his protection, which he obtained with greater eaſe than he durſt have expected. Goodwin was ſo powerful, and of ſo ſuperior a genius to the reſt of the nobility, that it would have been almoſt impoſſible for Edward to ſucceed in his deſigns, if he had not gained him to his intereſt. He was already diſtinguiſhed as well by his merit as birth, when Canute the Great intruſted him with the command of the Engliſh troops, in the war againſt the Vandals. After that expedition, wherein he gloriouſly ſignaliſed himſelf, Canute made him earl of Kent, Suſſex, and Surry, and gave him in marriage Thyra, ſiſter of earl Ulphon, to whom Canute had given his own ſiſter Eſtrith, widow of the duke of Normandy [f]. Goodwin had by his wife a ſon, drowned in the Thames by an unruly horſe. His ſecond wife was Gith, ſiſter of Sweyn, who was king of Denmark after the death of Hardicanute: by this wife he had ſeven ſons, Harold, Toſton, Swane, Ulnoth, Gurth, Elfgar, Lewin, and a daughter named Editha. His credit with

Edward cloſes with Goodwin. Malmsb. lib. ii. c. 13. Annales Winton.

Goodwin's riſe.

[f] Mr. Tyrrel and others ſay, that Goodwin's firſt wife was Canute's ſiſter; but, according to Pontanus, ſhe was only ſiſter to Ulphon, brother-in-law to Canute, which is moſt probable, Rapin. See Malmsb.

Canute

Canute the Great, the ſuperiority of his genius, his noble alliance, his dignities of earl of Kent, duke of Weſſex, and high treaſurer, conferred on him by king Harold, and laſtly, the government of the counties of Oxford and Hereford, in the hands of his eldeſt ſon, had raiſed his fortune to ſuch a degree, that it would hardly admit of any addition. His intereſt was ſomewhat eclipſed in the reign of Hardicanute, but he had the addreſs to divert the danger he was threatened with. How great a grudge ſoever the late king bore Goodwin, he was ſuch an enemy to buſineſs, that he could not reſolve to undergo the neceſſary fatigue of governing a large kingdom, but left all to his management, as knowing him to be the moſt able of his ſubjects. Goodwin knew ſo well how to improve theſe favourable junctures to ingratiate himſelf with the nobles and people, that his power far exceeded that of all the other Engliſh lords. From what has been ſaid, it plainly appears how neceſſary Goodwin's aſſiſtance was, in order to Edward's mounting the throne, though his pretenſions had been ſtill better grounded. However, Goodwin was not one that neglected his own, in promoting the intereſt of others: before he engaged in Edward's cauſe, he required certain conditions, and made him ſwear to marry his daughter Editha. The prince complied with theſe terms, notwithſtanding his inward reluctance to eſpouſe the daughter of a man, whom he looked upon as the murderer of his brother Alfred.

Edward promiſes to marry Goodwin's daughter.

As ſoon as Goodwin had received from Edward the aſſurances he demanded, he convened a general aſſembly [g], where, by his management, that prince was acknowledged [h], and proclaimed king [i], with unanimous conſent [k]. It was happy for

He is proclaimed king. Malmsb.

g At Gilingeham, or London. Malm. p. 80.

h And choſen by the clergy and people. Ingulph. p. 62. Sax. An. M. Weſt. p. 412, etc. He was advanced to the throne chiefly through the intereſt of Leofric earl of Cheſter, of Goodwin earl of Weſſex, and Lizing biſhop of Worceſter. Ingulph. ib. Knighton.

i He was crowned at Wincheſter in 1042 on Eaſter-day. Malmsb. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

k Brompton and ſome others relate this matter otherwiſe: upon Hardicanute's death, Alfred (whom ſome affirm to be ſlain in Harold's, ſome in Hardicanute's reign) being invited into England, Goodwin repreſented to the Lords that he was coming with great numbers of Normans, to whom he had promiſed to give eſtates. Upon which Goodwin was ſent to meet him at Southampton, where, in order to make way to the crown for his own ſon by Canute's daughter, he ſerved him in the barbarous manner before related in the reign of Harold. The Engliſh nobles, who had not approved of this treachery of Goodwin's vowed revenge; which Goodwin being informed of, fled into Denmark, and his eſtate in England was confiſcated. After this, the Engliſh ſent over to Edward, to deſire him to come and take poſſeſſion of the crown. Shortly after his coronation, Goodwin hearing of king Edward's gracious temper, returned into England, to petition for his pardon and eſtate again, and was accuſed

Sax. Annal. Alfred Rievallenſis. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.

for the Engliſh there was then in the kingdom no prince of the family of Canute the Great, whom the Danes might have ſet up in oppoſition to Edward. If Sweyn, king of Norway, had been on the ſpot to head the Danes, it may reaſonably be preſumed either that his pretenſions would have cauſed a civil war, or England been once more divided in two kingdoms. Without doubt, the Danes would never have ſuffered the rights of the royal family of Denmark, four princes whereof had ſucceſſively ſat on the throne, to be thus deſtroyed. On the other hand, the Engliſh were ſo averſe to a Daniſh government, that probably they would have ventured all to free themſelves from that yoke. But the preſent juncture proving favourable to the Engliſh, they not only place on the throne a prince of their own nation, but alſo deliver themſelves from the fear of falling again under the dominion of the foreigners.

Goodwin's ſpeech againſt the Danes.

In the general aſſembly, to which, in all likelihood, the Danes, being then without a leader, were not called, Goodwin ſtrenuouſly harangued, to demonſtrate to the Engliſh, "that a favourable opportunity now offered to free themſelves from the oppreſſions under which they had groaned "for ſo many years. He deſcribed, with his natural eloquence, the calamities their country was overwhelmed with, "whilſt in ſubjection to foreigners. He diſplayed the extreme pride of the Danes, who, not content with ſharing "the kingdom with the Engliſh, treated them like ſo many "ſlaves. He called to their remembrance the ſad times, "when an Engliſhman and a Dane meeting on a bridge, the "former durſt not ſtir a ſtep till the latter was paſſed over. "That if an Engliſhman did not make a low reverence to a "Dane, he was ſure to be ſoundly cudgelled. To all theſe "miſeries he added that of the exceſſive taxes they had been "obliged to pay, particularly Danegelt [1], which was im-

accuſed by the king before an aſſembly held at London, of his brother Alfred's murder. But with much ado, by the interceſſion of Leofric and other peers, the matter was made up, and he was reſtored to all his lands. Brompt. Chron. p. 934, etc. Huntingdon agrees in the main with this relation; but ſays that Goodwin murdered Alfred becauſe he thought him of too high a ſpirit to marry his daughter, whom he aimed to make queen of England, by marrying her to Edward, an eaſy and ſimple prince. But this, Milton obſerves, is contrary to all records.

1 This tax amounted to forty thouſand pounds a year. King Edward releaſed the nation of this heavy burden in the year 1051. The occaſion of his ſo doing, though related by Ingulphus, will ſcarce be credited. As the king was one day brought to ſee the huge heap of money collected by this tax, he ſtarted back as in a great fright, and being aſked the reaſon, proteſted he ſaw the devil capering and dancing over the money. Upon which he ordered it to be all paid back to the people, and Danegelt to be aboliſhed for ever, after it had been paid thirty-eight years. Ingulph. p. 65. edit. Gale.

"posed for no other end but to satisfy the insatiable avarice "of their greedy masters." In fine he omitted nothing that could inflame the rage of the English. This harangue wrought so upon the hearers, that it was resolved, no Dane for the future should ever sit on the throne of England. Some add, the enumeration of the calamities they had so long groaned under, made such an impression on their minds, that with one consent they came to a resolution to drive all the Danes out of the kingdom, and instantly put it in execution. Brompton. They resolve to expel the Danes, and do so.

This is one of the most difficult passages in the whole English history; which way soever it is viewed, insurmountable difficulties arise. In the first place it is hard to conceive how, in a general assembly of the kingdom, it was possible to come to a resolution to destroy all the Danes; and much more, how it came to be in the power of the English to put it in practice. The Danes alone were in a manner possessed of all the eastern and northern counties; and in Mercia, that is, in the heart of the kingdom, were as numerous as the English. Four kings of their nation had successively reigned, who far from humbling them, had no doubt shown them great favour, and given them the superiority. And yet, without any extraordinary event, except the death of Hardicanute, a prince of little merit and reputation, the English are said to become on a sudden superior. But this is not all; it is affirmed this superiority was so great as to enable them to expel all the Danes out of the kingdom. How is it possible to believe, the Danes should suffer themselves to be thus mastered, without making the least resistance? for it does not appear there was any war or commotion in the kingdom on this occasion. The difficulties in this passage of the English history.

The Danish historians make the matter still more improbable: they say, all the Danes in England were massacred in one night by the treachery of Harold, son of Goodwin, who ordered all the Danish soldiers to march out of the garrisons, under pretence of solemnizing the funeral of the late king [m]. But this account has not the least appearance of truth; for, in the first place, Harold, who was then very young, had no share in the government, and consequently could give no such orders to the Danish officers. In the next place, how was it possible that all the English historians, Brompton only excepted, who, however says much less of the matter, should agree to pass over in silence so remarkable an event? Nay, how Pontanus. Meurisius.

m Eaque nox, exiguo temporis momento, vetustam Danorum dominationem ac longo multoque majorum tudore et sanguine partum imperium ita pessumdedit, ut vix unquam postea Danos fortuna respexerit. Pont. in Vit. Mag. Boni. lib. v. anno 1045. Rapin.

could they write their hiſtories without ever making the leaſt alluſion to it. If it is objected, they were ſilent as aſhamed of their nation for ſo barbarous an action; what is the reaſon they had not the ſame ſcruple with regard to the maſſacre in the reign of Ethelred? Theſe are difficulties that are not eaſily to be cleared. There ſeems, at firſt ſight, to be a plauſible way to reſolve them, namely, to accuſe the hiſtorians, as well Engliſh as Danes, of not telling the whole truth, or aggravating the facts they relate. But by this way, we run into ſtill greater difficulties. It is moſt certain, ſince the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, the Danes have been ſo far from making any figure in England, that they are not mentioned in hiſtory any more than if they had never been known, though juſt before they were maſters of the whole kingdom. But whence could proceed ſo ſudden a fall, or rather, how could they all vaniſh in a moment, if neither expelled nor maſſacred? Hiſtorians do not ſay, war was made againſt them, their ſtrong-holds taken, and they brought under new laws. But, all on a ſudden, theſe ſo powerful and formidable Danes are reduced to nothing, in the reign of a prince the moſt unwarlike that had ever ſat on the throne. Theſe are hiſtorical difficulties, the ſolution whereof I am forced to leave to others. But to return to England.

King Edward's character.

He was a prince of a weak conſtitution, and a narrow genius, not at all qualified to rule a large kingdom. His unſteadineſs on important occaſions, his inability in public affairs, and his continual attachment to trifles, gave the nobles opportunity of aſſuming an almoſt ſovereign power. As ſoon as they perceived the weakneſs of this prince, they became ſo arbitrary in their governments, that they obeyed the king's orders no farther than was conſiſtent with their own intereſt. Earl Goodwin eſpecially uſurped by degrees ſo great an authority, that he had almoſt the ſame deference paid him as the king himſelf. Perhaps the meanneſs of Edward's genius, was the principal motive of his procuring him the crown, to the end he might govern in his name. Nevertheleſs, how fair ſoever the king carried it towards him, in his heart he utterly hated him and his whole family. This was the true reaſon of his deferring his marriage with Editha as long as he could. But as he ſtood in fear of the earl, he durſt not break his word with him; and therefore, after ſtaying two years on ſeveral pretences, he eſpouſed his daughter, according to his promiſe. However, he did not conſummate the marriage, ſo great was his averſion to all that belonged to Goodwin. The queen, who was a perſon of ſtrict virtue, and endowed with a greatneſs of

ſoul,

ſoul, bore this uſage with a wonderful patience. Inſtead of complaining of her hard treatment, ſhe never opened her mouth about it; but finding it was not in her power to gain the affection of the king her huſband, diverted her thoughts with ſtudy and acts of devotion [n]. The author of the life of Edward pretends, this prince made a vow of chaſtity, long before his marriage, and perſuaded the queen to do the like. But Malmſbury does not know what to think of this ſtrange proceeding, and ſhews a ſtrong inclination to believe, Edward's hatred to Goodwin was the real cauſe of his abſtaining from his daughter. He durſt not venture, however, to divorce her for fear of the earl, by whoſe intereſt he had mounted the throne, might ſtill have it in his power to depoſe him, or at leaſt create him a great deal of trouble. For this reaſon he continued to conceal, in all other reſpects, his averſion to him, and even to heap favours on him, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to ſhow his reſentment. But he did not conſider his diſſimulation increaſed the earl's credit with the people, who imagining he was in great favour with the king, more firmly adhered to him. Goodwin wiſely improved theſe advantages, and became every day more formidable to the king, by the great number of friends he acquired. In all probability, he would have grown, in time, as powerful as the Mayors of the Palace were formerly in France, if he had not met with a counter-weight, which prevented his riſing to that degree of power, ſo fatal to the royal authority; I mean, Siward earl of Northumberland, and Leofric duke of Mercia. Siward had the reputation of the braveſt and moſt worthy peer in the kingdom. His excellent qualities gave him great authority at court, and among the Northumbrians, who were under his government. Leofric was univerſally eſteemed and reſpected for his merit: his power was ſo great in Mercia, that he was more a king there than Edward himſelf. Theſe two lords uniting together, to prevent Goodwin from ſoaring too high, firmly adhered to the perſon of the king, and endeavoured to the utmoſt of their power to ſupport his authority. Without their aſſiſtance, Edward, who, was naturally weak, would have found it very difficult

Ailred. p. 80.

The ſtate of the court.

[n] Ingulphus ſays ſhe was not only the moſt beautiful, chaſte, humble, and modeſt lady of her time, but alſo very learned, inſomuch that he tells us, when he was but a boy, and lived at court with his father, ſhe was uſed to meet him coming from ſchool, and took delight in poſing him not only in grammar, but in logic alſo. And when ſhe had done, would order her ſervant to give him ſome pieces of money. He farther ſays, ſhe had nothing of her father in her. Whence it was become a ſaying, "Sicut Spina Roſam, genuit "Goodwinus Editham." Ingul. p. 62. Edit. Gale. See Ailred Rieval. p. 327.

to ſecure himſelf againſt the artifices of ſo able and powerful a ſubject as Goodwin. Thus matters ſtood at the court of England, during the firſt years of this reign. It was neceſſary to premiſe this, for the better underſtanding the ſequel.

Edward takes from the queen his mother all her eſtate Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Edward, to was whom given the glorious title of Saint and Confeſſor, mounted the throne with diſpoſitions repugnant to ſanctity. Beſides his hatred to Goodwin and his own wife, he cheriſhed in his breaſt againſt his mother a deſire of revenge, which agreed no better with the maxims of the goſpel. It is true, his mother, who had never any great affection for him, had done enough to exaſperate her ſon in marrying Canute the Great, mortal enemy of her firſt huſband. She had moreover given her conſent, that the children of her ſecond marriage ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England, which ſhewed but little regard for thoſe of the firſt. This thing made ſo deep an impreſſion on Edward's mind, that all her endeavours afterwards to procure him the throne, were not able to efface it. As ſoon as he found it in his power to make her feel the effects of his reſentment, he delayed not to ſatisfy his paſſion. On a ſudden, when ſhe leaſt expected it, he came to Wincheſter, where her treaſures lay, and without ſhewing the leaſt regard for her, ſtript her of all, leaving her only a moderate penſion for her ſubſiſtence. Thus this princeſs, widow of two kings, mother of two more, and daughter of a duke of Normandy little inferior to a king, ſaw herſelf in the latter end of her days reduced to extreme poverty by the rigour of her own ſon [o].

Sax. Ann: 1042.

And makes her go thro the ordeal trial. Brompt. Knighton. Camden.

But Edward was not content with ſhewing, by this act of violence, the little regard and affection he had for his mother. Several hiſtorians aſſure us, he moreover cauſed her to be accuſed of incontinence with Alwin biſhop of Wincheſter. They even ſay, that, regardleſs of her quality, he was ſo hard-hearted as to make her undergo the ordeal trial. This trial conſiſted in obliging the party accuſed to walk bare-foot and hood-winked over nine red-hot plough-ſhares. It is pretended, Emma came off unhurt, and gave in memory of this deliverance nine manors to the next monaſtery [p]. But, we have juſt obſerved, ſhe had none left to give. However this be, ſhe paſſed ten years in the ſad condition ſhe was reduced to by the king her ſon, living in Wincheſter as a ſort of priſon, from whence ſhe was delivered by her death in 1052 [q].

o This Edward did by the advice of the earls Leofric, Goodwin, and Siward. S. Dunelm. p. 182. Hoved.

p In Wincheſter.

q This trial of Emma is related by Brompton and Knighton, and embelliſhed with ſome trivial circumſtances by Harpeſield. They tell us, Robert arch-

Whilſt Edward was thus venting his reſentment upon his mother, he received certain advice, that a great ſtorm was gathering in the North. Sweyn king of Norway, ſon to Canute the Great, deſigning to proſecute his claim to the crown of England, was preparing for an invaſion with all expedition, which put the Engliſh in dread of the like miſeries, they had ſo long experienced, and from which for ſome time they had been happily freed. Edward, who was no leſs terrified than his ſubjects, made ſome preparations to repulſe an attack which he was extremely alarmed at. Gunilda, niece of Canute the Great, fell a ſacrifice to his fears. She was conſtrained to abandon the kingdom and her family, to prevent her contriving ſome plot in favour of the Danes. But by an unexpected happineſs, a war, which ſuddenly aroſe between the kings of Denmark and Norway, broke the meaſures of the latter, and brought peace to the Engliſh contrary to their expectation. Some time after, Sweyn was depoſed by Magnus ſon of Olaüs thy martyr, whom Canute the Great had diſpoſſeſſed of Norway. Magnus was no ſooner maſter of that kingdom, but he carried the war into Denmark, with intent to dethrone the king, whoſe name was alſo Sweyn. This laſt demanding aſſiſtance of England, Goodwin was of opinion, that to keep up the war between theſe two princes, an aid of fifty ſail ſhould be ſent him. But Siward and Leofric, for reaſons unknown, prevented the council from coming to this reſolution. For want of this aſſiſtance, Sweyn was dethroned, but reſtored to his kingdom, after the death of his enemy.

Sweyn king of Norway prepares to invade England. S. Dunelm. Hoved.

Gunilda baniſhed.

1043. Norway and Denmark at war.

S. Dunelm.

The troubles in Denmark hindered not the Daniſh pyrates from putting to ſea, and carrying terror to the Engliſh coaſts. In the year 1046, twenty-five ſail of Danes arrived unex-

The Daniſh pyrates make a deſcent on England. Sax. Ann. H. Hunting.

archbiſhop of Canterbury, a Norman, (whom Edward had brought over with him) accuſed the queen of conſenting to the death of her ſon Alfred, of endeavouring to poiſon her ſon Edward, and of maintaining an infamous commerce with biſhop Alwin. For which ſhe was condemned by a council held on purpoſe to purge herſelf by the trial of fire ordeal, as ſhe had offered to do, and as it is related above. But this whole matter admits of great diſpute: for Malmſbury, Florence of Worceſter, Huntingdon, Hoveden, and Weſtminſter, who lived near the ſame time, ſay not a word of this miraculous purgation. Then again Brompton ſays, Robert immediately fled the kingdom; whereas he went not off, as Malmsbury aſſures us, till ſeveral years after upon another occaſion, as we ſhall ſee: moreover, he could not be archbiſhop then, ſince Edſius lived till 1050, which was three years after Alwin's death, (according to Flor. Weſt. Hoved. Chron. Mailr.) whom Brompton ſuppoſes to be alive at the trial; for he ſays, he alſo gave nine manors to the church of Wincheſter. The Saxon Annals ſay, Edſius died in 1047. and Alwin in 1045; and therefore Robert could not be archbiſhop till two years after his death, according to the Annals. Thus this whole ſtory ſeems to be a mere fiction.

pectedly

pectedly at Sandwich, from whence they carried off a great booty. Then ſailing for Eſſex, they carried away great numbers of ſlaves of both ſexes and all conditions. The Engliſh were extremely terrified; but Goodwin, Siward, and Leofric took ſo juſt meaſures, that the Danes, alarmed in their turn, haſtily retired, and carried their ravages elſewhere.

Swane, the ſon of earl Goodwin, baniſhed.

Sax. Annal. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

The retreat of the Daniſh pyrates did not entirely reſtore peace to the kingdom, the coaſts being that ſame year infeſted by a new enemy. Swane, ſon of Goodwin, having deflowered an abbeſs [r], with whom he was in love, and not daring to ſtay in England after ſuch an act, retired into Denmark, where he in vain expected his pardon, by the mediation of the earl his father. But whether Goodwin was willing he ſhould be chaſtiſed, or found the king inexorable, Swane was not able to procure a pardon ſo ſoon as he imagined. When he ſaw, contrary to his expectation, he was made to wait for it a long while, he manned eight ſhips, and made open war upon the Engliſh, plundering the merchants, and committing ſuch barbarities on the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, as exceeded thoſe of the moſt cruel enemies. His inſolence gave Goodwin's enemies a great advantage, who took occaſion from thence to exaſperate the king more and more againſt the earl and his family. He himſelf was in great perplexity about this affair. He was not willing to appear openly for his ſon, leſt he ſhould be charged with abetting his rebellion. On the other hand, he could not but be extremely concerned at Swane's being conſidered as an enemy to the public. To free himſelf from this ſituation, he deſired earl Beorn, ſon of Ulphon and Eſtrith, ſiſter of Canute the Great, to uſe his intereſt with the king in behalf of his rebellious ſon. Though Beorn had openly declared againſt Swane, he was prevailed with by Goodwin to ſpeak to the king, who complied with his requeſt upon certain conditions. The matter being thus in a fair way, Beorn went to Swane, to perſuade him to ſubmit to the king's mercy; but Beorn was ill rewarded for his pains. Swane imagining the earl was come to betray him, ſlew him with his own hand, and ordered his body to be thrown into the ſea [s]. This brutal action prevented a reconciliation for the preſent. But the king forgave him afterwards, notwithſtanding the complication of his crimes: ſo much did this weak prince ſtand in fear of Goodwin's re-

He infeſts the Engliſh coaſts.

He kills earl Beorn.

r The abbeſs of Leon (or Leominſter in Herefordſhire). He left England becauſe he could not obtain leave to marry her. S. Dunelm. p. 183.

s The Annals ſay, they buried his body in a certain church; but that afterwards his relations and the mariners of London digged up his body and buried it at Wincheſter by king Canute. Sax. Ann.

venging

venging himſelf, in caſe he continued inflexible. Thus Goodwin, though hated by the king, obtained as many favours as if he had been really beloved by him. But theſe favours, inſtead of producing a mutual affection, ſerved only to foment their diſ-union. The earl did not think himſelf at all obliged to the king for benefits proceeding from the ſole motive of fear; and the king increaſed his hatred, in proportion as he was forced to conceal it.

1048. Great intereſt of the Normans with the king. Malmsb. Ingulph.

Beſides the private reſentment of the king towards Goodwin, the earl had alſo to deal with other enemies, who were continually exciting that prince againſt him. I mean the Normans, who were very numerous at court, and in great credit there. Theſe looked upon Goodwin as a profeſſed enemy, becauſe he loudly complained of the great regard the king had for them, and made no ſcruple to ſay, they would ſoon become as troubleſome as the Danes. His complaints were not altogether groundleſs. Edward, who was educated among the Normans, went into all their manners, and expreſſed ſuch an affection for them, as raiſed the jealouſy of the Engliſh. The Norman language was more generally ſpoken at court than the Saxon. The king's favour to the Normans rendering them inſolent, they would have all the world cringe to them. They who could not bring themſelves to this, ſeldom failed of feeling the effects of their reſentment. Goodwin was of this number. He believed he was powerful enough to ſupport himſelf without their aſſiſtance. Inſtead of ſeeking their protection, he affected by his continual railleries to ſhew, he thought it not in their power to hurt him. Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, of all the Normans, was in greateſt credit at court. The king had taken him from a monaſtery in Normandy to promote him to the biſhopric of London, and afterwards to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, to the great regret of ſeveral Engliſh biſhops, who aſpired to that dignity. This prelate, who was naturally haughty, and whom the royal favour made ſtill more arrogant, kept no meaſures with Goodwin, who, on his part, ſhewed the utmoſt contempt for him. The archbiſhop, incenſed to ſee himſelf thus treated, made uſe of all his addreſs to have a wrong interpretation put on all the earl's actions, and to inflame the king's hatred to a higher degree.

Archbiſhop of Canterbury enemy to Goodwin.

Matters ſtanding thus at court, an accident happened when leaſt expected, which brought earl Goodwin to the brink of deſtruction, and gave the king room at laſt to diſcover his enmity to him. Euſtace, earl of Boulogne [t], being come to viſit the

Earl of Boulogne comes into England. Malmsb. Sax. Ann.

t He was father to the famous Godfrey of Boulogne, who won Jeruſalem from the Saracens.

king

Quarrel between him and the townſmen at Dover. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

king his brother-in-law, was honourably and kindly received, Edward having a particular affection for him. Some time after, as he was on the road, in his return to France, one of his people, who was ſent before to provide lodgings at Dover, picked a quarrel with a townſman and killed him [u]. This accident making a great noiſe among the inhabitants, they ran to arms, to ſeize the murderer, who ſtood upon his defence, with ſome of the earl's domeſtics that were with him. Euſtace, entering the town in the midſt of this tumult, and ſeeing his people attacked, was obliged to take their part, without having time to enquire into the occaſion of the quarrel. But being overpowered with numbers, twenty of his retinue were killed on the ſpot, and himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life.

He demands juſtice.

Inraged at this affront, he returned to the king at Glouceſter, where the court then reſided, and loudly demanded ſatisfaction. Edward, willing to do him juſtice, ordered Goodwin to march immediately with ſome forces, and chaſtiſe the rioters that were under his government. But inſtead of obeying the king's order, the earl warmly replied, "It was not the "cuſtom in England to puniſh people unheard, and the rights "and privileges of the ſubjects ought not to be violated: "that the accuſed ſhould be ſummoned, and make ſatisfac- "tion with their bodies or eſtates if guilty, or if innocent, "ſhould be diſcharged. Adding, in a very haughty tone, "that being earl of Kent, it was his buſineſs to protect thoſe "that were under his government, againſt the inſults of fo- "reigners." Some ſay, he even charged the king to deliver up the earl of Boulogne into his hands, that he might be puniſhed upon the place, if found guilty of this riot. Edward was extremely provoked with this bold anſwer, which was not only a refuſal to obey his commands, but alſo a ſtinging reproach for his partiality to foreigners. The archbiſhop, and the reſt of the Normans, eagerly improved this occaſion to exaſperate him againſt the earl, and to blow up a flame, which was already but too much kindled.

Goodwin refuſes to obey the king. S. Dunelm. Brompton. M. Weſt.

The king is reſolved to puniſh Goodwin.

How angry ſoever the king might be, he was forced to conceal it, not being in condition to puniſh on the ſpot, a lord who rivaled him in power. Siward and Leofric being abſent, there was no appearance of ſucceeding, ſhould he attempt any thing againſt Goodwin, without being firſt aſſured

[u] Euſtace's men inſiſted upon having lodgings in the Dover man's houſe, in ſpite of his teeth, and wounded him in the ſtruggle; whereupon the townſman killed the other upon the ſpot. In this fray were nineteen Dover people ſlain, and twenty-one of Euſtace's, many others being wounded. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. p. 81. S. Dunelm. p. 184. Brompt. 942.

of

of their concurrence. Mean while, as he was in the utmoſt impatience to be revenged, he diſpatched truſty meſſengers to theſe two lords, to inform them of his reſolution to chaſtiſe Goodwin, and to order, or rather deſire them, to repair to him immediately. How privately ſoever this matter was tranſacted, Goodwin had notice of his deſign, and took his meaſures accordingly. As he was very ſenſible he ſhould be infallibly ruined, was he not beforehand with his enemies, he drew together ſome troops, which were ſoon reinforced with others from his ſon's government [w]. An incurſion of the Welſh at the ſame time into Herefordſhire, furniſhed him with a pretence to levy this army. He pretended theſe forces were deſigned to drive the enemy out of the kingdom, though he had received no orders to that purpoſe. In the mean time, the king cauſing him to be ſummoned before a general aſſembly convened at Glouceſter [x], he came with his ſons, but ſo well attended, that he had nothing to fear. Thus guarded as he was, it would have been ſo dangerous to call him to an account, that the king was adviſed by the moſt prudent to hide his reſentments. They repreſented to him, if the earl ſtood on his defence, as he ſeemed reſolved, it was to be feared, he would draw to his ſide the majority of the people, whoſe intereſts he ſeemed to eſpouſe; and therefore the affording him a pretence to carry his audaciouſneſs any farther, could not be done without danger. In purſuance of this advice, ſuch a peace was made as Goodwin deſired; that is, he was cleared for ſome excuſes which related more to his manner of acting, than the thing in queſtion.

Goodwin prepares to defend himſelf.

Is reconciled to the king.

This reconciliation was of no long continuance. Edward, who could not digeſt the affront he had received, took new meaſures againſt Goodwin, in gaining ſome of his principal friends by preſents and promiſes. As ſoon as matters were ordered to his mind, he convened a general aſſembly, where Goodwin and his ſons were ſummoned to appear. But being informed a deſign was laid to apprehend them, they refuſed to

He is proſecuted again and baniſhed. Sax. Ann, G. Malmsb.

w He drew together ſome troops out of Kent, Eſſex, and Weſſex; as his eldeſt ſon Swane did out of his earldom, i. e. out of Oxford, Glouceſter, Hereford, Somerſet, and Berkſhire; and Harold out of his, i. e. out of Eſſex, Eaſt-Anglia, Cambridge, and Huntingdonſhire: all theſe forces met at Beverſton in Glouceſterſhire. King Edward hearing of Goodwin's great preparations, ſent orders to Siward and Leofric to raiſe likewiſe an army, which they did out of Mercia and Northumbria. Sax. Ann. Brompt.

x And to come attended with twelve perſons, but he refuſed to appear. In the mean time finding his army had deſerted, he fled in the night to Thorny-Iſland, and from thence went and imbarked at Boſenham in Suſſex, with his ſon Swane. Harold and Leofwin came to Briſtol, and finding there a ſhip got ready by Swane, they went over to Ireland, S. Dunelm. p. 185. Brompt.

come,

come, without a ſafe-conduct, and hoſtages for their ſecurity. Upon which, they were baniſhed the kingdom, and the combination againſt them was ſo ſtrong, that they ſaw themſelves abandoned on a ſudden by their principal adherents, and forced to ſubmit to the ſentence paſſed upon them. Edward not content with being thus freed from Goodwin, ſhut up the queen in the nunnery of Wharwel [y], with deſign, in all appearance, never to take to her again. Goodwin retired to the earl of Flanders, father-in-law of his ſon Toſton, and Harold ſailed for Ireland, where he hoped to meet with aſſiſtance. To deprive the earl and his ſons of all hopes of returning, the king diſpoſed of all their poſts, the chief whereof were conferred on Alfgar ſon of Leofric.

Edward ſends away the queen.

1052. In the mean time, Goodwin, who thought himſelf unjuſtly oppreſſed, took meaſures to right himſelf by arms, there being no other remedy, as matters ſtood between the king and him. The earl of Flanders furniſhing him with ſome ſhips, he infeſted the eaſtern coaſts of England, whilſt Harold his eldeſt ſon did the ſame to the weſtern. But theſe faint attempts were to little purpoſe, ſeeing their forces were not very conſiderable. Wherefore Goodwin returned to Flanders, where for two years together, he did all in his power to perſuade the earl his protector, it was for his intereſt to lend him a powerful aſſiſtance, and to have ſuch a friend as he in England. Baldwin being at length prevailed with, granted him an aid capable of rendering him formidable, whilſt on the other hand, Harold equipped a good number of ſhips in Ireland. Edward having intelligence of theſe proceedings, fitted out a fleet with all expedition, the command of which was given to Randulph of Mantes his nephew [z], and another lord named Odda. Theſe two admirals hearing Goodwin had been ſeen off Rumney point, reſolved to go and attack him, but he had time to retire elſewhere. His meaſures being thus broken by the king's expedition, he ſteered his courſe again for Flanders, and ſent back Harold into Ireland. His view was to make the king believe he gave over his undertaking, by reaſon of the obſtacles he met with. Mean while, he kept his fleet always ready, that he might improve any occaſion that ſhould offer. Shortly after one preſented itſelf, which he did not fail to ſeize. Whether the two admirals were wanting in point of duty or conduct, or through court-intrigues, which hiſtory has not

Goodwin takes meaſures to reſtore himſelf to his former ſtate. Sax. Annal. Malmsb.

Edward prepares to repulſe him.

y In Hampſhire; of which his ſiſter was abbeſs. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

z He was ſon to Goda, ſiſter of Edward, and the earl of Mantes. Rapin.

——In 1052. Emma, king Edward's mother, died at Wincheſter, where ſhe was buried. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

taken

taken care to diſcover, Edward on a ſudden removed theſe two lords from the command of the fleet. This alteration, and the breaking ſome of the inferior officers, raiſed ſuch diſcontents among the ſailors, that they deſerted in crowds. Thus the king's ſhips not being in condition to keep the ſea, were brought up the Thames in order to be new manned. Goodwin by his ſpies being informed of this diſorder, puts to ſea immediately, and makes a deſcent on the iſle of Wight, where he extorted great ſums from the inhabitants, whilſt he waited for his ſon Harold to join him. After their junction, they ſailed up the Thames, and advanced towards London, where the king's fleet lay. Edward giving way to his paſſion, would have gone himſelf with ſuch ſhips as were ready [a], and tried the fortune of a battle; but his council oppoſed it. They repreſented to him, that inſtead of hazarding his perſon in an action, the conſequences whereof might prove very fatal, it would be more for his own and the kingdom's advantage, to try to make Goodwin return to his obedience, by gentler methods. This was wholeſome advice: but the king would hardly have followed it, had not Goodwin, who was informed of what was tranſacting at court, ſmoothed the way, by ſaving him the ſhame of making the firſt advances. He ſent the king word, that he was not come to fight againſt his ſovereign, but moſt humbly to intreat him to hear his juſtification: that his coming thus armed was only to defend himſelf againſt the inſults of his enemies, and he ſhould always glory in being the moſt faithful of his ſubjects. How reſpectful ſoever this meſſage might be, Edward, looking upon it as a ſort of banter, flatly refuſed to hearken to any accommodation, affirming, he could not reſolve to pardon his brother's murderer. His obſtinacy had liked to have produced a fatal effect. Goodwin's army, entirely conſiſting of foreigners, who were in hopes of enriching themſelves with the plunder of London, were for engaging the king's fleet without delay. But the earl, who was perfectly informed how the council ſtood diſpoſed, checked the ardour of his ſoldiers, and behaved very ſubmiſſively with regard to the king. His moderation was attended at laſt with the ſucceſs he expected. Edward was prevailed with by the principal lords, and eſpecially Stigand biſhop of Wincheſter, a great friend of Goodwin's, to receive the earl into favour again, at leaſt, as to outward appearance. He even agreed, he ſhould be acquitted, by the general aſſembly of the kingdom, of the murder of prince Alfred,

Goodwin enters the Thames, and comes up to London.

Goodwin makes his peace with the king;

[a] Which was fifty. Sax. Ann.

which

and gives him hoſtages. Sax. Ann. Knighton. Brompt.

which he was charged with afreſh, but on condition he ſhould give hoſtages for his good behaviour for the future. Goodwin ſubmitting to the king's terms, put into his hands his ſon Ulnoth, and his grandſon Hacune, who were immediately ſent into Normandy, Edward not thinking he could ſecure them in England. Goodwin and his ſons were reſtored to their eſtates and dignities, and the king honourably took again the queen his wife, whom he thought he had been rid of for life.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury baniſhed. Sax. Ann. Malmſb. S. Dunelm.

Upon the firſt news of the agreement between the king and the earl, the archbiſhop of Canterbury retired to the monaſtery of Jumiege in Normandy. Shortly after his departure, he was baniſhed the kingdom by an aſſembly general, as an incendiary and fomenter of diviſions between the king and his ſubjects [b]. Stigand was made archbiſhop in his room, on ſuppoſition the ſee was become vacant by his baniſhment, a ſuppoſition that the court of Rome would by no means allow. Thus ended the affair of Goodwin. This lord, in all appearance, was like to have been ruined for ever; but, contrary to the expectation of his enemies, his diſgrace tended only to render him more powerful and formidable. This ſame year he loſt his third ſon Swane, who going in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, died on the road in ſome place in Syria, where he fell into the hands of robbers [c].

Stigand is made archbiſhop.

Malmsb.

The duke of Normandy viſits Edward. Ingulph. S. Dunelm. Brompt. R. Higden.

The court of England enjoying a profound quiet after Goodwin's return, William the Baſtard, duke of Normandy, took this opportunity to pay a viſit to Edward [d]. Some ſay, Edward ſent him word by archbiſhop Robert, that he deſigned to make him his heir, and that his aim in this viſit was to get a confirmation of this promiſe. But this is only conjecture. However that be, during William's ſtay in England, the king took a pleaſure in ſhowing his gratitude for all the civilities he had received, both from him and the duke his father. It is pretended, after having thus publickly teſtified his gratitude, he privately gave him a more ſubſtantial mark of his affection, by making his will, and nominating him his heir and ſucceſſor [e]. If it be true that Edward made ſuch a will, which how-

Edward' pretended will in his favour.

b And the reſt of the Frenchmen that were in England, fled, and were alſo baniſhed. Sax. Ann. See the names of ſuch Normans as ſtaid in England, in S. Dunelm. p. 186, 187.

c Simeon of Durham ſays, being pricked in conſcience for the murder of earl Beorn, he went from Flanders bare-foot as far as Jeruſalem, and in his return homeward died of a cold he got in Lycia.

d Brompton ſays, he came in 1050, and S. Dunelm. 1051. They all agree that it was during Goodwin's baniſhment. See Higden, p. 279.

e Ingulph expreſly ſays, that William had then no hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, neither was there the leaſt

however no body ever ſaw, it is more probable he did it at this time, than when he was in Normandy. Whilſt the throne of England was filled by the Danes, whilſt Alfred his brother, and alſo the children of Edmund Ironſide were alive, how could Edward foreſee he ſhould ever be king of England? But at the time William the Baſtard was in England, Edward, bearing ſtill a mortal hatred to Goodwin in his heart, notwithſtanding their feigned reconciliation, might ſuſpect the earl of aſpiring to the crown, and hope by this ſettlement to break his meaſures. But after all, it is much more probable he made no will, but contented himſelf with giving the duke of Normandy ſome verbal promiſe. However this be, it was this will, real or forged, or this verbal promiſe, that furniſhed the duke with a pretence of becoming maſter of England after the death of Edward. But it is very likely, Goodwin knew nothing of this will, or verbal promiſe, which may be plainly inferred from his taking no meaſures to prevent a Norman prince from reigning over the Engliſh, though he was a ſworn enemy to the Norman nation. By the way, the ſituation of affairs then in England, wherein Goodwin almoſt equalled the king himſelf in power, renders incredible what ſome have ventured to advance, that Edward got his will in favour of duke William confirmed by a general aſſembly.

1052. Goodwin's death. Brompton. Rievallenſis M. Weſt. Huntingd. Ingulph.

Edward in vain uſed all ſorts of means to obſtruct Goodwin's advancement. This earl's power was grown to ſuch a height, that it might have proved of dangerous conſequence, had not death freed the king from this hated, and then moſt formidable, ſubject. If we believe certain hiſtorians, Goodwin's death was attended with extraordinary circumſtances, deſerving a ſerious regard, were they better atteſted. They ſay, as the king was one day ſitting at table with the earl, he let fall ſome words, which plainly ſhowed the murder of the prince his brother was not yet thoroughly blotted out of his mind. They add, Goodwin taking it as a reflection upon him, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to the king, "I perceive, my lord, (ſays he with great emotion) by what you "juſt now ſaid, you ſtill think me guilty of the death of the "prince your brother, though I have been publickly acquitted "of it. But to give you a freſh proof of my innocence, I "pray God that this morſel I am going to eat may choak me "this moment, if I had any hand in the death of that prince." It is pretended, that upon ſaying theſe words, he went to ſwal-

leaſt mention made of it between them at this time.——De ſucceſſione autem regni ſpes adhuc, aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit.

low the fatal morſel, but it ſtuck in his throat and choaked him immediately, to the great aſtoniſhment of the ſtanders-by. But this circumſtance, had it been true, was too remarkable to be omitted by the hiſtorians of the beſt credit, who make no mention at all of it. They agree, Goodwin died ſuddenly, as he ſat at table with the king, but ſay not a word of the above-mentioned circumſtances, which probably were invented to blacken the memory of the earl and his family [t]. Harold his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him in all his poſts, thoſe he had himſelf before his father's death being given to Alfgar, ſon of Leofric duke of Mercia.

Six. Ann. S. Dunelm.

Harold his ſon ſucceeds him. Six. Ann.

The death of Goodwin cauſed no great alteration. Harold had the ſame friends, the ſame creatures, and the ſame intereſt as the earl his father when alive. All the difference to be obſerved between the father and ſon, was, that the ſon was of a temper more courteous and pliable, carried himſelf with much leſs pride, and behaved in a more reſpectful and ſubmiſſive manner to the king. He was in hopes, by this carriage, to remove the king's inveterate hatred to his family; but it was to no purpoſe. Edward perhaps had not ſo great an averſion for him as he had for his father; but he feared him as much, and indeed, very juſtly. Harold, of as great parts and abilities as his father, but withal of more honour and conſcience, firmly gained to his intereſt both the nobles and people, by his civil and obliging behaviour; whereas Goodwin's haughtineſs and pride frequently loſt him many friends. Mean while the ſame reaſons that conſtrained the king to carry it fair with the father, obliged him to do the ſame with the ſon. Though he lov'd him not, he durſt not ſhow his ill-will, leſt it ſhould prove the occaſion of a rupture, which muſt have been of very bad conſequence, conſidering Harold's great credit at court and with the people.

Harold's prudent conduct.

1054. If the overgrown power of the Goodwin family created uneaſineſs in the king, it was in ſome meaſure alleviated by the ſatisfaction he had to ſee his kingdom exempt from war,

[t] The Saxon Annals ſay only, this year earl Goodwin deceaſed the 17th of the kalends of May, and was buried in the old monaſtery of Wincheſter, anno MLIII. Almoſt all our hiſtorians ſay, king Edward celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter at Wincheſter (ſome ſay Windſor) earl Goodwin was taken ſpeechleſs as he ſat at table; and being carried into the king's chamber by his ſons, he lay in a languiſhing condition four days, and died the fifth. This is the account of his death: but the Norman monks, and ſuch as write in favour of them, add the above circumſtances, which ſhow either his guilt or their malice. He was a man of an active or turbulent ſpirit, nor over conſcientious in getting or keeping what he could. But had he not been ſo great a lover of his country, and an enemy to foreigners, thoſe who wrote in the Norman times would have given him a fairer character. S. Dunelm.

ever

ever since his accession to the throne. But this tranquillity, which could not but be very grateful to a prince of so unwarlike a temper, was a little disturbed by a quarrel with Macbeth king of Scotland, who had made himself master of Cumberland. This little kingdom, which had been long under the protection of the crown of England, was contended for between Macbeth and Malcolm, a lord of the royal family of Cumberland. Edward espousing the cause of Malcolm, commissioned Siward to restore him to his kingdom. This war was of short duration. Siward by one decisive battle obliged Macbeth to abandon Cumberland, and leave his rival in possession [g]. Siward had scarce finished this affair, when he was seized with a distemper [h] that laid him in his grave. When he found he was near his end, he got upon his legs, and causing his armour to be put on, expired in that posture, declaring it dishonourable for a brave man to die in his bed [i].

War for Cumberland. S. Dunelm. Huntingd. Brompt. Ingulph.

Death of Siward. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.

After the death of Siward, the government of Northumberland was conferred on Toston, brother of Harold [k], Edward not having resolution enough to refuse him that favour, though he dreaded nothing more than the advancement of that family. Some will have it, this was done out of policy. They pretend, the king, by feigning to gratify Harold, filled the vacant post with the propereſt person to give a check to his ambition, by reason of the mutual jealousy between the two brothers. But it does not appear Harold and Toston were then at variance, though it be true, they became enemies afterwards. 'Twas therefore great imprudence to trust any one family with two such important posts as duke of Wessex, and

Toston Harold's brother made earl of Northumberland. Sax. Annal. Ingulph. Brompt.

g Matthew Westminster says, but without any authority, that king Edward conquered all Scotland, and bestowed it on Malcolm to hold it of him. Others seem to say he destroyed Macbeth, and made Malcolm king of Scotland. S. Dunelm. But most probably it was only of Cumberland.

h A bloody flux. He was buried in the cloyster of St. Mary's monastery, without the walls of York, which he had built. Brompt. Ingulph.

i Simeon of Durham says, earl Siward's son was slain in the battle with Macbeth; and Huntingdon adds, that when the news was brought him, he asked, "Whether he had received the "wound before or behind?" and being told, before, he only replied, "I "am glad to hear it." Brompton says, he was a man of almost a gigantic stature, and gives us this strange account of his grandmother the daughter of a certain Danish earl. As she was one day walking in a wood near her father's house, accompanied only with her women, a huge bear rushing from among the trees, and frightning away her attendants, carried off the young lady alone; and getting her with child, she had a son by him, named Bernus, who was born with bear's ears; however, by his mother's right he succeeded to her father's earldom. In process of time he proved a valiant soldier, and marrying, begot the brave earl Siward, who came and settled in England. Brompt.

k Because Waltheof, Siward's son, was too young; but to make some amends, Edward gave him the government of the countries of Northampton, Huntingdon, &c. Brompt. Hunting. p. 366. Ingulph. p. 66.

earl of Northumberland, which put one moiety of the kingdom in the power of the two brothers. Thus the king, though he ſtood in the greateſt dread of the Goodwin family, either out of weakneſs, or ill policy, did every thing to render them more powerful.

Harold's credit increaſes.

It was not only by the king's favours that earl Harold daily got ground, his perſonal merit and liberal temper daily procured him ſuch friends, as were able to ſupport him againſt the attempts of the king himſelf. Though he had married the duke of Mercia's daughter, Alfgar his brother-in-law carried it very coldly towards him, purely out of envy at his greatneſs. This lord, being of a reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit, entered into a dangerous conſpiracy, and privately held intelligence with Griffin king of Wales, to the detriment of the public. Edward being informed of it, cauſed him to be accuſed of treaſon, and condemned to baniſhment. Alfgar retired to his friend Griffin, who received him with open arms, and cheriſhed his diſcontent to the utmoſt of his power[l]. Some time after they made an inroad together into Herefordſhire and defeated Radulph of Mantes earl of that county, who had attempted to drive them thence. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, they began to make farther advances[m], when they met earl Harold, who ſtopt their career. He had of his own accord levied an army in his governments, and boldly marched towards them, to give them battle. They quickly found the difference between him and Radulph. Harold, ſuperior in valour and conduct, put them to rout, and compelled them to retire into Wales, from whence they durſt not come forth any more. A peace being the conſequence of this victory, Harold uſed all his intereſt to obtain a pardon for Alfgar, and got him at length reſtored to his eſtate and honours. By this uncommon act of generoſity, he gained the friendſhip of Alfgar, and exceedingly increaſed the eſteem, people already had for him.

Alfgar Leofric's ſon baniſh'd. Sax. Annal. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

Retires to Wales, and joins king Griffin.

They are defeated by Harold.

Alfgar reſtored.

[l] Hiſtorians are divided in their opinions, whether this earl was baniſhed juſtly or not. The Sax. Ann. and Huntingd. p. 366. ſay, that he was convicted of treaſon. But S. Dunelm. p. 187. Brompton, and Ingulph affirm, he was unjuſtly baniſhed. Simeon of Durham and Brompton ſay, he went to Ireland firſt, and procuring eighteen ſhips, went and joined Griffin. He was baniſhed again in 1058, but, by the aſſiſtance of Griffin, and of a Norwegian fleet, was reſtored. S. Dunelm. p. 189. Ingulph. p. 66.

[m] They took and ſacked Hereford, burning the church and monaſtery with the relicks of king Ethelbert treacherouſly ſlain by king Offa. Hereford i. e. the ford of the army, was built as a frontier in the time of the Heptarchy. This was the only misfortune that ever happened to this city. Camden.

The

The reputation acquired by Harold in his laſt expedition, his generoſity to Alfgar, his affable and obliging behaviour, his beneficent temper, entirely gained him the hearts of the people. It began to be the public diſcourſe, that ſince the king had no heirs, no one was more worthy to ſucceed him than Harold. The affection of the Engliſh for the earl, very ſenſibly touched Edward, who had all along lived in expectation of an occaſion to ruin him. Hitherto this prince ſeems to have intended to leave the crown to the duke of Normandy, ſince he was not ignorant he had a nephew in Hungary, and yet had never once thought of recalling him home, and ſecuring him the ſucceſſion. But the moment he found earl Harold aſpired to the crown, or at leaſt, that the people marked him out for his ſucceſſor, he judged it would be very difficult to ſet up a foreign prince, againſt an Engliſh earl of ſo great power and credit. This conſideration probably induced him at laſt to ſend for his nephew Edward, ſon of Edmund Ironſide, out of Hungary. He ſhould have done this long before, had he not deſigned to diſpoſe of the crown in favour of another. Prince Edward came into England in 1057, bringing with him his young ſon Edgar, with Margaret and Chriſtiana his daughters, who were all three born in Hungary. The arrival of this prince, ſon of a king of England, whoſe memory was dear to the nation, could not but be very agreeable to the Engliſh; and therefore, without heſitation, they conſidered him as the king's preſumptive heir, their eſteem for Harold giving place to their affection for the royal family. Indeed, there was no conteſting this young prince's right to ſucceed his uncle, ſince, had he not been abſent when it was debated who ſhould ſit on the throne after Hardicanute, he would have been unqueſtionably preferred even to king Edward himſelf. Which conſideration was probably the reaſon of his uncle's leaving him ſo long in Hungary, leſt his preſence might occaſion ſome dangerous commotions. But this prince, who ſeemed deſigned for the crown, died ſoon after his arrival in England, leaving his juſt, though empty title to Edgar his ſon, ſirnamed Atheling [n].

1057. The people talk of Harold's ſucceeding to the crown.

Edward ſends for his nephew from Hungary. Sax. Ann. Knighton. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Death of prince Edward,

Leofric, duke of Mercia, quickly followed him, this ſame year [o]. Hiſtorians give this lord a great character; but

and of Leofric, duke of Mercia. Sax. Ann.

n (l. 8.) Truly noble, to denote his being of royal blood. His father, prince Edward, ſirnamed the Out-law, was buried at St. Paul's, London. Sax. Ann. M.CVII.

o He was buried in Coventry-monaſtery which he and Godiva built; and to which they gave ſo much gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, that it was reckoned the richeſt in England. Huntingd. p. 366. S. Dunelm. p. 189.

Godiva's adventure. Brompton. M. West.

especially they extol Godiva his wife, above all the women of her time. It is related of this lady, that in order to free the inhabitants of Coventry from a heavy tax laid on them by her husband, she readily consented to a very extraordinary condition, on which the earl promised to ease them of their burden, namely, that she should ride stark naked from one end of the town to the other. This condition gave the burghers little hopes of being relieved. But Godiva performed it, covering her body with her hair, and commanding all persons to keep within doors, and from their windows, on pain of death. Notwithstanding this severe penalty, there was one, who could not forbear giving a look, out of curiosity, but it cost him his life. In memory of this event, there is a statue of a man looking out of a window, always kept in a certain house at Coventry [p]. Alfgar succeeded to his father's earldom, by Harold's interest, who earnestly interceded for him [q].

Sax. Ann.

1062. Harold aspires to the crown, and demands the hostages given the king by Goodwin. Eadmer,

Harold's ambition and hopes were revived by prince Edward's death. That prince indeed had left a son who inherited all his rights, but so young, that it seemed very easy to supplant him. Besides, he might possibly die before the king. Accordingly, Harold resolved to improve the present favourable conjuncture. But before he openly discovered his designs, he thought it requisite to get out of the hands of the duke of Normandy, Ulnoth his brother, and Hacune his nephew, whom the earl his father had given for hostages to the king. But though he demanded them very urgently, alledging, since Goodwin was dead, there was no reason to detain them, and unjustly deprive them of the benefit of an English education, yet he could not prevail with the king. Edward always put him off with saying, they were not in

but cannot obtain them.

[p] But whether this be so or no, there is a procession or cavalcade still made there every year, in memory of Godiva, with a figure representing a naked woman riding through the city. The pictures of Leofric and Godiva were also set up in the windows of Trinity Church, with this inscript on:

I Luric, for the Love of thee,
Do set Coventry Tol-free.

This city had its name either from the convent new built and richly endowed by Leofric, or as some will have it, from a rivulet running through, now called Sherburn, but in an old charter of the priory, Cuentford. This city was famous for its walls, which were demolished in Charles the IId's time, and the gates only left standing. In one of which named Goffard, is to be seen the vast shield-bone of a bear, which they tell you was slain by Guy earl of Warwick, after he had with his snout turned up the pool or pond now called Swaneswell Pool, but in ancient charters, Swineswell. Here is also a fine cross built (33 Hen. VIII.) by Sir William Hollis lord-mayor of London. Camd.

[q] He died in 1059, and was buried at Coventry, by his father. Ingulph.

his

his power, but the duke of Normandy's, and therefore to that prince he must make application. Harold perceiving he could obtain no other answer from the king, desired leave to go into Normandy, and sollicit the duke for their deliverance. His request was readily granted. Nothing could be more agreeable to the king, than the earl's resolution of going to Normandy, where he did not question but the duke would detain him. At least, he hoped duke William would take such measures as would free him from all obstacles, the earl might lay in his way.

He sets out for Normandy. Malmsb. Brompt. S. Dunelm.

Harold having obtained the king's consent, embarked for Roan, without the least suspicion of the danger he was running into, being ignorant of the king's intention concerning the succession[r]. Hardly was he at sea, when a tempest arose, which drove him into Picardy, and compelled him to put in at one of the ports of the earl of Ponthieu, where he was immediately seized. As soon as he was known, he was carried to the earl of Ponthieu, who, glad to find himself master of so rich a prize, resolved to set a round price on his head. It would have been difficult for Harold to get off, had he not, whilst he pretended to treat about his ransom, found means to inform the duke of Normandy of the accident befallen him. As soon as the duke received the news, he sent and demanded the prisoner of the earl of Ponthieu, telling him he had no right to detain a stranger that was coming to Roan, and by a storm cast on his coasts. The earl not daring to dispute with the duke, set the prisoner at liberty, who immediately went on to Roan. Duke William not being ignorant of Harold's design with respect to the crown of England, was at a loss how to behave. He had but two ways to take, both equally dangerous. Harold was either to be detained by force, or gained by fair means. If he took the first method, he was apprehensive of declaring too soon, since it was not for his interest the English should yet know, he had any thoughts of the crown. Besides, Harold had so

Is seized by the earl of Ponthieu.

Is set at liberty, and comes to Roan.

The duke at a loss how to act.

r Harold's going to Normandy is variously related as to the time, manner, and occasion of it. With our author agree Simeon of Durham, Brompton, and Eadmer, only with this addition, that king Edward foretold him what would happen to him. Malmsbury says the occasion of it was this. Harold being at his house at Bosenham in Sussex, had a mind to go out in a fisher-boat for his diversion, but sailing further than he was aware, a tempest arose and drove him as is here related by Rapin. Matthew Paris believes also he was driven by a tempest to Normandy, where to gain his liberty, he was forced to do as is here related. So uncertain are traditional accounts! Our author's conduct through this whole affair seems to be the most natural and likely.

many friends in the kingdom, that it was to be feared, his detention would occaſion a rupture between England and Normandy, which would break all the meaſures the king ſhould take in his favour. And indeed, in caſe Edward died during the war, how was it poſſible for him to leave the crown to a prince actually in arms againſt the Engliſh nation? Moreover, Harold being duke of Weſſex and earl of Kent, all the ſtrong places in the ſouthern parts were in the hands of his creatures, and it was this chiefly that could moſt obſtruct the duke's deſigns. The duke had not perfect information what ſteps Harold had made to pave his way to the crown, as on his part, Harold was ignorant of the deſigns of the king and duke. The duke conſidered further, that by detaining Harold, he ſhould break the moſt ſacred rights of hoſpitality, which a great ſoul cannot be guilty of without offering extreme violence to itſelf. Theſe conſiderations induced him to take the other courſe, though it was no leſs dangerous. By diſcovering his intentions to Harold, he put it in his power to prevent their execution. However, believing he ſhould gain him by this proof of his confidence, he plainly told him his hopes of one day mounting the throne of England, founded on the good-will the king bore him[a]. This diſcovery was followed with promiſes, in caſe he would ſupport his pretenſions, and the aſſurance of a reward proportionable to ſo important a ſervice. He let him know, moreover, that his ambition to aſpire to the crown, though not of the royal family, was no ſecret to him, and endeavoured to make him ſenſible, how difficult it would be to attain his ends. To divert him from his purpoſe, he repreſented to him all the obſtacles he was of courſe to expect, as well from Edgar, as the other Engliſh lords, who would look on his ambition with a jealous eye. To theſe conſiderations he added another that was no leſs urgent. He plainly told him, though he ſhould be ſo fortunate, as to ſurmount all other obſtacles, he would ſtill find in him an enemy, who wanted neither money, nor arms, nor friends to ſupport a right he was reſolved to defend to the laſt drop of his blood. In ſhort, he repreſented to him, that if he was bent to purſue his firſt project, inſtead of ſecuring, as it was in his power, a grandeur, ſecond to none but the ſupreme, he hazarded a certain good, for a very uncertain proſpect.

He endeavours to gain him, by diſcloſing to him his deſigns.

[a] Simeon of Durham ſays, the duke told Harold, that Edward, whilſt at his court, promiſed to ſettle the crown of England on him.

Harold

Harold was too wiſe not to ſee, that on this occaſion, he had but one courſe to take, which was, to pretend to be convinced by the reaſons the duke had alledged. He returned him therefore in anſwer, that indeed, before the arrival of prince Edward, he had believed if the king died without heirs, he was as worthy to aſcend the throne as any other nobleman of the kingdom. He even owned, he had begun to take ſome meaſures, which inſpired him with hopes of ſucceſs, but had dropt his deſign ſince the coming of Edward, being ſenſible there was no room to pretend to the crown, as long as there were princes of the royal family in England. He added, ſince he was acquainted with his pretenſions, and the king's pleaſure, which till then he had been ignorant of, he had much rather the kingdom ſhould be governed by ſo great a prince as the duke, than by Edgar Atheling, who ſcarce knew how to govern himſelf. To convince him the more of his ſincerity, he required certain conditions, and among others, demanded one of his daughters in marriage, as a reward for his future ſervice. Whatever Harold required was immediately and gladly complied with. But as the princeſs, the duke deſigned for him, was too young, the intended marriage was deferred till a more convenient time. Mean while, duke William not truſting wholly to Harold's bare word, made him ſwear on the goſpels that he would punctually perform his promiſes, eſpecially, that he would never attempt to mount the throne of England. This agreement being made, they parted both of them exremely well ſatisfied in outward appearance, and Harold returned into England [t].

Harold diſſembles the matter, and promiſes to ſtand by the duke.

He was no ſooner at liberty, but he conſidered his oath as extorted, and conſequently not binding. He could not underſtand upon what foundation the duke of Normandy pretended to the crown of England, or by what right Edward could transfer it to a foreigner. And therefore, ſo far was he from any thoughts of ſtanding to his engagements, that he reſolved to take advantage of the duke's confidence, and contrive juſter meaſures to fruſtrate his deſigns. From thenceforward he uſed a double diligence to ſtrengthen his party in ſuch a manner, as ſhould put it out of the power of the king or duke to lay any obſtacles in his way. If hitherto he had entertained any ſcruple with regard to prince Edgar, it en-

Harold takes new meaſures to ſecure the ſucceſſion to himſelf.

t The duke made Harold ſwear to deliver up Dover as ſoon as king Edward was dead. Then loading him with preſents, diſmiſſed him with his nephew Hacune, promiſing to bring over Ulnoth his brother when he himſelf ſhould come into England. Sim. Dunelm. p. 196.

tirely

tirely vaniſhed upon conſideration that in mounting the throne himſelf he ſhould do no injury to that prince, ſince the crown would be otherwiſe diſpoſed of even by his uncle the king. He laboured therefore to ſecure an intereſt in all the great lords of the kingdom, to which he found the way very open. The duke of Normandy was abſent, and but little known in England, where moreover the Normans were extremely odious. Prince Edgar, by reaſon of his youth, was in no condition to oppoſe deſigns ſo detrimental to him. As for the king, he was ſo unreſolved in the affair of the ſucceſſion, that he promoted the intereſt neither of the prince his nephew, nor of the duke. He was no doubt at a loſs how to reconcile his promiſe to the duke of Normandy, with his recalling his nephew from Hungary. He thought only of paſſing his days in peace, without troubling himſelf about what ſhould happen after his death. Thus every thing concurring to favour Harold's deſigns, he neglected nothing that might ſerve to confirm the good opinion conceived of him by the Engliſh. Two opportunities that offered themſelves preſently after, were very favourable to him.

1063. Harold ſubdues the Welſh. S. Dunelm. Flor. Wig. Sax. Annal. Malmsb. S. Dunelm.

The Welch renewing their incurſions under the conduct of Griffin their king, Harold and his brother Toſton joined their forces to repulſe them. They were ſo fortunate in their expedition, that, after ſeveral advantages gained upon the Welch, they compelled them to dethrone Griffin, and become tributary to England. Griffin being afterwards reſtored, and renewing the war with the Engliſh, Harold marched to the frontiers, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Welch, that they ſent him the head of their king[u]. This event, which ſhowed how formidable Harold was to the enemies of the ſtate, confirmed the Engliſh in their opinion that he, who knew ſo well how to defend it, deſerved to wear the crown.

Toſton drove out of Northumberland. Malmsb. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Harold had another opportunity to add new luſtre to his glory, as it enabled him to give proofs of his moderation and equity, as he had lately done of his valour and conduct. Toſton his brother, earl of Northumberland, treated the Northumbrians with ſuch ſeverity, and committed ſo many acts of injuſtice, that at laſt, the people not being able to

[u] He was beheaded Aug. 7, 1064. This was the end of Griffyth ap Llhewelyn, to whom the Welſh Chronicles give the character of a valiant and generous prince, and for the moſt part victorious, ti'l now he periſhed by the treachery of his own people. Harold ſent the head with the gilded ſtern of Griffin's ſhip, which the Welſh had brought with the head, to the king at Gloucester. Florence of Worceſter adds, that the brothers of Griffin ſwore fealty to Harold as well as to the king.

bear

bear his oppreſſions any longer, took up arms againſt him, and expelled him Northumberland. This action being of a dangerous conſequence, Harold was ordered to chaſtiſe them, and reſtore his brother. As ſoon as he approached the borders, the Northumbrians ſent deputies to inform him of the reaſons of their inſurrection. They told him, they had no deſign of withdrawing their obedience from the king, but only from an unjuſt and cruel governor, who exerciſed over them a tyrannical power, to which neither they nor their forefathers had ever been ſubject. Intimating withal, they were reſolved to hazard their lives rather than ſubmit to the like power again. However, they ſolemnly proteſted, provided the king ſhould ſet over them one that would govern them according to the laws and cuſtoms of their country, nothing ſhould be able to ſhake their fidelity. To theſe remonſtrances they added a long liſt of their grievances they had ſuffered under Toſton, intreating Harold to prefer the good of the publick before the intereſts of his own family. Harold finding this affair related chiefly to Toſton, and that the king was not directly concerned in it, ſent an impartial account of the whole matter to the court. At the ſame time he interceded for the Northumbrians, and not content with obtaining their pardon, procured them Monkard, ſon of Alfgar duke of Mercia, for their governor [w]. By this equitable proceeding, he entirely gained the affection of the northern people, and contracted a ſtricter friendſhip with Alfgar than before. This union was abſolutely neceſſary for the execution of his projects.

Harold ſent to reſtore him; but approves of his being driven out.

Malmsb.

But if this action ſtrengthened the people's eſteem and affection for him, it exaſperated to the laſt degree his brother Toſton, who never forgave him. But as it was not in his power to vent his fury on Harold's perſon, he turned his rage upon ſome of his domeſticks [x], whom he cauſed to be cut in pieces, barrelled up, and ſent to his brother for a preſent. After ſo barbarous a deed, not daring to ſtay any longer in

A barbarous act of Toſton's.

Huntingd. M. Weſtm.

w Whom they themſelves earneſtly deſired to have. The occaſion of their inſurrection at this time was this: One Goſpatric, a great officer in Northumberland, having been murdered at Court by queen Editha's order, (though this ſeems contrary to her meek and pious temper) on account of a quarrel between him and her brother Toſton, and he likewiſe killing in his own lodgings two of Goſpatric's friends, and beſides having laid intolerable impoſitions, or tribute, on all Northumberland, the people incenſed at it, and his other grievances above-mentioned, roſe to a man, and were not appeaſed till he was baniſhed the land. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.

x In a houſe of his at Hereford, where he had prepared a great feaſt. Huntingdon.

England,

England, he retired into Flanders to earl Baldwin his father-in-law [y].

1065. Edward prepares for the dedication of the church of Weſtminſter. Ailred Rieval.

Whilſt Harold was thus paving his way to the crown, Edward never concerned himſelf about the ſucceſſion, which he had greatly embroiled by his engagement with the duke of Normandy. His thoughts were wholly employed about the ſtructure of the church and monaſtery of Weſtminſter, on which he laid out the money he had vowed to expend on a journey to Rome, which was diſpenſed with by the pope upon that condition. There was formerly in the ſame place, called Thorney by the Saxons, a famous temple ſacred to Apollo. Sebert, king of Eſſex, embracing the goſpel, converted this pagan temple into a chriſtian church, which was deſtroyed by the Danes. This church having been long buried in its ruins, Edward undertook to rebuild it, with an adjoining monaſtery, which from its lying weſt of London, was called Weſtminſter [z]. In proceſs of time a city was built here by degrees, which almoſt rivals London itſelf, and keeps the name of the monaſtery. Theſe two cities, ſeparated only by a gate, have diſtinct magiſtrates and privileges, though they are often confounded under the name of London. The church and monaſtery being finiſhed about the latter end of the year 1065, Edward was deſirous the dedication ſhould be performed in a very ſolemn manner [a]. To this end he ſummoned to meet at London a general aſſembly, at which were preſent all the biſhops and great men of the kingdom, to be witneſſes of this ceremony. At this very time it was, that the king was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, of which he died in a few days. As ſoon as he found the time of his diſſolution approaching, his principal care was to finiſh the

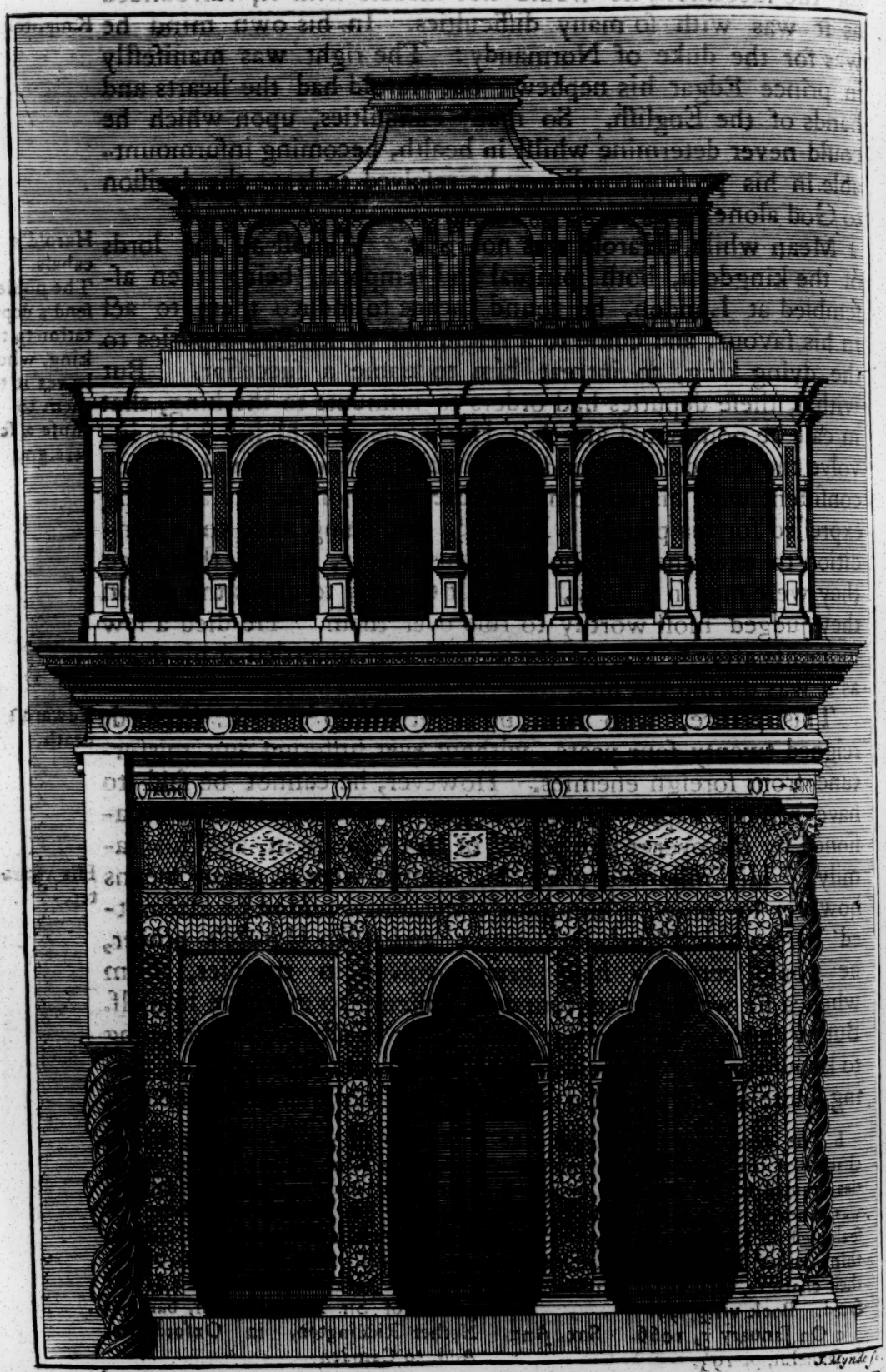
Camden in Middleſex.

y Huntingdon (who had heard many tales about the hatred of Goodwin's ſons to one another) tells us another ſtory of this matter. The king as he was at dinner ordering Harold to ſerve him with the cup, Toſton was ſo enraged at his being preferred before him, that he flew in his face in the kiog's preſence, and pulled him down to the ground by his hair. But the ſoldiers coming in and parting them, Toſton in a rage left the court, and going to his brother's country houſe, ſerved his domeſticks as is above related. Upon which the king command d him to be baniſhed, and the Northumbrians expelled him their coun ry. But this does not ſeem probab.e; for what occaſion had the Northumbrians to riſe againſt him, ſeeing he was baniſhed before by the king?

z It was dedicated to St. Peter. This fabric of Edward's was demoliſhed by Henry III. about one hundred and ſixty years after, who erected a new one, which was fifty years in building. The abbots very much enlarged it on the weſt-ſide, and Henry VII. added to the eaſt a chapel, which Leland calls, the Miracle of the World. Edward was buried the next day after his death, in his newly dedicated church.

a The dedication was performed December 28. Sax. Annal. M. Weſtm. p. 431.

cere-



The Monument of K. EDWARD the CONFESSOR in Westminster Abbey.

ceremony for which the great men were aſſembled [b]. As for the ſucceſſion, he would not meddle with it, ſurrounded as it was with ſo many difficulties. In his own mind he was for the duke of Normandy: The right was manifeſtly in prince Edgar his nephew; but Harold had the hearts and hands of the Engliſh. So many difficulties, upon which he could never determine whilſt in health, becoming inſurmountable in his preſent condition, he reſolved to leave the deciſion to God alone. Knighton.

Harold's cabals. The nobles ſend a deputation to the king, who leaves it to them to chuſe a ſovereign.

Mean while, Harold was not idle. Almoſt all the lords of the kingdom, both ſpiritual and temporal, being then aſſembled at London, he found means to induce them to act in his favour, and come to a reſolution of ſending deputies to the dying king, to intreat him to name a ſucceſſor. But withal, theſe deputies had orders to inſinuate to the king, that in caſe he nominated any but Harold he would infallibly involve the kingdom in endleſs troubles, which would be inconſiſtent with his wiſdom, and the affection he had all along expreſſed for his people. Edward, not being then in a condition to examine a propoſal of this nature, replied, that ſince they were met in a body, he left it to them to chuſe the perſon they judged moſt worthy to rule over them. He died a few moments after [c], leaving the ſucceſſion as unſettled at his death as it was during his life.

Edward's death.

This prince, who was born at Giſlip [d], near Oxford, reigned twenty-four years, without ever ſuffering any misfortune from foreign enemies. However, he cannot be ſaid to have reigned happily, ſince he lived in continual fears, occaſioned by the overgrown power of earl Goodwin and his family. His mild and peaceable temper were a great means however to procure him ſome tranquillity. Had he attempted to humble Goodwin's pride, and leſſen Harold's power, he would certainly have been involved in troubles, from whence he would have found it difficult to extricate himſelf. But by ſhutting his eyes at their ſecret practices, and feigning to know nothing of their deſigns, he prevented them from acting more openly, cauſed them to lay more diſtant ſchemes, His character.

b The great men alſo ſigned the charter of the privileges and immunities granted to the church, to which was annexed, as is ſaid, the firſt great-ſeal uſed in England: though Tyrrel thinks other kings might have ſeals to their charters, though they are now defaced. Book vi. p. 99.

c On January 5, 1066. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 193.

d Now Iſlip. In the chapel here, called the King's Chapel, not many years ſince ſtood a font, the ſame, as tradition has conſtantly delivered it down, wherein Edward the Confeſſor was baptiſed. But being put to an indecent uſe, was at laſt removed to the garden of Sir Henry Brown, bart. of Nether Riddington, in Oxfordſhire. Add. to Camden.

and

and thereby gained time to arrive at the end of his days. He was remarkable neither for his virtues nor vices, and his natural parts were but mean. His piety has been highly extolled, and has acquired him the glorious title of Confeſſor, and yet we do not find he was any ſufferer on account of religion, unleſs we conſider as a ſort of martyrdom, the mortifications he privately laid upon himſelf from a religious motive. It is certain he was very charitable, and expended in alms the ſums vainly laviſhed away by other princes upon their pleaſures. This joined to his good-nature, of which he gave from time to time uncommon inſtances, made him paſs for a ſaint among the people, and particularly among the monks, who reaped great advantages from his liberal diſpoſition. They have not been ſatisfied with extolling his virtues to the ſkies, but have even, if I may ſo ſay, canonized his very faults, and endeavoured to repreſent them as ſo many proofs of his ſanctity. Of this we need no other witneſs but his own hiſtorian or rather panegyriſt, who attributes his voluntary chaſtity to a vow made before his marriage. This writer aſſures us, Edward eſpouſed Editha, daughter of Goodwin, purely to exerciſe his virtue by a continual temptation. But it is eaſy to ſee he acted from a very different motive, ſince he parted with his wife the moment he thought he could do it with ſafety. However, the opinion of his ſanctity taking by degres deep root in the minds of the people, he was canonized by pope Alexander III. under the name of Edward the Confeſſor [e].

It was not thought ſufficient to allow this prince all the virtue neceſſary to carry him to heaven, unleſs he had a place given him alſo among the ſaints of the firſt claſs. We are told he was favoured with ſeveral revelations, with the gift of propheſy, and many other miraculous powers, in proof of which ſuch weak and trifling inſtances are produced as are not worth mentioning. However, I cannot paſs over in ſilence one ſpecial privilege he is ſaid to receive from heaven, of curing the king's evil. Nay, it is affirmed this privilege has deſcended to the kings of England his ſucceſſors: hence the cuſtom in England of the king's Touching for the Evil at a certain time of the year [f]. But the late king William III. of

Ailred. G. Malmsb.

e About two hundred years after his death. There was likewiſe a bull of pope Innocent IV. to fix the anniverſary, and order the ſolemnity of the feſtival. Martyrol. Rom. Baronius, Jan. 5.

f It will not be amiſs to relate the firſt inſtance of this hereditary miracle, as Mr. Collier calls it. A young married woman having the misfortune to be barren, and troubled at the ſame time with the diſtemper ſince called the

of glorious memory, was ſo perſuaded he ſhould do no injury to perſons afflicted with this diſtemper, by not touching them, that he refrained from it all his reign. The kings of France alſo have claimed the ſame privilege ever ſince the time of Clovis, the firſt Chriſtian king of that kingdom [g].

What has been moſt commended in king Edward, was his good-nature, of which I ſhall content myſelf with producing two inſtances as a ſpecimen of the reſt. One day being laid down upon the bed, one of his domeſtics, who did not know he was in the room, ſtole ſome money out of a cheſt he found open, which the king let him carry off, without ſaying a word: preſently after, the boy returning to make a ſecond attempt, the king called to him without the leaſt paſſion, "Sirrah, "you had beſt be ſatisfied with what you have got; for if "my chamberlain comes and catches you, he will not only "take away all you have ſtolen, but whip you ſeverely [h]." Another Ailred. Rievallenſis.

King's Evil, was, after all human means had been tried in vain, admoniſhed in a viſion to go to the king, by whoſe merits ſhe ſhould be cured, upon his waſhing, touching, and ſigning with the croſs the parts affected. The woman runs to court next morning, overjoyed, and tells the king the whole matter; who thereupon diſdains not to waſh, touch, and croſs her putrified ſores, which immediately breaking, and corruption and worms burſting out, the parts were in a few days healed without the leaſt ſcar remaining; and moreover her barrenneſs was removed, and ſhe ſoon became the joyful mother of children. This is the firſt act, as it is given us by Ailred, in his Hiſtory of the Life and Miracles of Edward the Confeſſor, of that ſupernatural power enjoyed by the kings of England ever ſince. But though Mr. Collier ſays, to diſpute this matter is to go to the exceſſes of ſcepticiſm, yet there are ſome who doubt of it on the following accounts.

I. This power is generally fixed to the lineal ſucceſſion; whereas it is plain there was no ſuch thing in thoſe days, neither was Edward himſelf the next heir.

II. It is plain from Ailred that this privilege was given him not as a king, but as a ſaint; and Malmſbury ſays, they are to be blamed that attribute it to his royalty, and not to his ſanctity. Conſequently there is no reaſon his ſucceſſors, who were certainly no ſaints, ſhould be ſo high'y favoured of heaven.

III. Ailred reckons up many other miracles which he performed, as the reſtoring to their ſight ſix or ſeven blind men, etc. but does not ſay a word of his power of curing the evil deſcended to his ſucceſſors, any more than his power of reſtoring the blind to their ſight, or of his removing barrenneſs, which one would think ſhould be joined to the other, ſince they were cured both by the ſame touch.

IV. As there is no evident reaſon why the kings of England ſhould have this privilege above any other Chriſtian prince, ſo if Heaven had granted ſuch a power to our kings, one would think they ſhould have it in ſuch a degree as to render it viſible to all, and that the cure ſhould immediately follow the touch: whereas multitudes are not cured at all, thoſe that are pretended to be ſo, not till a conſiderable time after they have been touched.

g This miracle is appropriated by Laurentius, phyſician to Henry IV, to the crown of France; but Dr. Tucker is even with him, for he makes the kings of France to do it by virtue of their alliance to the royal family of England. And Mr. Collier will have the antiquity of this power to be on the ſide of England, ſince, he ſays, Lewis the Godly was the firſt that touched for the evil, two hundred years after our Edward. Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.

h The ſtory goes on, that the chamberlain coming in after the boy was

Malmsb. Another time, as he was hunting, a countryman maliciously spoiling his sport, he galloped up to him, and said to him in anger, "By our lady, I would be revenged on thee, if it was "in my power." These are the incontestable proofs of his extraordinary good-nature, which, according to his panegyrists, advanced him so far above all other men.

Edward was the last king of Egbert's race, though not the last Saxon king, as some have affirmed, since his successor was of that nation. Had not this weak prince preposterously abstained from conversing with his queen, a very beautiful and virtuous lady, he might perhaps have had children, and thereby prevented a revolution, which involved the English in slavery.

Union of three sorts of laws under Edward. Brompton. Knighton. Before the reign of Edward, the West-Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws were observed in England, namely, the first in Wessex, the second in Mercia, and the last in Northumberberland. This prince reduced them all into one body, and from that time they became common to all England, under the name of the Laws of Edward, to distinguish them from those of the Normans, introduced afterwards [i].

21. HAROLD II.

Harold II. 1066. Elected by the assembly general. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. IF the great men assembled to appoint a successor to Edward had been swayed only by justice, equity, and the ancient customs of the kingdom, they would not long have debated to know to whom the crown was devolved: Edgar Atheling was the only prince of the family of their ancient kings, and consequently the only person who had a right to the crown. But Harold had so well laid his measures that he was unanimously elected, without any regard to the right of the lawful heir. As for the duke of Normandy, his pretensions, grounded on the late king's promise, do not seem to have been considered at all. It is certain the duke had never publicly declared his design of aspiring to the crown of England: and therefore the English lords might be ignorant

gone, and missing the money, fell into a great rage: but the King calmly said to him, "Be contented, it may be the poor "rogue that has it, wants it more than "we do: there is enough left for us." Ailred Vit. Ed. p. 376. X. Script.

[i] Concerning this threefold distinction of the laws, see what has been said above, and also in the following dissertation, under the head of the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

of

of the matter, or at leaſt pretend to be ſo. But ſuppoſing they had been informed of his pretenſions, it would have ſerved only to furniſh them with a freſh motive to place on the throne a king more capable than Edgar Atheling of defending the kingdom againſt the attacks of a foreign prince.

The manner of Harold's ſucceeding to the crown is variouſly related by hiſtorians. Several affirm [k], he was elected with one common voice, and without any conſtraint, by the wittena-gemot then aſſembled, and crowned the day after his election by the archbiſhop of York. Others ſay, he uſurped the crown by compelling the great council to elect him, after extorting his nomination from the late king juſt as he was dying [l]. There are ſome who look upon this election as a fiction, affirming, Harold, without troubling, himſelf about the conſent of the nobles or people, put the crown on his head himſelf without any formality [m]. The reaſon of this diverſity among the hiſtorians proceeds from their eſpouſing either the right of Harold, or of the duke of Normandy, as if prince Edgar's claim was to be reckoned as nothing, whereas in truth he alone had a right to ſucceed to the crown. But as among this variety of opinions, one is in danger of being ſwayed by the paſſions and prejudices of the hiſtorians, rather than by juſtice and equity, it will not be amiſs to explain this matter, by laying before the reader what might be alledged for and againſt each of the three competitors.

Various opinions about Harold's ſucceeding to the crown. Sax. Annal. S. Dunelm. G. Malmsb. M. Weſtm. Brompt.

As for prince Edgar, it ſuffices to ſay for him, he was the ſole prince of the royal race. It is true, his being born out of the kingdom might be objected againſt him. But as prince Edward his father was not legally baniſhed, his being forced by Canute to live in exile, ought not to have prejudiced his ſon's right.

Edgar's title.

As for the duke of Normandy, he can hardly be imagined to aſpire to the crown of England without ſome foundation, and yet it cannot be conceived upon what title he ſupported his pretenſion, ſo great is the diverſity of opinions about it. Some tell us he was invited over by the Engliſh to free them from the tyranny of Harold [n]. Others ſay, Edward, when in Normandy, promiſed him, if ever he came to the crown, to make him his heir. Several affirm, that Edward appointed him his ſucceſſor by his laſt will; and ſome even aſſure us this

The duke of Normandy's right enquired into. Knighton. Brompt. Ann. Margam.

k Saxon Annals and Hoveden, with ſome other of the Engliſh writers. The biſhops were all for Harold to a man.

l William of Malmsbury, and ſuch as eſpouſed the title of the duke of Normandy.

m Huntingdon is of this opinion, and adds, ſeveral were for ſetting up Edgar Atheling. Ingulphus more cautiouſly ſays, Harold forgetting his oath, made to duke William, intruded himſelf into the throne.

n I believe Knighton to be the only one that ſaid this. Rapin.

will was confirmed in Edward's life-time by the general aſſembly of the nation; but this pretended will was never produced: neither does it appear that duke William ever founded his claim upon any ſuch thing, as if it were known, or he had it in his hands. In all probability therefore the foundation he went upon was ſome verbal promiſe made him by Edward, when he was in England. It was doubtleſs in conſequence of this promiſe, that he required Harold not to oppoſe him. Had the Engliſh done Edgar juſtice, and placed him on the throne, it is not likely duke William would have attempted, upon ſo triflling a pretenſion, to wreſt the crown from a prince to whom of right it belonged. But he had to deal with Harold, who being only a private man, had procured himſelf the crown by indirect practices, and without any manner of right. Accordingly, ſetting aſide prince Edgar, he compared his right only with that of the reigning king. His intereſt induced him to think, that Edward's promiſe was equivalent to an election, ſince it was thought proper to exclude the lawful heir. To this may be added, that he looked upon the crown of England as what he could not fail of, eſpecially after binding Harold by an oath: and therefore, the indignation at being deceived, the deſire of revenge, and chiefly his ambition the root of the quarrel, all concurred to inſpire him with a reſolution to make an attempt upon the Engliſh crown, in ſpite of all oppoſition. Perſuaded as he was, that he had no leſs right than Harold, he thought he might uſe force to wreſt the crown from a prince, who had naturally no title to it. Theſe, probably, were the motives that engaged duke William in ſo great an undertaking, the ſucceſs whereof ſeemed very doubtful.

The examination of Harold's title.

As for Harold's right, it ought to be conſidered under a double view, with regard to the duke of Normandy, and with regard to prince Edgar. If we examine the election of this king, in oppoſition to the duke, we find nothing but what was regular and according to form, and againſt which the duke could have any juſt reaſon to object. It is certain, ſuppoſing Edward had nominated duke William his ſucceſſor, either by will or otherwiſe, the nomination would have been of no force, unleſs confirmed by the aſſembly of the ſtates. Accordingly this is what ſome affirm, being ſenſible the duke's title without this approbation was little worth. And in truth, where is the nation, that, without being forced to it, would ſuffer their king, by his own bare nomination, to ſubject them to a foreigner, in excluſion of the princes of the royal blood, or even of the moſt worthy lords of the kingdom? If this

were

were ever the caſe, it was done by ſurpriſe, before the people had time to oppoſe it. The election therefore of Harold was very lawful, at leaſt with regard to the duke of Normandy, ſince it was made by the aſſembly general, whoſe power duke William had no right to diſpute.

But in comparing Harold's title with prince Edgar's, it is hard to give it ſo favourable a conſtruction. It may indeed be ſupported by the opinion of thoſe who maintain, that, during the Saxon government, the crown was elective, and the nobles and people had a power of giving it to whom they pleaſed. But beſides the difficulties attending this opinion, ſuppoſing that were ſo, this argument would not be ſufficient to juſtify Harold's election. How extenſive ſoever ſome would make the privileges of the aſſembly-general in the time of the Saxon kings, yet no one, I believe, will affirm they had a power of conferring the crown on a private perſon, in prejudice of the princes of the royal family. At leaſt it would be very difficult to produce any inſtances from the hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons to eſtabliſh this opinion. The queſtion then amounts to this, whether the nation had a right to elect Harold in excluſion of Edgar; or, whether, on this occaſion, they did not ſtretch their power beyond its natural bounds. As I deſign to treat of this matter in another place, I ſhall not undertake to decide the queſtion at preſent, but only remark, that ſuppoſing the nation had ſuch a power, yet it muſt be owned it was abuſed at this juncture, and that Edgar had great injuſtice done him. But notwithſtanding all its defects, this election gave Harold an incomparably better title than the bare nomination of king Edward gave duke William, granting the will was as real, as it appears to be imaginary. From what has been ſaid, it is eaſy to ſee the duke of Normandy's claim was built on a weak foundation. But to return to our hiſtory.

After Harold was crowned, there was not a perſon in the kingdom but what owned him for ſovereign, and paid him obedience. But though he found no oppoſition at home, it was otherwiſe abroad: not to mention the duke of Normandy, who, before he diſcovered, put himſelf in a condition to execute his deſigns, earl Toſton was preparing to diſturb the king his brother in the poſſeſſion of his new dignity. He could not forgive his impartial proceedings, when, in favour of the Northumbrians, he diſpoſſeſſed him of his government. Though Harold's acceſſion to the crown ſhould have rendered him more formidable to him, this conſideration ſerved only to inflame his hatred the more, and put him upon deviſing all poſſible means to dethrone him. As he was not

Toſton prepares to diſturb his brother.

S. Dunelm. G. Malmsb.

ignorant of the duke of Normandy's intentions, with whom he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip, on account of their marrying two ſiſters, daughters of the earl of Flanders, he went to concert meaſures with him againſt the king his brother. There is no doubt but duke William encouraged him to execute his deſigns: but it does not appear that he furniſhed him with any money, troops, or ſhips, of all which he had himſelf ſo great need againſt his intended invaſion. Probably therefore it was the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, that ſupplied Toſton with ſhips, by means of which he in-

He plunders the Iſle of Wight, and lands at Sandwich, and then in the north.

feſted the Engliſh coaſts, and plundered the Iſle of Wight. After which he landed ſome troops at Sandwich, but being informed the king was marching towards him, he ſet ſail for the north, and entering the Humber with his little fleet[o], made a deſcent on Yorkſhire, and committed ravages as if he had been in an enemies country. Harold, not thinking it adviſeable to leave the ſouthern parts, commiſſioned earl Morcard to go againſt his brother, who, having been made governor of Northumberland in the room of Toſton, was particularly concerned to put a ſtop to his incurſions. As for the

Harold's behaviour to Edgar.

king, he remained at London, that he might have an eye to Edgar's party, and prevent them from exciting any troubles upon that young prince's account. This ſeemed to him, at that time, to be what he had moſt to fear, being ſenſible the injuſtice done Edgar ſat heavy upon the minds of thoſe who were well-affected to the ancient royal family: and therefore, to prevent their diſcontents from breaking out into action, he careſſed the prince as well as thoſe of his party. He even inſinuated from time to time, that he had accepted the crown purely on account of Edgar's youth, willing they ſhould underſtand, as if he meant to reſtore it to the prince when he was of age to govern. With this view he created him earl of Oxford, and ſeemed to take a very particular care of his education, as it were to qualify him for the government of the kingdom.

Morcard drives Toſton to his ſhips. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

Mean while Morcard, accompanied with his brother Edwin, earl of Cheſter, marched with all expedition againſt Toſton, who was now on the ſouth-ſide of the Humber. He came upon him unawares in Lincolnſhire, and put his little army to flight, compelling him to betake himſelf to his ſhips. Toſton finding he could do nothing conſiderable with ſo ſmall a number of forces, ſteered towards Scotland, in expectation

[o] It conſiſted of ſixty ſhips. Malmsb. p. 94, Sax. Annal. Others ſay of forty. Brompt. Mat. Weſtm.

of

of assistance from thence. But perceiving the king of Scotland was not disposed to support him, he puts to sea again, with design to made another descent on England. Prevented by contrary winds, he was driven on the coast of Norway, where he accidentally met with what he had been seeking so industriously. He is driven to Norway. Sax. Ann.

Harold Harfager king of Norway, had lately taken some of the Orcades [p], which belonged to Scotland, and was fitting out a more numerous fleet in order to carry on his conquests. Tostan being informed of this prince's designs, went directly to him, pretending he was come to propose to him a more noble undertaking. He represented to him, that a favourable opportunity offered to conquer England, if he would but turn his arms that way. The better to persuade him, he told him, there were in the kingdom two powerful factions, both enemies to the king, the one for prince Edgar, the other for the duke of Normandy; and therefore, the English being thus divided, it would not be difficult to subdue them. Adding, that he himself had a strong party in Northumberland, which would very much promote the execution of this design. He made him believe the king his brother was extremely odious to the English, and would be certainly deserted by them, as soon as there appeared in England a foreign army strong enough to support his enemies. Harfager, greedy of fame, and already devouring in his imagination so noble a prize, wanted not much solicitation to engage in this project. Prepossessed by Tostan of the practicableness of the thing, he resolved to employ all his forces in making so glorious a conquest.

p They are now called the Isles of Orkney. Whatever the ancients have said of their number, there are but twenty-six inhabited, the rest are used only for pasturage, and are called Holmes. Orkney lies north of Caithness, in the latitude of fifty-nine and sixty degrees. Eagles are in such plenty here, and do so much mischief, that whoever kills one, is entitled to a hen from every house in the parish. The largest of these isles is Mainland, anciently Pomonia, twenty-four miles long, whereon stands the only remarkable town, called Kirkwal, famous for St. Magnus's church, and the bishop of Orkney's palace. The isles were first inhabited by the Picts, who kept possession of them till destroyed in 839, by Keneth II. of Scotland; from which time they were subject to the Scots, till delivered up by Donald Ban the usurper in 1090, to Magnus king of Norway; but in 1263, they were surrendered to Alexander III. king of Scotland, by treaty with St. Magnus king of Norway, who is said to build the stately cathedral at Kirkwal. They have since remained annexed to the crown of Scotland. In Hoy, one of these isles, lies a stone called Dwarfie Stone, thirty-six foot long, eighteen broad, and nine thick, hollowed by art with a square hole of two foot high for the entry. Within, at one end, is a bed big enough for two men, excellently hewn out of the stone, with a pillow; at the other end is a couch, and in the middle a hearth for a fire, with a hole over it for the chimney. Orkney gives title to an earl.

The duke of Normandy prepares for the invaſion of England. S. Dunelm. Camden. M. Weſt. Ingulph.

Whilſt the king of Norway was making his preparations, the duke of Normandy was no leſs ſeriouſly thinking of means to wreſt from Harold a crown, he had ſo long been in expectation of, and which he could not bear to ſee on his head without extreme regret. Though his rival, in all appearance, was firmly ſeated in his throne, the duke imagined he was able to pull him down, ſince the way by arms was ſtill open, when all other methods failed. However, to proceed regularly, he ſent ambaſſadors to Harold, to require him to deliver him up the crown, and in caſe of refuſal, to charge him with the breach of his oath, and declare war againſt him. Harold told the ambaſſadors, "Their maſter had no manner of right "to the crown of England: that ſuppoſing the late king had "diſpoſed of it in his favour, a thing the Engliſh knew no-"thing of, it was contrary to the laws of the land, which "allow not the king to give away the crown according to "his fancy, much leſs to a foreigner. As for his part, he "had been elected by thoſe, who had the power of placing "the kings on the throne, and therefore could not reſign it, "without the breach of that truſt repoſed in him by the Eng-"liſh. As for the oath, the violation whereof he was charg-"ed with, it having been extorted from him at a time when "he had not the power to help himſelf, it was null and void, "by the laws of all the nations in the world. In fine, he "added, that he knew how to defend his right againſt any "perſon that durſt diſpute it with him." This quarrel being of too great conſequence to be decided without a war, each party took ſuch meaſures as he judged moſt likely to prove ſucceſsful [q].

Duke William continues his preparations Harold gains the affections of the people. Dunelm. Brompt.

The duke's vexation to be deceived, the deſire of revenge, the ſhame of renouncing his pretenſions, and the pleaſing hopes of being maſter of England, ſpurred him on to uſe all poſſible endeavours to ſucceed in his deſigns. On the other ſide, Harold finding he was like to have ſo formidable an adverſary, thought nothing would be of more ſervice to him, than gaining the people to his intereſts. To this purpoſe, he made himſelf more popular than ever. He leſſened the taxes, and cauſed juſtice to be duly and impartially adminiſtred. In fine, he forgot nothing that might ſerve to confirm his ſubjects in the eſteem and affection they already had for him. His la-

q Brompton ſays, duke William ſent a ſecond meſſage to king Harold, offering to deſiſt from his claims, provided he would marry his daughter. But this is very improbable; for beſides that our beſt hiſtorians tell us the young lady was dead, it is not likely the duke's ambition would be ſo eaſily ſatisfied.

bour

bour was not in vain. The Engliſh, charmed with his firſt proceedings, which afforded them ſo pleaſant a proſpect, reſolved to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes to ſupport him on the throne to which they had raiſed him. Duke William, for his part, not being ignorant of the reſolution of the Engliſh, perceived he had no other way to attain his ends, but by having forces proportionable to thoſe of the enemies he was reſolved to attack.

Duke William endeavours to raiſe money.

The main difficulty was, to raiſe a ſum of money ſufficient for the charge of ſo great an undertaking. His firſt method was, to convene an aſſembly of the ſtates of Normandy, to obtain their concurrence. But he found them very backward to comply with his deſires. They told him, that "Normandy "having been drained of men and money by the late wars, "they were ſo far from being in a condition to think of mak- "ing new conqueſts, that they were hardly able to defend "their own territories againſt the attacks of a powerful in- "vader. Beſides, how juſt ſoever the duke's claim to Eng- "land might be, they could not ſee that any advantage would "accrue to their country from this expedition. In fine, that "they were not obliged by their allegiance to ſerve in foreign "wars, wherein the ſtate had no concern." This ſtout anſwer deſtroying the duke's hopes of raiſing money in a public way, he bethought himſelf of an expedient, which ſucceeded to his wiſh. This was to borrow money of private perſons, and gaining ſome of the chief men, the reſt were inſpired with an emulation who ſhould be moſt zealous in aſſiſting their prince. William Fitz-oſbern undertook to fit out forty ſhips at his own expence. The moſt wealthy, every one according to his ability, ſubſcribed very large ſums: ſo that the duke by this method raiſed more money than he could have done by a public tax. But as this was not ſufficient, he engaged ſeveral of the neighbouring[r] princes to furniſh him with troops and tranſports, on condition of their having lands aſſigned to them in England after the conqueſt. He even demanded the aſſiſtance of France; but it was not the intereſt of that crown that the duke of Normandy ſhould become more powerful. Very fortunately, king Philip, who was then a minor under the care of the earl of Flanders, obſtructed not his proceedings, which a prince that had been old enough to have knowu his own intereſts, would infallibly have done. It

The ſtates refuſe to contribute. Cam d. Brit. Normans. Brompton.

France lets him proceed without obſtruction.

r The earls of Anjou, Poictou, Maine, Boulogne, and Alan earl of Bretagne. Camd. Introduc.

is true indeed, the court of France endeavoured to diſſuade the duke from this enterpriſe, but to no purpoſe [s].

The pope applauds his deſign. G. Malmsb. Ingulph.

Mean time duke William, who was too wiſe not to be ſenſible of the weakneſs of his title, omitted nothing that might ſerve to give it ſome colour of juſtice. With this view he bethought himſelf of an expedient very proper to blind the eyes of the world; which was, to procure the pope's approbation of his undertaking, to whom, it is ſaid, he made a promiſe of holding the kingdom of England of the apoſtolic ſee. However this be, the pope very heartily eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſent him a conſecrated banner [t], as a mark of his approbation. Moreover, willing that all chriſtians ſhould know that religion was concerned in the affair, he ſolemnly excommunicated all that ſhould dare oppoſe the duke in the execution of his project. This approbation was of great ſervice to the duke, as it furniſhed him with means to juſtify his intended expedition, and at the ſame time removed the ſcruples of ſuch, as he was endeavouring to engage in his quarrel. But it had not the ſame effect in England. Whether the Engliſh knew nothing of the pope's excommunication, or looked upon it as a great partiality, it prevented not Harold from equipping a large fleet, and raiſing a numerous army, with which he reſolutely expected his enemy.

Harold diſmiſſes his army upon a falſe information. Camden.

The charge of keeping ſo conſiderable an armament, could not but be very burthenſome to the people, a thing the king would have gladly avoided. After he had in vain expected ſome months the arrival of Duke William, finding he did not appear, and the autumnal equinox approached, he imagined (purſuant to ſome falſe informations he had received) that the duke had deferred his expedition till the ſpring. Accordingly, he thought he might ſafely lay up his ſhips for the winter, and diſband his troops [u], to ſave an unneceſſary expence.

The king of Norway ravages Northumberland. S. Dunelm.

But as he was returning to London out of Kent, where he had given his laſt orders for diſbanding the army, news was brought him that the king of Norway, accompanied with earl Toſton, was entered the Tyne, with a fleet of five hundred ſail [w]. Surprized at this unexpected invaſion, he haſtily drew his army together again, which were diſperſing themſelves. But before they were ready to march, the Norwegians had

[s] William, and the emperor Henry, entered into a league, by which Henry bounds himſelf to march with all the German forces, againſt any one that ſhould attack Normandy, during William's expedition into England. P. Daniel.

[t] With a golden Agnus Dei, and one of St. Peter's hairs.

[u] This was about September 8. R. de Diceto. p. 479. Brompt.

[w] Malmsb. Huntingd. and Sax. Ann. ſay it conſiſted only of three hundred; and Ingulph ſays of two hundred.

made

made a great progreſs. Having ſacked the counties on both ſides the Tyne, they put to ſea, and entering the Humber, landed their forces on the north ſide [x], and ravaged the country with inexpreſſible cruelties. Morcard and Edwin endeavoured to ſtop their career, with ſome troops levied in haſte; but were vanquiſhed, and their whole army deſtroyed [y]. Flushed with this ſucceſs, the Norwegians advanced towards York, and laid ſiege to the city, which they quickly became maſters of; the inhabitants, who were unprovided with all things neceſſary for their defence, chuſing rather to ſurrender upon terms, than to expoſe themſelves to certain ruin. Mean while, Harold advanced with all expedition to give the Norwegians battle, who having left their fleet in the Humber, were marching towards the North, to compleat the reduction of Northumberland, before they proceeded to other conqueſts. As they marched but ſlowly, and as Harold made all poſſible haſte, he came up with them at Stanford bridge, on the river Derwent, a little below York [z]. The Norwegians, upon his approach, intrenched themſelves in ſo advantageous a poſt, that it ſeemed impoſſible to force them. They were poſted on the other ſide of the river, where there was no attacking them but by the bridge, of which they were maſters. Notwithſtanding this, Harold, who was very ſenſible how much it behoved him to come to a battle, ordered the bridge to be inſtantly attacked. The Norwegians ſtoutly defended it, but could not withſtand the efforts of the Engliſh, though animated by the aſtoniſhing valour of one of their own men, who alone defended the bridge againſt the Engliſh army for a conſiderable time. At length, the brave Norwegian being ſlain [a], Harold became maſter of the bridge, and paſſed his army over. Then furiouſly falling upon the enemy, after an obſtinate fight, entirely routed them. There had never been in England an engagement between two ſo numerous armies, each having no leſs than threeſcore thouſand men. The battle, which was very bloody, laſted from ſeven in the morning till three in the afternoon. Harfager and Toſton were both ſlain, and Harold obtained a compleat victory. Of the whole army that came from Norway in five hundred ſhips, the remains was carried off by Olaüs, ſon of Harfager, in twenty veſſels, with the conqueror's leave. The booty which

Defeats Morcard and Edwin. Sax. Ann. Brompt.

The battle of Stanford-bridge.

Malmsb. Brompt. Huntingd.

Harfager and Toſton ſlain.

x At a place called Richale in the eaſt-riding of Yorkſhire. S. Dunelm. Camden.

y The place was Fulford near York. S. Dunelm.

z Which Camden ſays, is alſo called Battle-Bridge, from this engagement between Harold and the Norwegians. In Latin, Pons belli.

a He is ſaid to have killed forty men with his own hand. Brompt.

was taken upon this occaſion was very great, ſince there was found in the camp all that the Norwegians had brought from home, and all they had plundered in the kingdom [b]. But Malmſb. Harold having been ſo impolitic as to retain the ſpoil to himſelf, raiſed ſuch diſcontents in his army, as proved of very ill conſequence to him afterwards [c]. One would think this prince, who was naturally generous, ſhould have ſecured the hearts of his ſoldiers, by a liberality which would have coſt him nothing, eſpecially at a time when he ſtood in ſo great need of their ſervice. But he conſidered, the expending this booty in the war againſt the duke of Normandy, would very much eaſe the people, whoſe affection he was deſirous to preſerve at any rate. Nevertheleſs, he ſhould have conſidered the gaining the hearts of his ſoldiers was no leſs neceſſary. Doubtleſs it would have been better for him to cultivate their affection, as he too plainly diſcovered to his coſt on another occaſion. It has been often obſerved, that ſoldiers are never ſo little regarded, as when by their bravery they have procured their maſters ſome ſignal advantages, becauſe their own victories ſerve to render them uſeleſs. But 'tis no leſs certain, that ſooner or later a diſcontented army give their prince or their general cauſe to repent of uſing them ill.

The duke of Normandy invades England. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. M. Weſtm. Malmsb.

Whilſt Harold was buſied in the North, in rectifying the diſorders occaſioned by the Norwegian invaſion, the duke of Normandy, who had long waited for a wind at St. Valery, ſet ſail about the end of September, and had a ſpeedy paſſage to Pevenſey [d] in Suſſex. 'Tis affirmed, that in leaping aſhore, he fell all along on his face; at which one of the ſoldiers ſaid merrily, "See, our duke is taking poſſeſſion of England," which the duke took as a good omen. No body appearing to oppoſe his landing, his firſt care was to run up a fort near the place where he diſembarked [e], to favour his retreat in caſe of neceſſity. Some however will have it, that he ſent his ſhips back to Normandy, to let his army ſee they had nothing to truſt to but their valour [f]. After ſome days ſtay at Pevenſey, he Huntingd. marched along the ſhore as far as Haſtings [g], where he built

b Adam Bremenſis ſays, they took ſo much gold among the ſpoil, that twelve young men could hardly bear it on their ſhoulders. This battle was fought nine days before William the Conqueror landed.

c It was the cuſtom in thoſe days for all the ſpoils to be fairly divided among the officers and ſoldiers.

d Now Pemſey. He landed September 29, after having been near a month upon his paſſage. Sax. Ann. Malmsb. Knighton ſays, that he landed part of his forces at Pevenſey, and the other part at Sandwich.

e In which he lay ſtill for fifteen days, and kept his ſoldiers from plundering the neighbouring parts. Malmsb.

f Camden ſays, he ordered his ſhips to be burnt.

g The chief of the cinque-ports, whoſe Burgeſſes retain the old title of Barons.

a ſtronger

a ſtronger fort than the former, reſolving there to expect his enemy, of whom he had no intelligence. 'Twas here he publiſhed a manifeſto, ſhowing the reaſons of his coming into England; namely, firſt, to revenge the death of prince Alfred, brother of king Edward. This, if ever any, was a frivolous pretence, ſince earl Goodwin, the contriver of that murder, was dead, and Harold never charged with it. Secondly, to reſtore Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury to his ſee. This was no better reaſon than the firſt; for Robert was baniſhed by the general aſſembly in Edward's reign, and conſequently the preſent king could not be blamed for it. 'Tis very likely this article was inſerted in the manifeſto on the pope's account, to ſerve as a cover for his partiality to the duke. Thirdly, and principally, to offer the Engliſh his aſſiſtance to puniſh Harold for preſuming to ſeize the crown, without any right, and directly contrary to his oath. It is to be obſerved, he made no mention either of Edward's will, or verbal promiſe, and that his ſilence on that head renders this third motive very trifling. For indeed, without ſuch a will or promiſe, what pretence could the duke of Normandy have to concern himſelf with the affairs of England? Some affirm he founded his right on his kindred to Edward; but he was related to the late king, only by Emma of Normandy, who had never any title to the crown; and beſides, he was himſelf a baſtard. But he did not ſo much build his hopes on his manifeſto, as on the ſtrength of his army. He was very ſenſible, if he obtained the victory, his reaſons would be readily admitted. Mean while, not to terrify the Engliſh, he charged his army to injure none, but ſuch as were actually in arms againſt him. But neither this precaution, nor his manifeſto gained him any friends. The Engliſh could not conceive upon what foundation he had entered the kingdom with an army, or what advantage any one could have by taking his part.

He publiſhes a manifeſto. Camden. Brompton.

The news of the deſcent of the Normans was quickly brought to Harold, who was ſtill in the north, little expecting this invaſion till the ſpring. As ſoon as he was informed of it, he marched to give theſe new enemies battle, whom he did not think more formidable than the Norwegians. By haſty marches, he came to London, where, upon a review, he found his army very much diminiſhed, not only by the battle of Stanford, but by unuſual deſertions, occaſioned by the diſcontent of his troops. However, all the nobility of the kingdom repaired to him, and offered their aſſiſtance on an occaſion where it was no leſs their intereſt than his, to repel the foreigners. Whilſt he expected at London ſome of his

Harold comes to London. S. Dunelm.

The nobility come in to him.

Ambaſſadors from the duke, his troops that were behind, duke William ſent ambaſſadors to require him to reſign the crown, and to charge him with breach of oath. He was ſo moved at the haughtineſs wherewith the ambaſſadors addreſſed him, that he could hardly refrain from uſing them ill. However, he governed his paſſion, but in return ſent him a menacing and inſulting meſſage. The duke patiently heard what Harold ordered to be ſaid to him, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors without any anſwer.

and from Harold to the duke.

Harold encamps near the Normans. Malmsb. M. West. Mean time, Harold having drawn all his forces together, encampted about nine miles from the Norman army, with a reſolution to give them battle. Whilſt the two armies lay thus near one another, ſpies were continually ſent out on both ſides, each leader being equally deſirous to know the ſtrength and poſture of his enemies. But the Engliſh ſpies magnified in ſuch a manner the number and diſcipline of the Normans, that the principal officers began to doubt of the ſucceſs of the war [h]. Gurth, brother to Harold, took occaſion from theſe reports, to perſuade the king to defer the battle. He repreſented to him, "That by prolonging the time, he "would find his army to increaſe continually, whereas the "enemy's forces would daily be diminiſhed. That nothing "could annoy the Normans more than wintering in an "enemy's country, where they had not yet ſo much as one "fortified town, and from whence, in all probability, the "want of neceſſaries would compel them to retire. That, "as he was accuſed of breach of oath, he had reaſon to fear, "in caſe he was guilty of the charge, heaven would not "proſper his arms: nevertheleſs, if he was abſolutely bent "to come to an engagement without any farther delay, it "would be moſt proper for him, not to be preſent himſelf "in the battle, that he might diſcourage the enemies with "the dread of having a freſh army to deal with, though "they were ſo fortunate as to obtain the victory. In a word, "if he would truſt him with the command of his forces, "he would promiſe him, not indeed the victory, which was "in the hand of God alone, but to die in the defence of "his country." The king was deaf to all his brother's reaſons, replying, "That by his former actions he had gain-"ed the eſteem of the Engliſh, and therefore could not think "of loſing it again by an inglorious flight. That he had "rather run the hazard of a battle, the ſucceſs whereof was "yet uncertain, than forfeit his reputation, as he ſhould "moſt

Gurth's ſpeech to his brother. Malmsb. M. Weſtm.

Harold's anſwer.

h Some of the ſpies took the Normans to be an army of prieſts, becauſe they were ſhaven, it being the cuſtom then among the Engliſh to wear long beards. Mat. Weſt.

" moſt aſſuredly do, if after ſo near an approach to the " enemy, he ſhould be known to withdraw. That after all, " the Normans were not more formidable than the Nor- " wegians; and if he was to fight, he could not do it at " a better time, than whilſt his army was fluſhed with their " late ſucceſs. In ſhort, that he was reſolved to let his ſub- " jects ſee he was not unworthy of the crown he wore." Duke William perceiving by all Harold's motions, that he was bent to give him battle, advanced a little to ſeize an advantageous poſt, where he could conveniently draw up his army.

Whilſt they were preparing for a battle, which was to decide the fate of both princes, duke William ſeemed to abate ſomething of his haughtineſs. It is to be preſumed, the thoughts of a battle in an enemy's country, where his loſs would be irretrievable, inſpired him with ſome dread of the event. On the other hand, he could not well forbear reflecting on the blood that was going to be ſhed in a quarrel, the juſtice whereof he could not be thoroughly convinced of, how much ſoever he ſeemed to be ſo. Be this as it will, before they engaged, he ſent the king by the hands of a certain monk theſe four propoſals, for him to take his choice. The firſt was, to reſign the crown, as he was bound by oath. By the ſecond, he offered to return into Normandy, provided Harold would do him homage for the kingdom of England. By the third, he was ready to refer the differences to the judgment of the apoſtolic ſee. Laſtly, he propoſsd the deciding of their quarrel by a ſingle combat. It is no wonder Harold rejected theſe four propoſals, ſeeing they were all ſo advantageous to the duke. As for the two firſt, it is viſible, how detrimental they were to Harold. The third ſeemed ſomething fairer; but the pope having already declared in favour of the duke, what juſtice could Harold expect from him? As for the fourth, the advantage plainly lay on the duke's ſide, ſince in a ſingle combat, he hazarded only his perſon, whereas Harold ventured his crown with his life. The victory would have procured the duke of Normandy a noble kingdom, whereas it would have only acquired the king the glory of conquering. Beſides, Harold was of opinion, the deciſion of an affair, where the whole nation was concerned, ought not to depend on the ſtrength and ſkill of a ſingle arm. His anſwer therefore was, God ſhould determine on the morrow the juſtice of their rights.

The duke ſends propoſals to Harold.

Malmsb. M. Weſt.

The Engliſh ſpent the whole night in carouſing and ſinging, as if they were ſure of the victory. The Normans, on the contrary, were employed in preparing for the battle, and offering up prayers to God for ſucceſs. At length, on the

The battle of Haſtings. Malmsb. M. Weſtm.

14th

14th of October, Harold's birth-day, but much more memorable for one of the greateſt events that ever happened in England, the two armies engaged. In the front of the Engliſh ſtood the Kentiſh men, a privilege they had enjoyed ever ſince the time of the Heptarchy. Harold placed himſelf in the center, and would fight on foot, that his men might be the more encouraged, by ſeeing their king expoſed to equal danger with the meaneſt ſoldier. The Normans were drawn up in three bodies. Montgomery and Fitz-oſbern conducted the firſt. Geoffrey Martel commanded the ſecond, and the duke himſelf headed the body of reſerve, to ſuccour thoſe who ſhould moſt want it [i]. The Normans began to fight with a volley of arrows, which being ſhot upward, were like a thick cloud over the heads of the foremoſt body of the Engliſh. As their ranks were very cloſe, the arrows did great execution. The Engliſh not being uſed to this way of fighting, were at firſt put into ſome little diſorder. The Normans willing to take advantage of it, vigorouſly attacked them. But the Engliſh immediately falling into good order again, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were obliged to draw back and take breath. Quickly after, they renewed the attack, but met with as brave a reſiſtance as before, neither was it in their power to break their enemy's ranks. The Engliſh chuſing rather to die than give way, and the Normans aſhamed to retreat, both ſides fought ſtoutly for a conſiderable time, without either gaining ground. The preſence of their leaders animated the ſoldiers, they every where fought with equal bravery, without the leaſt ſigns of advantage on either ſide. We may judge of the valour of the troops in both armies by the length of the fight, which began at ſeven in the morning, and laſted till night.

The victory a long time doubtful.

I ſhall not take upon me fully to deſcribe this bloody battle. I find ſo much confuſion in the accounts of the hiſtorians, that I dare not flatter myſelf with being able to give a clear and diſtinct notion of the thing. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with the mention of two circumſtances, which all hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, gave the Normans the victory. The fight had laſted all day, and the ſucceſs was yet very uncertain, when duke William bethought himſelf of a ſtratagem, which made victory incline to his ſide. This prince,

The duke's ſtratagem. Huntingd.

i The chief of William's generals were, Euſtace earl of Bologne, William Fitz-Richard, earl of Evreux, Geoffrey ſon of Rotrou earl of Mortaigne, Robert ſon of Roger earl of Beaumont, Almeri de Touars, Hugh earl of Etaples, Walter Giffard, Hugh de Grentemeſnil, and William de Warren. P. Daniel.

who

who was very experienced, perceiving there was no breaking the ranks of the Engliſh, ordered his troops to retreat as they fought, as if they were diſcouraged, but withal, to be very careful to keep their ranks. This order being executed, the Engliſh looked upon the enemies retreat as the beginning of their victory. Poſſeſſed with this notion, they encouraged one another with reiterated ſhouts, to preſs the retiring enemies. Their eagerneſs made them break their ranks, that they might puſh them with the greateſt impetuoſity, imagining they were upon the point of taking to flight. Then it was, that the Normans, finding their ſtratagem had taken effect, ſtood their ground, and by a diſcipline they had long been uſed to, cloſed their ranks, and falling on the diſordered Engliſh, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. Harold, enraged to ſee the victory, which a moment before he thought himſelf ſure of, ſnatched out of his hands, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to rally his diſordered troops. His labour was not altogether in vain, for at laſt he drew up, on a riſing ground at a little diſtance from the field of battle, a good body of foot, which became at length very conſiderable, by being continually joined by the flying troops. The duke of Normandy's victory being yet far from complete, whilſt ſo ſtrong a body of the Engliſh kept together, he ordered them to be attacked with great fury. But the Engliſh received them with that bravery, and the Normans loſt ſuch numbers of their men, that the fortune of the day ſeemed ſtill very doubtful. The approach of the night, and the reſolution of the Engliſh, making the duke deſpair of penetrating their ranks, he began to think himſelf conquered ſince he was not entirely victorious. Probably, the Engliſh army might have retreated in good order, by favour of the night, if Harold could have reſolved to leave his enemy in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, at a time when the loſs on both ſides was pretty equal. But apprehending his retreat might be prejudical to his affairs, and derogatory to his reputation, he would maintain his poſt, and not give the enemy that advantage. Beſides, he was in hopes of rallying his whole army during the night, and renewing the fight the next morning.

Harold rallies his troops again,

and repulſes the Normans.

He could not think of retreating.

Mean time, the duke perceiving the night was like to rob him of the glory of a complete victory, made one effort more to drive the Engliſh from their poſt. In this laſt onſet, Harold was ſlain by an arrow ſhot into his brains [k]. His

Harold ſlain,

k R. de Diceto and Huntingd. ſay, that Harold was not killed outright, but the multitude ruſhing on made an end of him.

troops

and the Engliſh entirely routed. Malmsb. Hunting.

troops diſheartened at this fatal accident, began to give ground, and betake themſelves to flight. Thus Harold's death was the ſecond thing that procured the Normans the victory, and put the Engliſh entirely to rout. They were purſued as long as day laſted; and in this purſuit it was, that a terrible ſlaughter was made, the conquerors killing without mercy all they could overtake, to ſave the trouble of guarding the priſoners. The darkneſs of the night however ſaved a good part of the Engliſh army, who retreated under the conduct of Morcard and Edwin. Theſe two lords, who had all along firmly adhered to Harold, ſeeing he was ſlain, as well as Gurth and Lewin his brothers, ſubmitted at length to providence, having given, the whole day, viſible marks of their valour. This long and bloody battle coſt the duke of Normandy ſix thouſand men [l]; but the Engliſh loſt a much greater number [m].

S. Dunelm.

Duke William, at the height of his wiſhes, gave orders for the whole army to fall on their knees, and return God thanks for ſo ſignal a victory. After diſcharging ſo juſt a duty, he cauſed his tent to be pitched in the field of battle, and ſpent the reſidue of the night among the ſlain. On the morrow he ordered his own dead to be buried, and gave the Engliſh peaſants leave to do the ſame office for the others. The bodies of the king and his brothers being found, he ſent them to Gith their mother, who gave them as honourable a burial as the circumſtance of the time would permit, in Waltham-Abby, founded by the king her ſon [n].

Malmsb.

Harold's character.

Thus fell Harold, ſword in hand, in defence not only of his own, but of his country's cauſe, againſt the ambition of the duke of Normandy. The hiſtorians, who wrote in the reigns of the conqueror and his ſons, have endeavoured to blacken the memory of Harold, to juſtify, in ſome meaſure,

l He had three horſes killed that day under him, without loſing one drop of his blood. Malmsb.

m This battle was fought near Heathfield in Suſſex, in the place where the town of Battle now ſtands, ſo called from this day's action, wherein our modern hiſtorians ſay were ſlain above threeſcore thouſand Engliſhmen.

n An antient manuſcript in the Cottonian library relates, that the king's body was hard to be known by reaſon of its being covered with wounds, but was at laſt diſcovered by one who had been his miſtreſs, by the means of certain private marks known only to herſelf. The duke ſent the body to his mother without any ranſom, though ſhe is ſaid to have offered him its weight in gold. But though all others agree that Harold fell in this battle, yet Knighton from Giraldus Cambrenſis aſſerts he was not ſlain, but eſcaping retired to a cell near St. John's church in Cheſter, and died there an anchoret, as was owned by himſelf in his laſt confeſſion when he lay a dying. In memory whereof they ſhewed his tomb when Knighton wrote.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF WESSEX AND OF THE KINGS OF ENG

Abbreviations
E. Earl.
D. Duke.
d. Died.
N. Name unknown
North. Northumberland.
K. King.

1 CERDICK 1st K. of W... d. 534
2 CENRICK d. 560
3 KEAULIN *Vanquish'd in 592*
Quicchn *he follow'd Keaulin*
Cuthwin
Ceadda
Cutha
Ciniwald
5 CINIBISI...
Cenbert
Ceolwald
Æthelbald
6 CENOWALCH *Associated 642 d. 672*
7 SEXBURGA *Queen*
8 CE... *K. of W...*
CEDWALLA *d. at Rome 689*
Mollon *slain in Kent 687*
Cenred
Cenulph *St. by Ina.*
Oswald *disputes y Crown with Æ declard.*
Albert *K. of Sussex.*
Pionnas *Abbot. d. before his Father.*
Nunnas
Baldred
10 INA *turn'd Monk 727.*
Quenburga or Vereburga
Cuthburga *Alfred K. of North. Foundress of Winburn Mon.*
Inigisil
Eoppa
Esa
Alemund
1 EGBERT *y* Great 1st K. of all England *d. 838.*
St Alb... *Founded the A... of Wilto...*
Ethelbald *d. before his Father.*
2 ETHELWOLPH *d. 857.*
Editha *Founded y Monastery of Polesworth.*
Athelstan *K. of Kent Bastard.*
3 ETHELBALD *d. 860.*
4 ETHELBERT *866.*
5 ETHELRED I. *d. 872.*
Ethelswida *Buthred K. of Mercia.*
Ethelward *He disputed y Crown w.th Edward y Elder.*
Alfred *Great Grandfa. of y Histo. Ethelverd.*
Edmund *d. bef. his Father.*
7 EDWARD I *y* Elder *d. 925.*
Gormon III *Married the K. of Denmark.*
Thyra
8 ADELSTAN *Bast. d. 942.*
Alfred *d. before his Father.*
Elfward *d. imediately after his Fa.*
Edwin *drown'd.*
9 EDMUND I. *d. 946.*
Elfleda *Abbess of Ramsey.*
10 ED... *d. 9...*
Canute *slain in Irel.d*
Harald *K. of Denmark.*
Blodhand
11 EDWY *d. 959.*
12 EDGAR *d. 975.*
Elfred
Gunilda *beheaded in Eng.*
15 SWEYN *K. of Den. & Eng. d. 1015*
Edmund *d. 970.*
13 EDWARD II *the Martyr d. 979.*
Editha *Nun.*
14 ETHELRED II *1 Edgiva 2 Emma d. 1016.*
Wul... *M...*
17 CANUTE *y* Great *K. of Den. & Engl. d. 1036*
Harald *K. of Den.*
Esfritha *1. Rich. II. 2. Ulphon.*
Adelstan *d. before his Fa.*
16 EDMUND II *Ironside d. 1017.*
Edwy *killed by Canute.*
Edgina *E. Adelstan.*
Edgitha *Edrick Streon.*
Elfgina *Richard E. of Nort...*
Sueno *K. of Norway.*
18 HARALD I *K. of Eng. d. 1039.*
19 HARDICANUTE *K. of Den. & Eng. d. 1041.*
Sueno *K. of Den.*
Edmund *d. in Hungary.*
Edward *the Outlaw*
Edwy *surnam'd K. of the Clowns Bast.*
Algitha
Harald
Canute
Edgar Atheling *d. very old.*
Margaret *Malcolm III K. of Scot.*
Christina *Nun.*
Cospatric *from whom spr... E...*
Edgar *K. of Scot.*
Alexander I *K. of Scot.*
David *K. of Scot.*
Mathilda *Hen. 1 K. of Eng.*
Mary *Eust...*
Mathilda *1. Hen. Emp. 2 Geoffrey E. of Anjou.*
Mad... *Steph...*

Rapin

NGLAND AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE HEPTARCHY.

Elisius — 9

Wessex — N. — 10

Stuff — Whitgar — 11
K.s or Governors of y Ile of Wight.

Cutulph d. 571 — Ceolulph — 12

4 CEOLRICK d. 598. — Ceolulph d. 611. — Cuthigisil — 13

IL d. 643 — 5 QUICELM Associ. in 614 d. 636. — Cenfert — 14

ENTWIN S.t Agelwin — N Oswald K. of North. — Da — Cudred d. 621. — 8 CENFUS K. of some p.t of Wessex — 15

8 ESCUIN Associ. 674 d. 677 — 16

Sigerick — Ethelburga Ina K. of Wessex — 11 ADELARD d. 741. — 12 CUDRED d. 754. — Hildelild Abbess of Berking. — 17

13 SIGEBERT dep. 755. — Cunehard Kill'd Cenulph & was kill'd 784. — Sigebald Associ & d. bef. his Father. — 14 CENULPH d. 784. — Cenrick d. 749. — 18

15 BRITHRICK Edburga of Mercia d. 800. — 19

20

hura Monastery — Ethelstan — 21 / 1

N — 2

6 ALFRED y Great d. 900. — Neot Abbot — 3

Ethelgiva Abbess of Shastbury. — Elfreda — Elfwitha — Elfleda Ethelred D. of Mercia. — Æthelword very Learned d. 922. — d Studied at Oxf. — 4

ORED 955. — Ethelilda Nun. — Ogina Charles y Simple K. of France. — Edgitha Otho I. Emp. — Elgiva N... Italian Pr. — Eadburga Nun. — Alfwina disposess'd by Edw.d the Elder. — Turketule Chancellor & afterwards Abbot of Croyland. — Æthelwin Slain in battle. — Ælwin — 5

Berthfred — Lewis the Ultramarine K. of France. — 6

ulfrida Nun. — Ulnoth Earl — N... — 7

Goda Walter E. of Manes. — Alfred killed by E. Goodwin — 20 EDWARD III. the Confessor d. 1065. Married — Goodwin Mar. E. of Kent. — Githa — Ulphon — 8

rth. — a — Ralph E. of Hereford — Githa — 21 HARALD II d. 1066. — Swan d. in y East. — Toston — Lewin Slain at Hastings. — Gurth — 9

ick — Harald Baron of Sudley — Goodwin — Edmund — Magnus — Wolph — 10

ry — 11

tachius E. of Bulloigne.

ethilda — 12

K. of Eng.

the ambition of the duke. But all they have ſaid againſt this laſt Saxon king, tends only to the imputation of breach of oath, on which we have ſeen what he alledged in his own vindication. He might have been much more juſtly blamed for his ſecret practices, in procuring prince Edgar to be excluded from the throne, who alone had a right to aſpire to it. But the ſticklers for the duke took care not to dwell on that head, ſince their reproaches againſt Harold would have touched the duke no leſs than his adverſary. However this be, Harold may be ſaid to have been more worthy of the crown, had he been leſs forward to obtain it. He gained the love and eſteem of the Engliſh whilſt he was but a private man, and acted nothing during his ſhort reign [o], which tended to leſſen their affection. He fought, within the ſpace of a few days, two great battles, with very different ſucceſs. In the firſt, his conduct and valour procured him a ſignal victory over the king of Norway; and his unhappy ſucceſs in the laſt, muſt be wholly aſcribed to his ill fortune. As for his other perſonal qualities, he was honeſt, obliging, affable, exceeding generous, in a word, he was endowed with all the virtues which form a great prince.

Harold was twice married. By his firſt wife, whoſe name is unknown, he had three ſons, Edmund, Goodwin, and Magnus, who retired into Ireland after the death of their father. By his ſecond wife, Algitha, ſiſter of Morcard and Edwin, he had a ſon called Wolf, who was but a child at the time of the battle of Haſtings, and was afterwards knighted by William Rufus. By this ſecond marriage, he had alſo two daughters; of whom Gunilda, the eldeſt, falling blind, paſſed her days in a nunnery. The youngeſt was married to Waldemar king of Ruſſia, by whom ſhe had a daughter, who was wife to Waldemar king of Denmark [p]. His iſſue.

Thus ended in England the empire of the Anglo-Saxons, which began above ſix hundred years before in the perſon of Hengiſt the firſt king of Kent. We ſhall ſee in the following book how England fell under the dominion of the Normans.

o Of nine months and nine days.

p Tyrrel ſays, (from Speed) ſhe was mother to Waldemar the firſt king of Denmark of that name. From whom the Daniſh kings for many ages after ſucceeded.

THE
STATE of the CHURCH.
FROM THE
Reign of ETHELRED II. to the Norman Conqueſt; that is, from 979, to 1066.

State of the Church.

AFTER having ſeen what paſſed in England from the beginning of the reign of Ethelred II. to the end of the dominion of the Saxons, it is not to be expected that this period ſhould afford much matter for an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory: in general, this century may be termed the age of ignorance, with reſpect to all Europe, but more eſpecially with regard to England. If there was occaſion, it would be very difficult to aſſign the cauſes of this univerſal ignorance, not only in this kingdom, but in all other chriſtian ſtates. But it will ſuffice to alledge one, peculiar to England; I mean the wars the kingdom was perpetually troubled with. The arms of the pagans, which triumphed throughout the whole kingdom, ſcarce left the Engliſh the liberty of profeſſing their religion, and conſequently, our knowledge of the affairs of the church in thoſe days muſt be very imperfect. Accordingly, I ſhall confine what I have to ſay on this ſubject to a few heads, concerning the doctrines, councils, ſome particulars relating to certain ſees, and the moſt noted perſons among the clergy.

The ſenſe of the church of England relating to the euchariſt.

What attempts ſoever have been made at ſundry times to prove the antiquity of tranſubſtantiation, it could never be ſhown to be the doctrine of the church of England, before the time I am ſpeaking of. On the contrary, it evidently appears from the homilies or ſermons which were read in the churches for the inſtruction of the people, that the church in thoſe days was very far from believing any ſuch thing. There is ſtill extant a tranſlation of thoſe homilies [q], aſcribed to Elfric, who lived under Ethelred II. from whence any man may be convinced, that the church of England was then of a quite

[q] Theſe homilies are in Latin ſtyled Sermones Catholici; the tranſlation of Sem into old Engliſh is preſerved in the Bodleian Library, and in that of Bennet College in Cambridge.

con-

contrary opinion. But that the reader may judge for himſelf, I ſhall lay before him an extract of one of theſe homilies relating to this ſubject:

Extract of a Saxon homily on this ſubject.

" There is a great difference between the inviſible virtue " of this ſacrament, and what it appears to us in the quali- " ties of its own nature. In its own nature 'tis corruptible " bread and wine; but by virtue of the divine inſtitution, " 'tis truly the body and blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, af- " ter conſecration, not in a corporeal but ſpiritual manner. " The body in which Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered, and the eucha- " riſtical body, are widely different. The firſt was born of " the bleſſed Virgin, and conſiſted of blood, bones, nerves, " limbs, animated with a rational ſoul. But the body which " we call euchariſtical, is made up of ſeveral grains of wheat. " It has neither blood, bone, nerve, limb, nor ſoul in it. We " are therefore not to form any corporeal idea of it, but to " underſtand it wholly in a ſpiritual ſenſe. In the euchariſt, " whatever repairs our nature, and forms us to a better life, " proceeds entirely from a myſtic virtue, and ſpiritual ope- " ration. For this reaſon the euchariſt is called a ſacrament, " becauſe one thing appears to our ſenſes, and another to " our underſtanding. What in the ſacrament is the object of " ſight, has a corporeal figure: but what is repreſented to " our underſtanding, has a ſpiritual force and efficacy. More- " over, the body of Chriſt, who ſuffered and roſe from the " dead, is eternal and impaſſible, and no more ſubject to de- " cay or death; whereas the euchariſt is not eternal, but cor- " ruptible, ſubject to the force of time, and diviſible into " many parts. 'Tis ground by the teeth, and paſſes through " the common channels of the body; but notwithſtanding, " the ſpiritual efficacy of it remains in every part. A great " many perſons receive this holy body or euchariſt, and yet the " multitude of receivers weakens not the force of the opera- " tion, the virtue of the ſacrament being lodged in every " part of what is conſecrated, the leaſt part having as much " efficacy as the greateſt. The reaſon is, becauſe the virtue " does not operate in proportion to the corporeal magnitude, " but by means of the divine inſtitution.

" The ſacrament is a type and pledge, but the body of " our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is the truth and reality of the repre- " ſentation. God has vouchſafed to give us this pledge or " earneſt, till we come to the truth itſelf, and then the pledge " will diſappear. For, as hath been obſerved, the holy Eu- " chariſt is the body of Jeſus Chriſt not corporeally but ſpi-

" ritually [r]. The apoſtle St. Paul, ſpeaking of the Iſraelites,
1 Cor. x. " has theſe words: I would not that you ſhould be igno-
" rant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and
" paſſed through the ſea; and were all baptized unto Moſes,
" in the cloud and in the ſea; and did all eat the ſame ſpi-
" ritual meat, and did all drink the ſame ſpiritual drink: for
" they drank of the ſpiritual rock that followed them, and that
" rock was Chriſt. That rock, from whence the water
" flowed, was not Chriſt in reality, but a type and repreſen-
" tation of Jeſus Chriſt, who made this gracious declaration
John vii. 38. " to all the faithful: If any man thirſt, let him come to me
" and drink; and out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of living
" water. By this he underſtood the Holy Ghoſt, which
" thoſe that believed on him ſhould receive. The Apoſtle
" declares, that the children of Iſrael, who were in the wil-
" derneſs, eat the ſame ſpiritual meat, and drank the ſame
" ſpiritual drink, becauſe the manna, with which they were
" ſupported forty years together, and the water which flow-
" ed from the rocks, were types of the body and blood of
" Jeſus Chriſt, which are daily offered in the church. That
" manna and that water were the ſame which we now offer,
" not corporeally, but ſpiritually. To underſtand this, ob-
" ſerve that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, before his paſſion, conſe-
" crated the bread and wine into the ſacrament of the eucha-
" riſt, and ſaid, This is my body; This is my blood: al-
" though his paſſion was not over when he pronounced theſe
" words, yet by a myſtical operation, he changed the bread
" into his body, and the wine into his blood, juſt as he had
" done in the wilderneſs before his incarnation, when he
" turned the manna into his fleſh, and the water that flowed
" from the rock, into his own blood."

As this explanation is a clear evidence, that at the time this homily was penned, the church of England believed not tranſubſtantiation, ſo it is no leſs manifeſt that Elfric, who tranſlated it into Latin, was of the ſame opinion with the author.

Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 125. 'Tis true, there is ſome diſpute about the perſon of the tranſlator. Some believe him to be Elfric archbiſhop of Canterbury. Others ſay it was Elfric the grammarian, ſirnamed Putta, who was archbiſhop of York. But which ever of the two it was, they both lived in the reign of Ethelred II. and neither of them was ever accuſed of heterodoxy. But as it might be objected, that Elfric was not of the ſame opinion with the author, whom he tranſlated, though that is not very likely, the contrary is evident from the following words of

[r] Non corporaliter ſed ſpiritualiter.

the

the ſame Elfric, in one of his letters to the clergy, "The "ſacrifice of the euchariſt is not the body in which our Sa- "viour ſuffered for us, nor the blood he ſhed for our ſakes; "but 'tis the ſame body and the ſame blood ſpiritually, juſt "as the manna was which fell from heaven, and the water "which flowed from the rock." 'Tis therefore moſt certain, from the teſtimony of a prelate, who was at the head of the church of England, that the doctrine of tranſubſtantiatiation was not introduced into that church in the time of Ethelred II. who aſcended the throne in 979. There is no way to evade the force of this proof, but by aſſerting the homily to be ſpurious. But this is much eaſier ſaid than proved.

Invocation of the virgin Mary, and of the ſaints. Conc. Vol. I. p. 537.

It is not the ſame with regard to the invocation of the bleſſed virgin, and of the ſaints in glory, ſince, on the contrary, we find it was practiſed in England in this very century. This is manifeſt from Canute the Great's charter to the abbey of Glaſſenbury, where there is mention of the bleſſed virgin, and all the other ſaints. But as the authority of the charters of thoſe days is not equally admitted by all, the ſame thing may be proved from a public litany then read in the church. Here we ſee that after the invocation of the holy Trinity, theſe words are thrice repeated, O holy Mary, pray for us: After which the angels and ſaints were addreſſed to [by name]. It is to be obſerved, when this practice was firſt introduced, the application to the bleſſed virgin and ſaints was not ſo direct; "May the holy virgin the mother of God, and "all the ſaints intercede for us." Theſe are the words in the public office of canonical hours uſed by the Anglo-Saxons [s]. This office, which is in Latin, affords this remark, that although the leſſons, prayers, pſalms, lord's prayer and creed, are in the ſame tongue, yet at the end of each article of verſe, there follows a Saxon tranſlation in a paraphraſtical way, that the people might underſtand what was ſaid.

Elfric's canons. Spelman. Conc. Tom. I. p. 572.

Among the canons, which go under the name of Elfric, who lived in the reign of Ethelred II, the XXXIIId obliges prieſts to have by them two ſorts of conſecrated oil, one for children, and another for the ſick; and enjoins that the ſick ſhould be always anointed upon their beds, and ſhould con-

s "Sancta Dei Genetrix virgo Maria "& omnes ſancti Dei intercedant pro "nobis peccatoribus ad dominum, ut "mereamur ab eo adjuvari & ſalvari, "qui vivis & regnas Deus." Now this amounts to no more than a wiſh for their interceſſion, and is far from a direct invocation. This office is tranſlated by Mr. Elſtob. Immediate addreſs, as far as we can diſcover, did not prevail in England till the tenth century: At which time, in the homily of the aſſumption of the Bleſſed Virgin, there is a direct prayer to the Bleſſed Virgin to intercede for them. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 214.

Extreme unction.

ſeſs themſelves before the ceremony of anointing paſſed upon them, which no prieſt was to preſume to perform till deſired by the ſick perſon. Whence it may be inferred, they did not ſtay till the ſick were in their laſt agonies, before they adminiſtered the extreme unction [t].

In the XXXIIId canon, the four firſt general councils [u] are put upon the ſame foot with the four goſpels; but thoſe of later ages are not of ſo great authority. Hence 'tis evident that the author of theſe canons did not think all the general councils were infallible. Had he been of this opinion, he would not have given a greater authority to the four firſt than to the other councils [w].

From the beginning of the reign of Ethelred II, to the Norman conqueſt, we find in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England but two councils. In all appearance, the wars with the Danes prevented the biſhops from aſſembling more frequently, or rather were the reaſon that the acts of theſe conventions are loſt. Both theſe councils [x], one at Engſham, and the other at Haba, were held, whilſt Elphegus was archbiſhop. The moſt remarkable canons are as follow.

The ſynod of Engſham, Spelman. Conc. Tom. I. p. 513.

In the council of Engſham, the IId canon enjoins the celibacy of the clergy.

The IXth forbids all perſons to do any wrong to the church, or eject a clergyman out of his benefice without the conſent of the biſhop.

By the XVIIth, every Friday was to be a faſt, unleſs it fell upon a holiday [y].

The XXth enjoins frequent confeſſions, and the people are ordered to receive the ſacrament three times, at leaſt, in a year [z].

Synod of Haba.

The council of Haba has but one canon worth notice. By the ſecond, every chriſtian was obliged to faſt three days with bread and water, before the feaſt of St. Michael, and to diſtribute among the poor what he ſhould have eaten in theſe three days.

t The XXIIId orders the prieſt to read, on ſundays and holydays, the Goſpel, the Lord's Prayer, and Creed in Engliſh.

u Nice, Conſtantinople, Epheſus, and Chalcedon.

w This is directly oppoſite to the doctrine of the modern church of Rome, which pays the ſame ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the council of Trent as of Nice, and reckons the church in all ages alike infallible.

x They were made up of Seculars as well as Eccleſiaſticks, and the conſtitutions paſſed there related both to church and ſtate. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt. p. 208.

y The XIXth enjoins widows to ſtay twelve months after the death of their husbands, before they marry again.

z The XXIIId orders, that the yearly naval expedition be performed ſooner after Eaſter.

This

This is all worth remarking in these two synods. But to supply the want of councils we have the ecclesiastical laws of Canute the Great, and Edward the Confessor; some of which I shall insert to shew the great regard these two princes had for the clergy. The following ones are Canute's [a].

Canute's Ecclesiastical laws.

The IVth enjoins all christians to pay great respect to the clergy, because their sacerdotal functions are extremely beneficial to the people.

By the Vth, if a priest was accused of any crime, he had the liberty of purging himself by saying mass, and receiving the eucharist.

The XIIth recommends celibacy to the clergy, and ranks them among the Thanes of the second class, that is, among the gentry [b].

The XXth ordains, that at funerals the dues shall be paid upon the breaking up of the ground; and that the dues shall be paid to the parish the deceased belonged to, though he was buried elsewhere.

The XXIId enjoins the observance of Sunday from Saturday three a-clock in the afternoon, till Monday break of day.

The XXIIId determines the times of fasting, and places the vigils of the festivals of the blessed virgin, and of the apostles among the fasts.

There are several others relating to the payment of tythes and peter-pence, the violators of the privileges of the clergy, and the like in favour of the church.

It is likewise decreed by these laws, that every christian should learn the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles Creed; otherwise, they were allowed neither to stand godfather, nor receive the communion, nor have christian burial.

The ecclesiastical laws of Edward the Confessor run chiefly upon the protection of the church and clergy.

Ecclesiastical laws of Edward. Spelman, p. 625.

The Ist forbids the molesting a clergyman contrary to the tenour of the privileges of the church.

The IId appoints certain days, whereon all proceedings in the courts of justice were to cease.

By the IIId, the church's causes are to be tried first.

a In the preamble, it is said these laws were drawn up at Winchester by the advice of the wise men of the nation, that is, the prelates and nobles.

b This in Dr. Wilkins is the VIth. The law says, if a priest abstains from a woman, may God have mercy upon him, and let him have the wordly honour of a Thane. Wilkins, p. 129. c. 6.

The IVth firmly eſtabliſhes the immunities of thoſe who in any wiſe depend on the church, and ordains that they ſhall not be obliged to anſwer any plea, &c. except in the eccleſiaſtical court.

The Vth confirms the privilege of ſanctuary to churches, and extends it even to prieſts houſes.

By the VIth, if any perſon broke in upon the privileges of the church, he had no way to get off, but by ſubmitting to the ſentence of the biſhop.

The VIIth orders the punctual payment of tythes, and ſets forth what is to be paid.

The IXth determines the circumſtances relating to the ordeal tryal.

The XIIth ſettles the fine of Manbote, or the ſum to be paid to the Lord for killing any of his vaſſals or ſlaves. The king's and the archbiſhop's Manbote is fixed at the ſame ſum.

By the XIIIth all found treaſure belongs to the king, unleſs it be found in a church or church-yard; then the gold is the king's, and the ſilver the churche's [c].

It is viſible throughout theſe laws, that the clergy took care of themſelves, when they met with devout and eaſy princes, or ſuch as ſtood in need of their intereſt.

Elections of biſhops and abbots.

But notwithſtanding the great condeſcenſion of the Saxon kings for the clergy, they could not retain the privilege of chuſing their biſhops and abbots. Whilſt the prelates confined themſelves within the bounds of their paſtoral functions, and meddled not with civil matters, the power of electing was freely left to the chapters. But when the biſhops were become rich and popular, and began to interpoſe in ſtate-affairs, by reaſon of the fiefs they were poſſeſſed of, it was of great conſequence to the kings, to have ſuch biſhops and abbots as were in their intereſt, or at leaſt, were obliged to them for their preferments. Accordingly, the kings began to interpoſe in elections, by way of canvaſſing, or recommendation, and very often by refuſing to put in poſſeſſion of the fiefs belonging to the church or abbey, ſuch prelates and abbots as they did not like. In fine, the authority of the court by degrees prevailed ſo, that in the time of Ethelred II, the monks had entirely loſt the privilege of chuſing their abbots, as appears from Ingulphus. "In thoſe days, ſays he, the monks and abbots ſel-" dom reſorted to court. But ever ſince the kings have diſ-

Ingulph. p. 63.

c The original law in Dr. Wilkins, ſays, the gold is all the king's and half the ſilver, and the other half goes to the church.

" poſed

"poſed of the Abbies, the Monks have made intereſt with "the courtiers, which ſometimes coſt them very dear." This hiſtorian loudly complains of this abuſe, though he himſelf was inſtalled in the abbey of Croyland by the ſame method, that is, by the ſole will and pleaſure of William the Conqueror.

Tranſlations of ſees. S. Dunelm.

There were but two removals of biſhops ſees within the period I am going over. The ſee of Kirton in Weſſex [d] was removed to Exeter [e], and the ſee of Lindsfarn, in Northumberland to Durham. Aldhun biſhop of Lindsfarn, being diſturbed in that little iſland by the incurſions of the Danes, reſided at Durham, carrying with him the relicts of St. Cuthbert. He built a cathedral, and fixed his ſee there, where it has remained to this day [f].

The biſhops of Landaff firſt conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

In 981, the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury acquired a new juriſdiction in Wales. Gucan, a Welch prieſt, being choſen biſhop of Landaff, and conſecrated by archbiſhop Dunſtan, this precedent was followed by his ſucceſſors, who like him owned the archbiſhop of Canterbury for their metropolitan. Some infer from hence, that all the Britiſh biſhops at the ſame time owned the ſuperiority of the church of Rome. But this conſequence cannot be admitted. It is certain the biſhop of St. David's all along exerciſed the archiepiſcopal functions in Wales, till the time of Henry I, and that without the ornament of the pall, the mark of ſubmiſſion to the pope.

As the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York made the greateſt figure among the Engliſh prelates, during the laſt period of the Saxon monarchy, it will not be amiſs briefly to carry down the ſucceſſion of each of theſe ſees. This will be of ſervice towards clearing what has been already, or ſhall be hereafter related of the affairs of the church.

Succeſſion of the archbiſhops of Canterbury. Malmsb. de Pontific. Gervaſii. Act. Pont.

Ethelgar, Dunſtan's ſucceſſor, was archbiſhop but one year and three months, and was ſucceeded by Siricius. This

d Crediton or Kirton ſtands on the Creden in Devonſhire; there are now no footſteps of its having been a biſhop's ſee, but a great meadow called My Lord's Meadow.

e This city ſtands on the river called Iſe by the Britons, and Ex by the Saxons, whence the name Iſca and Exanceſter. The Welſh call it to this day Caeriſc. It was made a biſhop's ſee by Edward the Confeſſor, in 1048. Leofric a Burgundian was the firſt biſhop. Here are fifteen churches. The organ in the cathedral is the largeſt in England, the greateſt pipe being fifteen inches diameter. The city is about a mile and half in compaſs.

f Durham being almoſt ſurrounded with the river Were, was called by the Saxons, Dunholme, Dun ſignifying a hill (the city being ſeated on one) and Holme, that is, a river iſland; it was built about the year 995.

prelate

prelate is blamed by all hiſtorians, for adviſing Ethelred to give money to the Danes, which ſerved only to allure them hither, inſtead of keeping them away. But perhaps they who exclaim againſt him moſt, would have given the ſame advice, had they been in his place. Elfric, tranſlator of the Saxon Homilies, ſucceeded him in 995, and was followed in 1006, by Elphegus, who was murdered by the hands of the Danes. Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury in the conqueror's time, very much queſtioned whether Elphegus might properly be called a martyr, ſince he was not maſſacred on account of religion, but only becauſe he would not conſent the people of his dioceſe ſhould be taxed to pay his ranſom. Anſelm, Abbot of Bec, whom he conſulted on this occaſion, told him, he who choſe to die rather than to do an unjuſt thing, received by his death the crown of martyrdom. Livingus ſucceeded Elphegus in 1013. He was kept priſoner ſome time by the Danes, and after the recovery of his liberty, retired into France till the ſtorm was over. Afterwards, he returned to his ſee, and died in 1020. Egelnoth, called the Good, was his ſucceſſor. In the time of theſe two archbiſhops, St. Auguſtin's monaſtery was much degenerated, by the licencious lives of the monks, who indeed wore the religious habit, but with little obſervance of the rule. The cauſe of this alteration was, the maſſacring of all the monks, except four, when Canterbury was taken by the Danes. The ſecular clergy, who afterwards ſupplied the place of the dead monks, were willing to enjoy the revenues and privileges of the monaſtery, but not to be tied to the rule obſerved there before. They took greater liberties than the old monks, and gave the title of Dean to their ſuperior, inſtead of that of Abbot, which remained till the time of archbiſhop Lanfranc, who changed it into Prior. But to return to Egelnoth. This prelate raiſed the ſee of Canterbury to its former luſtre, being ſupported by Canute the great, with whom he was much in favour [g]. He was ſucceeded by Edſius, who had been king Harold's chaplain [h]. He governed the church till the year 1050, either by himſelf, whilſt his health permitted, or by a

Osbern. Hoveden. Eadmer.

A great change in St. Auguſtin's monaſtery. Gavers.

g Egelnoth, who was archbiſhop ſeventeen years, refuſed to crown king Harold, telling him he was enjoined by Canute his father to ſet the crown upon none but the iſſue of queen Emma. Then laying the crown on the altar, he denounced an imprecation againſt any biſhop that ſhould venture to perform the ceremony. Harpsfield. This, if true, is another argument againſt Canute's will.

h Edſius crowned or anointed king Edward the Confeſſor, on Eaſter-day, and then preached upon the occaſion. Sax. Ann. MLXII. This is the firſt coronation-ſermon we meet with.

chore-

chorepiſcopus, when diſabled by ſickneſs. This chorepiſcopus, who exerciſed all the archiepiſcopal functions, reſided at St. Martin's in the Fields [i]. Robert, a Norman monk, made biſhop of London by Edward the Confeſſor, was by the ſame prince promoted to the ſee of Canterbury after Edſius. He was driven from thence in the manner before related, and baniſhed the kingdom by an aſſembly-general, and Stigand, biſhop of Wincheſter, placed in his room. Robert appealed to the pope againſt theſe proceedings; but Stigand, notwithſtanding the appeal, and without ſtaying for the pope's determination, who for that reaſon ſuſpended him, got himſelf conſecrated. But, notwithſtanding his ſuſpenſion, and though he had never applied to Rome for the pall, he exerciſed all the metropolitical functions, till he was depoſed in William the Conqueror's time [k]. Very probably, in thoſe days, the Engliſh were not of opinion that the archbiſhops elect could not exerciſe their functions till the pope was pleaſed to impower them, or that the pope's bare ſuſpenſion was ſufficient to put a ſtop to their acting as primates.

Malmsb. Geſt. Reg. lib. ii. c. 13.

Stigand tho' ſuſpended and without the pall, exerciſes the functions of archbiſhop.

The ſucceſſion of the archbiſhops of York was as follows. After the death of Oſwald [l], Adulph ſucceeded him in 993, and governed his church till 1002, when by his death he made room for Wulſtan II. who, after twenty-one years, was ſucceeded by Elfric Putta, ſirnamed the Grammarian, thought by ſome to be the author of the tranſlation of the Saxon Homilies. To him ſucceeded Kinſius [m], in 1050; after whom came Aldred, who was alive at the conqueſt.

Succeſſion of the archbiſhops of York. Stubbs.

Among the biſhops of note in thoſe days, Wulfſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, was a perſon of an extraordinary character in ſome men's opinion, though Lanfranc thought him unqualified for the office of a biſhop, for his ſtupidity and want of learning. But this is not the firſt time that weak men have been made to paſs for ſaints. This prelate being conſecrated by Aldred, archbiſhop of York, made his profeſſion of canonical obedience to Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, tho'

Wulfſtan biſhop of Worceſter. S. Dunelm. Knighton. Brompton.

i Near Canterbury. Gervas. The archbiſhops formerly had a Chorepiſcopus, or aſſiſtant; but this office was extinguiſhed by Lanfranc. Coll. Eccl. Hiſt.

k Malmsbury ſays, he procured a pall five years after from Bennet the antipope, de Geſt. Pontiff. l. 3. He was impriſoned at Wincheſter by William I. where he died. Malmsb.

l He was buried at St. Mary's in Worceſter, which he built. Stubbs.

m Chaplain to Edward the Confeſſor: Stubbs ſays, he ordained one Magſues biſhop of Glaſgow, and John his ſucceſſor, and received an acknowledgment of his metropolitical juriſdiction in writing, which was loſt with many other inſtruments, when York was ſet on fire by the Normans ſoon after the Conqueſt.

ſuſpended

Cressy, p. 984.

suspended by the pope. To account for this disregard of the pope's suspension, it is pretended the submission was made to the see of Canterbury, and not to the person of Stigand: but when such assertions are advanced, they should be supported with some authorities, whereas this here is destitute of all.

Edmund bishop of Durham. S. Dunelm, p. 30.

Edmund, bishop of Durham, was remarkable for the manner of his election. The chapter of Durham being met to elect a bishop, and not being able to agree upon their man, Edmund, a priest of that church, said jestingly, that since they were at a loss whom to chuse, they had as good take him and make him a bishop. As miracles were then much in vogue, the chapter looked upon this motion as a divine impulse, and so unanimously agreed to elect him. Edmund became famous for his courage and boldness in reprimanding vice, even in persons of the highest birth and stations.

English missionaries in Sweden. Jo. Magn. lib. xvii. cap. 19, 20. Loccenius Hist. Suec.

Sax. Gram. lib. x.

We must also reckon in the number of illustrious persons of that age certain English ecclesiastics, who flourished in Sweden and Norway. Olaus Scot-Kunung, king of Sweden, designing to turn Christian, desired Ethelred to send him some missionaries to instruct him in the gospel. Sigefrid, archdeacon of York (and not archbishop, as a Swedish writer will have it), Eskil, Gunichild, Rudolf, and Bernard or David, undertook this mission. Sigefrid was made bishop of Wexia, a city in the province of Smaland in Sweden, and baptised Olaus. Some say however he received baptism at the hands of Bernard; but this is not very material. The greatest part of these missionaries were martyred by the pagans to whom they preached [o].

I have spoken elsewhere, though in a very general manner, of the division of the kingdom into parishes. But since I am come to the end of the Saxon empire, it will not be foreign

o Through the laziness or ignorance of the monks, the only writers in those days, we have but few historians from Asser to the Norman conquest. Next to Asser was Ethelwerd, who wrote in the reign of Edgar, and lived till 1090, though he did not continue his Chronicle so far. He was (as he himself says) descended from the blood royal. His works consist of four books, which were published by Sir H. Savil. Bishop Nicolson says, the whole is an imperfect translation of the Saxon Annals. His style is boisterous and obscure, and in some places hardly sense; and therefore but of little use, unless in settling the reigns and deaths of some of our Saxon kings, who lived about this time, concerning which the copies of the Saxon Annals differ. From him to the conquest we meet with no historians, except Osbern, who wrote the Lives of St. Dunstan and St. Alphage, which are published in the first volume of Anglia Sacra; and the author of a treatise called Encomium Emmæ, being a short account of the times immediately preceding the reign of Edward the Confessor.

to

to the purpoſe to conclude what I have to ſay of the Anglo-Saxon church with a more particular account of this matter.

Auguſtin, the firſt biſhop of the Saxons, receiving from the king of Kent ſome lands, for the maintenance of himſelf and the monks he brought with him, diſpoſed of the profits of theſe lands and the offerings of Chriſtians as he thought fit. But becauſe he wanted inſtructions in this matter, he conſulted Gregory I. who told him it was the cuſtom in the church of Rome to divide the offerings into four portions, and diſtribute one of them for the maintenance of the inferior clergy. However, as Auſtin and his companions were monks of the ſame order, the pope exhorted them to live together as brethren. Thus alſo lived Aidan and Finan, biſhops of the Northumbrians, who were monks as well as Auſtin, though of a different order. But it cannot be inferred from hence, that in all the churches the biſhop and his clergy lived in common, as ſome pretend. On the contrary it ſeems to follow, from the biſhop's being obliged to diſtribute the fourth part of the churches revenues among the clergy, that they did not live in common. Be this as it will, the biſhop and clergy were maintained as well out of the profits of the lands given to the church, as by the daily offerings of the people.

The diviſion of pariſhes when ſettled. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt.

The number of Chriſtians daily increaſing, and there being at firſt in each dioceſe, which contained a whole kingdom, but one church, it could not but be very incommodious to many of the new converts to reſort thither. It was neceſſary therefore that others ſhould be built, and prieſts ſent to officiate in them. Theſe prieſts were not however fixed upon any particular church, but kept with the biſhop, who ſent out ſometimes one, ſometimes another, to miniſter in the remote churches, after which they returned to him. In proportion therefore as Chriſtians increaſed, new churches were erected for the conveniency of thoſe who lived at a diſtance from the cathedral. Theſe churches were no more than chapels of eaſe to the principal church, to which belonged all the offerings that were made in the others. Accordingly the prieſts, at their return, put the offerings they had received into the biſhop's hands, which ſerved for the maintenance of the biſhop, and the clergy that were about him. The prieſts then at firſt had no other titles but that of belonging to a certain dioceſe: for theſe firſt rural churches are not to be conſidered as diſtinct pariſhes, but as chapels belonging to the cathedral.

Stillingfleet.

Theſe

These rural churches were not at first very numerous. The reason is, because the lords who had large estates, were the only persons that founded them, and generally were contented with building one single church for the use of their vassals. The number of christians being greatly increased, it was become necessary to provide for the constant residence of a priest in each of these churches. But as the great men, as well as the people, did not care to have a new priest at every turn, the bishops were willing to continue the same to them; and from this time parishes may properly be said to commence. However, lest the priests, thus fixed to one cure, should be unmindful of their dependence on the cathedral, the bishops reserved in their own hands the revenues and oblations these churches were endowed with. This gave the founders some uneasiness: they could not bear to see the priest, who did all the duty, have so small a share of their donations. Wherefore the zeal of erecting new churches beginning to cool, at a time when there was most need of them, the bishops thought fit to yield a little. To this purpose they compounded with those who had a mind to build churches, and were satisfied with preserving to the cathedral a third or fourth part of the incomes, with the right of baptism and burial. This obstacle being removed, these private oratories became very numerous, almost every great man building one for the conveniency of himself and vassals. Moreover, when any lord alienated part of his estate, the purchaser seldom failed of erecting a church in his new purchase. On the other hand, the bishops being greatly enriched by the grants made to their churches, built likewise churches on their lands, as well for the conveniency of their tenants, as to imitate the nobles, among whom they themselves began to be ranked. By all these means the rural churches abounding every where, there was no necessity of sending priests from place to place, since each church, as was before observed, had one of its own: and thus by degrees the parochial division was settled. However, the bishops were long in possession of the tithes and oblations, till at length, in order to quicken more and more the zeal of christians, they removed this difficulty, which obstructed the building and endowing of churches. They not only left to the parochial priests the revenues the founders were pleased to assign, or, at least, the much greater part, but also granted them the power of administering the sacraments in their respective churches. This is the rise and progress of the parochial division, which was almost quite settled in the

Wharton's Defence of Pluralities, p. 81.

reign

reign of Edgar, or perhaps of Canute the Great. Between that time and the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, there were ſome farther ſubdiviſions, but, in all appearance, there were few new pariſhes after the Norman conqueſt: at leaſt, we find by ſeveral charters of the latter Saxon kings, that the pariſhes of Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire, and Lincolnſhire, were the ſame as at preſent; whence it may be preſumed the pariſhes of the other counties agreed with our modern diviſions [p].

Monaſt. Angl. under Ely, Croyland, etc.

p As may be farther ſeen from Doomſday Book, where the pariſhes are very near the ſame as at this day.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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